CHRIST AND THE CRITICS

HILARIN FELDER, O.M.CAP.

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CHRIST AND THE CRITICS

CHRIST AND THE CRITICS

A DEFENCE OF THE DIVINITY OF JESUS AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF MODERN SCEPTICAL CRITICISM

BY HILARIN FELDER, O.M.CAP.

TRANSLATED FROM the ORIGINAL GERMAN

BY JOHN L. STODDARD

Author of "Rebuilding a Lost Faith"

VOLUME II

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS

JESUS CHRIST believed himself to be, and averred that he was, the divine Messiah. In the previous volume of our defence of Christ we have already demonstrated this mighty, world-historic fact—the consciousness which he possessed of his divine nature and mission.

In view of this, the decisive question now presents itself as to the intrinsic truth of this consciousness and of this testimony to himself as the divine Messiah. Did Jesus furnish a justification of his claims to divinity? Did he indubitably, scientifically and irrefutably substantiate those claims which he, as the Messiah and Son of God, makes upon our faith? Did he also establish this faith in his divinely human person and redemption so firmly that, like the sun, it can triumph, not only over the creeping mists of our own lack of faith, but also over the dense clouds of sceptical criticism, inundating, enlightening and kindling with warmth the minds and hearts of the whole world? In a word, what is the value of the evidence for his Messiahship and divine Sonship?

"Evidence for the Messiahship and divine Sonship of Jesus?" ask the Modernists, in astonishment. From the most extreme revolutionaries of thought, like Sören Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, to the moderate radicals, liberals and up-to-date critics of to-day, it is always assumed, as a matter of course, that it is impossible to prove scientifically the divine mission and nature of Jesus. Freethinkers expect us at the very outset, and as a matter of principle, to give up every attempt to demonstrate the reasonableness of our faith in Christ. They claim that faith, in any case, rests only on "religious experience"—that is, on a purely subjective state of mind, a religious inclination of the heart, or a personal disposition of the soul, but not on an objective, scientific foundation. If it is entirely a question of faith in the divine Messiahship of the Saviour, the "unprejudiced" investigator turns without hesitation from such a problem in the name of the science of history. The proofs which Jesus furnished for the truth of his assertion that he was the Messiah and the Son of God are not to be considered at all; first, because only purely human beings can have lived on this earth; secondly, because history may not bear witness to the entry of God into humanity and this earthly life; and lastly, because it is contrary to reason that God should become man and live and manifest himself in human form.

That is the famous coat of mail with which the master

spirits of unbelief protect themselves against every public controversy in the conflict for and against Christ. It is the same everlasting refrain which we encountered repeatedly in our investigations into the consciousness of Jesus, and the principal dogma of rationalistic and agnostic science and of its conception of the world is that "reason and history declare boldly and logically that any supernatural intervention of God in the world, and especially the personal appearance of God in the world, is impossible, or in any event incapable of proof."

This assertion holds blindly to the philosophical axiom of Kant, according to which knowledge is limited to perception through the senses, while the supersensuous, on the contrary, is unknowable. Ever since the time of Schleiermacher, liberal theology has been indefatigable in its application of this tenet of agnosticism to the domain of faith, and especially to christology. In the main, from first to last, it estimates the value of the material which we possess for the life and nature of Jesus according to Kant's theory of knowledge.

In the previous volume we have pointed out how unhistorical such an attitude is, quite apart from its philosophical incorrectness.

Any further discussion of such a prejudiced method would be, therefore, labour lost. Only that searcher after truth can be rightfully said to have a scientific and critical method who comes to the necessary documents with a readiness to examine them without any prejudice, deduces from them the exact facts, and then, in accordance with these, honestly answers the question whether Jesus has given proofs of his Messiahship and divinity or not. By merely shutting one's eyes to the truth, the truth itself cannot be made either blind or dumb. The inquiry into the proofs which Jesus furnished of his own authenticity is, therefore, by no means valueless.

On the contrary, everything shows that Jesus has furnished irrefutable evidence for his Messiahship and divinity. How could he otherwise have demanded such an unprecedented faith in his person, and how otherwise can it be explained that the disciples gave to him that faith? Never in history has a mentally normal man appeared who claimed, like Jesus, to be God in the real and proper sense of the word; and never has it happened that friends and disciples have revered and worshipped their companion and teacher as the true and only begotten Son of God, as his disciples honoured and worshipped Jesus. How would these two facts be comprehensible if Jesus had given proof of his human nature only? "There could be no God in heaven," remarked Napoleon, "if a man could devise and carry out successfully a plan to draw to himself the highest worship by assuming the name of God. Jesus is the only one who has dared to do this. He is the only

one who has said clearly, 'I am God.' That is something entirely different from the expression, 'I am *a* god,' or 'There are gods.' History knows of no other individual who has claimed for himself the name of God in the absolute sense of the word. Legend nowhere asserts that Jupiter and the other divinities deified themselves. That would have been on their part an unheard-of piece of arrogance, an act of presumption and an unexampled abomination. Posterity alone has stamped them as divinities. Since all men are of the same race, Alexander could reasonably call himself a son of Jupiter, but all Greece laughed at this deception nevertheless. Even the apotheosis of the Roman emperors was never taken seriously by the Romans. Mohammed and Confucius asserted merely that they were ambassadors of the Deity. Numa's goddess, Egeria, was never anything else than the personification of an inspiration derived from the solitude of the forest. The Brahmanic gods of India are a psychological invention. How, therefore, can a Jew, whose existence is more certainly vouched for than that of any other man of his time, how can this son of a Jewish carpenter alone pretend to be God in person, the highest being, and the Creator of all beings? He claims for himself all forms of worship, and builds with his own hand the temple of his cult; not out of stones indeed, but out of living human beings."[1] This is something unexampled. History knows, indeed, of many men who have appeared with the claim to be ambassadors and prophets of God, and who have actually won for themselves votaries and followers by thousands and millions. "But of only one do we know that he combined the deepest humility and purity of intention with the claim to be more than all the prophets who preceded him—the Son of God. Of him alone we know that those who ate and drank with him extolled him, not only as their Teacher, Prophet, and King, but as the Prince of life, the Redeemer and Judge of the world, and the living force of their existence; and that soon, together with these, a chorus of Jews and Gentiles, wise and simple, acknowledged that they, too, had received one grace after another from the fulness of this one man. This fact, which is a perfectly evident one, is unique in history."[2]

It would, indeed, remain an unsolved and for ever unsolvable mystery, had not the Saviour established by irrefutable proofs the truth of his divinely human and divinely Messianic nature.

In fact, the disciples also testify that they did not yield blind faith to the divinely Messianic utterances of their Master in regard to himself, but assented to them because they were

[1] Migne, *Dictionnaire apologétique*, i, p. 1743 (Paris 1855).
[2] Harnack, *Das Christentum und die Geschichte*, pp. 9 f. (Leipzig 1904); *Reden und Aufsätze*, ii (Giessen 1906), pp. 9 f.

supported by incontrovertible proofs. The Prince of the Apostles appeals to these energetically when he says: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we made known to you the power and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, having been made eye-witness of his majesty" (2 Pet. i, 16). What Peter here says of the transfiguration of Jesus, the evangelist John says of the whole life and teaching of Christ. He is conscious that behind his belief in Christ and his preaching of Christ there stands a formal body of evidence based upon facts: "And he that saw it hath given testimony, and his testimony is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that you also may believe . . . that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: and that believing, you may have life in his name" (John xix, 35; xx, 31). "That which we have seen and have heard we declare unto you, that you also may have fellowship with us; and our fellowship may be with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ" (1 John i, 3). "And we know that the Son of God is come; and he hath given us understanding, that we may know the true God and be in his true Son. This is the true God and life eternal" (1 John v, 20). "And we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (John i, 14).

After all this, if it is asked what are the criteria from which we can ascertain and prove the majestic rank of Jesus as the Messiah and the Son of God, we must first of all remind the reader once more of the point of departure of our defence of Christ. We have from the first laid special weight on the necessity of keeping the Consciousness of Jesus and the Proofs furnished by Jesus entirely distinct, and of establishing, first, the consciousness possessed by him of his Messiahship and divinity; and secondly, supported by that, of examining the proofs by means of which he furnished the justification and internal truth of that divine and Messianic consciousness.

Without the foundation of his consciousness it is immensely difficult, not to say impossible, to establish incontestably, in the teeth of sceptical criticism, the divine Messiahship of our Lord. The proofs pertaining to it do not appear to be of universal application or absolutely conclusive. They do, indeed, convince us with compelling logic that Jesus cannot be thoroughly comprehended as a merely human being; they force us to the conviction that God could thus live and work, if he should ever become man; they let us conjecture the divine nature hidden in Christ; and the greatness of intellect, the holiness, the miracles and the resurrection of the Redeemer are such sublime phenomena that we imagine that we see, hear and perceive everywhere in them the Lord of heaven. Yet, with all this, there still remains for the critical investigator the question, "Could not also a mere man, through

the power and grace of the Almighty, attain to such intellectual greatness and holiness: Have not some prophets actually prophesied in a similar way, and have not numerous thaumaturgists performed similar wonderful works? Have not other mortals also been restored to life by the omnipotence of God?" Everyone can see the justification for such questions. The intellectual greatness and holiness of Jesus become a direct proof of his divinity only in so far as they must be called a personification of the omniscience and perfect holiness of God; and even the works of Jesus, especially the omnipotent deeds of his miracles and his resurrection, prove his deity directly only in so far as he accomplished them of his own inherent power. That this last is true of the works of Jesus can be proved, but that the personal character of Jesus also necessitates absolutely divine qualities is not so evident. In any case, the person and the works of Jesus become a direct proof of his divinity only for one who allows them to influence him in all their fulness and sublimity.

Quite different is it with the same proofs, however, if they have, as a preliminary supposition, his divinely human and divinely Messianic consciousness, and have to demonstrate merely the truth and justification of this consciousness. The above criteria wholly and perfectly suffice for this easily. If Jesus had proclaimed himself to be the Redeemer and the true Son of God unjustifiably, he would have been either a madman or a criminal, and God in heaven should under no circumstances have assisted him. Accordingly, all the proofs applicable to the Messiahship and divinity of the Saviour can be referred back to his person and his works. From the twofold character of these proofs arises the division of this volume into the two sections, treating respectively of the Person of Jesus and the Works of Jesus.

If, therefore, it results from the investigations awaiting us that, on the one hand, the Person of Jesus is conspicuous for psychical, intellectual and moral perfection, and, on the other hand, that the Works of Jesus evidently bear the seal of divine power and divine assistance, there can no longer be any doubt of the internal truth and justification of the personal revelation of Jesus and hence of his Messiahship and divinity.

PART I

THE PERSON OF CHRIST

INTRODUCTORY

IN all the proofs of the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus special prominence must be given to his personality, because the likeness of the Saviour's character is most easily and certainly recognizable by friend and foe.

Recognizable, but not fully comprehensible and fathomable. An exhaustive representation of the personality of Jesus is impossible, on account of his divinity. The divine nature cannot, with even approximate perfection, be apprehended and expressed in the thoughts and words of created beings. Even in the divine Saviour, in whom that nature manifested itself personally, we behold it only, as it were, in a picture or by means of a mirror. All that we see of his divinity is merely the transparent flashing forth of the divine through the earthly vestment of his human nature. Owing to this insufficient means of measurement and to our limited perceptive powers, we recognize the infinite in the personality of Jesus only in an infinitesimal degree.

Nor is this all. Not only are we able very imperfectly to comprehend the divinity of Jesus, but his human nature also transcends our powers of comprehension precisely in consequence of his union with deity. In him the human is so impregnated with, ennobled and idealized (one might almost say deified) by the divine, the finite by the infinite, lowliness by sublimity, that the divine and human traits, the created and the uncreated lines, flow into one another and elude a perfectly adequate reproduction.

This inadequacy of finite powers of perception and of human capacity of representation does not, perhaps, at first impress us, who are removed from the actual reality by wellnigh 2,000 years; but it already weighed sensibly on those who could perceive the divine-human stream of life at its source. There was such a measureless flood of the "living water that flows eternally" that the evangelists could draw only the smallest part of it. Not without reason does the greatest of them write at the conclusion of his Gospel: "But there are also many other things which Jesus did: which, if they were written every one, the world itself, I think, would not be able to contain the books that should be written" (John xxi, 25).

Hence, even the sketch of the external life and activity of Jesus given in the Gospels is only fragmentary, incidental and incomplete. But if the surface of the picture is only meagrely outlined, how much more imperfect must have been the representation of its unfathomable depth—the delineation of

Christ's inner character, spiritual qualities and the psychical, intellectual and moral perfection of the divine Man; in a word, the personality of Jesus!

Nevertheless, the Evangelists have drawn the principal and fundamental lines of that personality so clearly and indelibly that we must emphasize the fact that they are even now plainly and certainly visible to everyone.

Even those critics who in other respects obstinately characterize the Gospel history as a credulous "painting over" of the original portrait of Christ cannot help acknowledging that the personality of Jesus is depicted by the Evangelists faithfully and correctly. "Here," remarks Karl Weidel, "is first-hand authority. The words of Jesus, which the first three Evangelists transmit to us, have for the most part stood the test of the sharpest criticism. They also mostly bear the unmistakable stamp of their genuineness; and this because they are not shadowy, abstract, doctrinal discussions, but the direct, lifelike utterances of a highly sensitive soul, which reveals itself in its words."[1]

The force of this conviction is strengthened by Harnack, since he not only defends the portrait of Jesus[2] as given in the four Gospels, but in addition remarks: "Besides the four written Gospels, we possess still a fifth unwritten one, and this speaks to us in some respects more clearly and impressively than the four others; I mean the collective testimony of the primitive Christian community. From this we can understand what the lasting impression of this person was, and in what sense his disciples understood his words and testimony to himself. No historical criticism can change these facts in any way. It can only reveal them more clearly and heighten our reverence in presence of the Divine nature, which shone forth in a son of Abraham, in the midst of a narrow world, amid rubbish and ruins. The simple reader of the Bible should continue to read the Gospels, as he has been wont to read them; for, after all, even the critic cannot read them otherwise. What the former considers to be their striking and essential points, the latter must also recognize as such."[3]

The personality of Jesus is, therefore, portrayed in the "five" Gospels with sufficient sharpness of outline and, above all, with historical fidelity. We may add that it would not have been possible for the Evangelists to invent such a biographical portrait as that of Jesus. This so far surpasses the ideas and ideals of the world of that time, so exceeds the Evangelists' powers of conception, and is so far beyond the imagination of every created being, that it could not have been invented, but could only be copied and repeated from the

[1] *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 7 (Halle 1908).
[2] *Das Christentum und die Geschichte*, 15 f. [3] *ibid*, 16 f.

original concrete reality. Rousseau is perfectly right when he remarks in *Emile*: "The inventor of it would be more astonishing than the hero."

This, rightly understood, would still remain true, even if we should try, after the manner of modern critics, to eliminate the divine as much as possible from the portrait of Jesus, and to reduce his individuality to the lowest standard of humanity. It would always have to be conceded that the disciples never could have invented the manifestation of Jesus in his sublime humanity. Rudolf Eucken, a thoroughly modern representative of religious philosophy, but not a Christian believer, declares this unreservedly and significantly in the following words: "That which is characteristic of a truly great personality cannot be effaced by all the subjectivity discernible in the reports about it. An incomparable spiritual individuality cannot be fabricated and artificially composed. If Jesus, through all the veils of tradition, appears as such an one, we may, nay, we must, have confidence in the truth of the impression.

"Now, the discourses in the first three Gospels, with their wonderful allegories and parables, offer a thoroughly characteristic and harmonious picture of Jesus; and the more we understand these in their simple, literal sense, and discard all strange interpretations of them, the more individual, grand and unique does the personality of Jesus tower above us, and with it its vast range of thought. At the same time the perfectly clear, yet unfathomable, life, which here presents itself, allows us to look deeply into the soul of the man, and is able to bring a complete picture of that personality near to every heart—as near, in fact, as one man can possibly come to another. In the innermost traits of his character Jesus is more transparent and more intimately known to us than any hero of the world's history."[1]

If, therefore, the personality of Jesus is with certainty recognizable by friend and foe, it is also, on the other hand, conceded on all sides that this personality is to be regarded as a highly important indication as to how we are to judge Christ's testimony to himself, and what we are to think of Christianity in general.

Jesus himself made his person the central feature of the "glad tidings" which he announced. This is revealed so clearly and so much as a matter of course by all the synoptists, and above all by the Gospel of John, that it does not need again to be specially mentioned here. The Saviour tacitly but continually lays at the very foundation of all his testimony to himself, as being the Messiah and God, and, indeed, at the

[1] *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*, 151 (6th ed., Leipzig 1905). *Cf.* Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts*, i, pp. 224, 227 (Munich 1907).

foundation of all his teaching and activity, the command to test the truth of what he says and announces of himself by his personality, character and mode of life. "Learn of me. I am the way, the truth and the life. Whosoever hath seen me hath seen the Father." These and similar words are positive commands to his disciples and followers to examine and estimate his personality critically, as a justification of his exalted utterances concerning himself and his divine and Messianic nature.

Accordingly, the personality of Jesus acquired also in the preaching and belief of subsequent ages the same eminent position. However prominently the miracles and especially the resurrection of Jesus stood in the foreground of the catechetical and apologetic proofs of the divine mission and divinity of Jesus, men were just as deeply conscious that all these criteria of truth were, so to speak, placed in relief upon the golden groundwork of the exalted personality of Christ. In the life and person of Christ they saw Christianity alive and concretely delineated, and all the subsequent centuries have seen therein the exact expression of what they believed, hoped and worshipped.

Only since the second half of the eighteenth century has it become otherwise. The shallow, rationalistic philosophy of that time denied the connection between religion and history. Lessing, as is well known, pronounced his dictum: "Casual truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason." In the shortsighted view of that science, only "Reason" and "Nature" existed. Thereby not only was supernatural revelation completely eliminated, but also all purely natural history was rendered valueless. For the rationalists especially all value of the idea of personality and all sense of the personal, concrete and living was lost. Fichte excluded entirely the personality of the divine being; Schelling eliminated it completely from history; Hegel promptly strangled all individuality; and Schopenhauer degraded it to the lowest conceivable level.

Hand in hand with this, in these philosophic circles, went the disparagement of the personality of Christ; and the resultant researches into the life of Jesus by such men as Reimarus, Strauss and Bauer, tended more and more to substitute an abstract idea of Christianity, or even a pagan myth, for the living figure of Christ.[1]

The collapse of the Hegelian philosophy about the middle of the nineteenth century first put an end to these attacks. Philosophy and history at last perceived that ideas alone are insufficient and only accomplish their mission by the aid of powerful personalities; that without the force and action of a person even the best ideas are stillborn; and that what is great

[1] Consult Franz X. Kiefl, *Der geschichtliche Christus und die moderne Philosophie,* pp. 86-106 (Mainz 1911).

and mighty becomes reality only through the intervention of great and mighty personalities; in short, that personalities are the real levers of history.

This perception was advantageous also to christology. Even in the ranks of the enemy men learned to become once again enthusiastic for the ideal figure and sublime character of the Saviour. It was perceived, and it becomes every day clearer, that the torch of Christianity could not be kindled from itself, however brilliant its light may be; that the sun of Christianity necessarily presupposes the sunlike person of Christ; and that the incalculable results which have been achieved by Christianity in wellnigh 2,000 years remain inexplicable without the unexampled impression which the personality of Jesus made on the first disciples, and still makes upon everyone who approaches it with a sincere mind and heart.

On the whole, among the enemies of positive Christianity there are left to-day only a small number of investigators of religion and Christ who do not see this, however much noise the minority may make. These "advanced progressives," as they love to call themselves, are, moreover, every one of them really degenerates and backsliders. Such men as Eduard von Hartmann, Jensen, Drews and their blind adherents, who depreciate the personality of Jesus, and even wish again to explain it as a myth, merely wear the worn-out and cast-off garments of Fichte, Schelling, Reimarus and Strauss. Drews, in the third edition of his "Christ-Myth," actually confesses that on the whole his science revives only the historical material about religion which Volney and Dupuis knew and issued unsuccessfully already in the eighteenth century. The sign-manual of the really modern school of research is: "The fundamental acknowledgement of the importance of the personality of Jesus."

"As a result of the latest severely critical investigations," says Houston Stewart Chamberlain, "the manifestation of the one divine man has been brought into the foreground, so that unbelievers, as well as believers, can no longer help recognizing it as the central point and origin of Christianity (this word being taken in the most comprehensive sense conceivable)."[1] According to Johannes Ninck, "the world-historic significance of Jesus lies ultimately in his vital, illuminating personality."[2] According to Wobbermin, "the most patent and specific peculiarity of the Christian religion," in contrast to all other religious confessions, "is undoubtedly the importance which is given in it to a definite historical personality—the person of Jesus Christ. For in the Christian religion an importance is ascribed to the person of Christ

[1] *Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts*, i, p. 228.
[2] *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 6 (2nd ed., Leipzig 1910).

which is itself significant, yes, decisive for the formation of the religious relation," which exists between them.[1]

Arnold Meyer also remarks: "It corresponds to the whole spirit of the Christianity established by Jesus, if we take as a starting-point for our estimate of him . . . his moral and religious personality."[2]

Weidel declares positively that the inquiry into the personality and character of Jesus is "from its nature and importance destined to form the central point of scientific interest."[3]

The appeal to the personality of Jesus as the principal criterion of his religion, nature and consciousness is, therefore, as well recognized by modern critical theology and research as by orthodox Christianity itself. Hence it strikes us as all the more surprising that this same theology and criticism put forth all their strength and skill to belittle as much as possible the recorded character of Jesus! All the dithyrambic praises of Christ, which we meet with occasionally in their scientific, romantic and purely poetical representations, characterized by a liberal and radical colouring, cannot deceive us in regard to this tendency. The portrait of Jesus in the literature pertaining to the subject has become, since the time of Strauss and Renan, more and more degraded, and has been drawn into the service of all the subjective views which every sort of modern intellect or unbridled imagination has evolved about Christ and Christianity.

We do not wish to be unjust. One who is able to know, and who numbers himself among modern theologians, Albrecht Schweitzer,[4] expresses himself on this point with amazing frankness: "Kai Jans' Manuscript [that is, the portrait of Jesus in Frenssen's novel *Hilligenlei*] is the limit of what has been done in depreciating the personality of Jesus. Weisse left him still something great and inexplicable, and did not dare to apply to everything about him the little standards of curious modern psychology. In the sixties psychology had already become more self-confident and Jesus more diminutive. At the end of the century it had become supremely self-confident and Jesus entirely insignificant . . . so insignificant, indeed, that Frenssen dares to let his life be outlined and described by one who has just lived through a romance! . . . There will come a time when our theology, so proud of its devotion to history, will lose its rationalistic prejudices, which are due to the fact that our age transfers back into history what is going on now in connection with it (the ardent conflict of the modern religious spirit with the

[1] *Das Wesen des Christentums* in *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion*, p. 351 (Munich 1905).
[2] *Wer hat das Christentum begründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* p. 51 (1907).
[3] *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, p. 5.
[4] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 398 (Tübingen 1906).

spirit of Jesus), and seeks the right and the power to fashion the historic Jesus after its own likeness; so that it is not the modern spirit, conceived and dominated by the spirit of Jesus, but the modernized, historical Jesus of Nazareth, that influences our generation. Thereby both become insignificant and weak—Jesus because he is measured by the small standard of the incongruous modern man, and finally by that of the modern shipwrecked theological candidate (Kai Jans in Frenssen's novel about Jesus), and the modern theologians because, instead of seeking for themselves and others a way to bring the spirit of Jesus into our world as a living force, they design always new and incorrect portraits of the historic Jesus, and think they have achieved something if they win from the masses such an 'Ah!' as escapes from the crowd of a great city standing a moment before a new advertising photograph.

"Whoever, as an admirer of the right and power of true rationalism, has lost the 'impartiality' of modern theology, which is fundamentally only an offshoot of rationalism devoted to history, is glad of the weakness and insignificance of their pretended historic Jesus, is pleased to hear of those who are thrown into confusion by this portrait . . . and rejoices to co-operate in its destruction."[1]

In these words not only is the fact of the modern belittling of Jesus fully established, but also the reason is confessed why, from Christian Hermann Weisse down to the most recent scion of the romantic literature about Jesus, scepticism has exhausted itself in representing the personality of Christ in miniature.[2] Liberal criticism makes out of Christ merely a personification of *modern cultural ideas* and of a modernized naturalistic Christianity.

For this purpose the personality of Jesus had to be deprived of everything supernatural and divine, and in every way "forced into human standards and human psychology."[3]

The whole mode of life, character, supernatural individuality and spiritual and moral perfection of Jesus have been arranged as if they had been developed from purely human beginnings and human talents, and had never surpassed merely human greatness. Whatever in any part of the Gospel and the life of Jesus ran counter to such a conception of him has been pronounced to be not genuine, or credulous over-colouring, and accordingly rejected. With the greatest care, also, the divine rays of light which fell upon the Saviour from his miracles and his resurrection have been eliminated and bluntly repudiated in the name of "unprejudiced" criticism. The

[1] *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309.

[2] To-day Schweitzer would cite in this category, instead of Frenssen's book, Gerhart Hauptmann's novel, *Der Narr in Christo, Emanuel Quint* (Berlin 1911).

[3] Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

teachings of Jesus, and with them the internal proofs of his divinity, have also been interpreted in a new fashion, in accordance with modern ideas, and what then remained—that is to say, the supernatural and the non-modern in his teaching—has been ascribed to mythical influences.

So, at last, all the divine greatness and sublimity in the personality of Jesus was destroyed, and there was left only a model modern man, of whom Kai Jans, the hero of Frenssen's novel, exclaims delightedly: "It is a wonderfully deep, pure and brave human life. It is affecting from beginning to end—in its faith, in its goodness, in its proud wish to be victorious, and in its inability to be so, in its mistakes and in its tragic failure. I think, however, that he is in no respect superior to the human standard. . . . He was a man. However wonderfully good and wise, clear-sighted and courageous he was, in not one of his thoughts did he surpass human capacity."[1]

But even though modern criticism has thus finally completed the humanization of Jesus, it cannot stand still there any longer. Rather is it compelled to proceed farther to the dehumanization of the Saviour. The model man, Jesus of Nazareth, of whom the critics speak and write so unctuously, claimed, indeed, to be more than a man. He knew, and acknowledged himself to be, the Messiah and the Son of God. However much liberal and radical criticism strives to diminish the force of these indications, it cannot deny that there lies in them a superhuman and a supernatural claim. But here the "psychology" of Jesus comes in with all its force and declares that a man who professes to be more than a man cannot be considered an ideal type of man, but must be regarded as abnormal. Either he was, they say, aware of the extravagance of his claims, and then he belongs to the category of swindlers and criminals who are dangerous to society; or he seriously and from conviction claimed to be the Messiah and the Son of God, in which case he is certainly mentally unsound, if not absolutely insane.

Heinrich Weinel,[2] in the name of the liberal school, tries to dodge the dilemma thus produced by the radical and orthodox sides, but only proves that an evasion may be conceivable, but not a really honourable, scientific escape.

If, in the first place, we reflect that liberal criticism disparages the testimony of Jesus to the fact that he was the Messiah and the Son of God, and if we bear in mind that Jesus not only had no superhuman "attacks" whatever, in the sense of the hostile school of criticism, but simply claimed to be the divinely sent Redeemer and true Son of God, the charge against him becomes monstrous. If he were not the

[1] *Hilligenlei*, pp. 464 ff, 585 (Berlin 1908).
[2] *Ist das "liberale" Jesusbild widerlegt?* p. 73 (Tübingen 1910).

divine Messiah that he professed to be, then the alternative must be simply either that he was the greatest deceiver and criminal against God and mankind ever known, or else the greatest of dupes and fools. A third supposition is impossible.

In any case, there remains not the smallest room for the gifted representative of pure humanity, as liberal theology portrays its "historic" Jesus. Either a divine man, or only half a man; but never under any circumstances a modern "Ideal Man." That is our watchword; and of this the more logical critics are as firmly convinced as we. Formerly they raised objections to his moral personality; to-day their chief attacks are directed against his psychical soundness. In reality, consciously or unconsciously, they assail both, in order to be able to get rid of his testimony to himself as the Messiah and the Son of God.

But the orthodox defence of Christ has no difficulty in proving the feebleness of such attempts. It produces the irrefutable proof that the personality of Jesus was psychically normal, spiritually sublime and morally perfect, and thus excludes the possibility that the Saviour deceived either himself or others by his utterances concerning his Messiahship and divinity.

CHAPTER I

THE PSYCHIC SOUNDNESS OF CHRIST

WE must confess that a blush of shame mounts to our cheeks at the thought that we are obliged to discuss seriously the problem whether Jesus was mentally sound or, perhaps, suffered from a disordered brain. Not only is the Christian believer horrified at such a supposition, which for him means something blasphemous, but the unbelieving critic also should, in the name of normal human reason and a delicate regard for history, demand that the mania for suspecting mental disorders everywhere should pause at least before that sacred and supremely august personality, which Goethe[1] himself extolled as the central point and highest ideal product of intellectual and moral civilization.

The dilemma, "Christ, either God or Madman," has, it is true, in the course of centuries been repeated numberless times by Christian apologists. Yet the second alternative of this dilemma has usually been at once regarded as impossible. Formerly it would never have occurred to anyone to doubt the mental soundness of the Saviour. To-day, however, it is otherwise. That Jesus possessed normal mental gifts is often doubted, or even obstinately denied, by our enemies.

Yet it is not, after all, astonishing in this age of psychology that men no longer recoil from such an error. For, like psychology, mental pathology also has made great advances, especially in the last few decades. The latter proves useful at once to philosophy, the science of history, the administration of justice, and medicine; and the benefits which come from it to the healthy and, above all, to the sick of our generation are numerous and gratifying.

Only it must be said that psychology and its sister-science, which is concerned with the diseases and the subconscious element of the human mind, have brought with them also much fashionable mischief. How much there is going about the world to-day under the mantle of "psychology"! Soon there will no longer be a single riddle of nature, or secret of the supernatural, that someone will not pretend to have unravelled in the name of psychology, or, if not, then in that of mental pathology and psychiatry.

Unfortunately, the above-mentioned branches of knowledge have been often drawn by preference into the service of a materialistic, monistic and rationalistic evolutionism. In

[1] *Gespräche mit Eckermann* in Goethe's *Gespräche*, viii, pp. 148 ff.

history, in jurisprudence and in the science of religion, psychology has been often forced, and is still forced, to render the most extraordinary and unseemly services to support the theory of evolution. And when psychology has once lent itself to the evolutionary explanation of regular and usual phenomena, then psychiatry is called upon to reduce to one level all unusual and extraordinary phenomena and activities, both of single individuals and of entire nations. There are some who wish to revolutionize criminal justice by the help of the psychiatric-anthropological school of Cesare Lombroso, which explains crime as a necessary result of the physiological idiosyncrasy of the man who commits it, and sees in the criminal merely a man who is abnormally developed and handicapped. History is thus to be furbished up evolutionally by applying a psychiatric diagnosis to all creative men of genius, and biography is to be replaced by pathography! Finally, the psychology of religion is made to assume an evolutionary form, since all its prominent representatives, and especially the advocates of a supernatural revelation, are put under psychiatric guardianship, and are even consigned to a posthumous clinical treatment at the hands of alienist doctors. Soon there will not be left a single giant in the broad realm of science, art or religion whom the dwarfs will not have designated as a monster.

We can understand, therefore, that even Jesus could not escape a similar fate; and so much the less was he able to do so, precisely because the liberal school of critics, as we have seen, in accordance with its whole design and tendency, eventually runs into the pathological and psychiatric groove. Liberal theologians must by logical necessity arrive at the conclusion that the man Jesus (for to this school he may be only a man) cannot have thought and said anything so unheard-of about himself except in consequence of a greatly overwrought state of mind. The "gifted prophet of Nazareth" was thus a somewhat abnormal creature, a religious enthusiast, a visionary, an ecstatic and half a fool. . . . That is the thesis which has a great vogue now in liberal circles. We call it the psychopathical criticism of Jesus.

The latest radical school is, however, dissatisfied even with this. It sees, indeed, that the theory of pathological inferiority is not sufficient to solve the problem by which sceptical psychology is confronted. Whoever wishes to explain the claims of Jesus to divinity by any kind of mental infirmity will be necessarily driven farther into its logical sequence—psychiatry. For he will, in proportion to the height of those divinely Messianic claims, be compelled to suppose in Jesus a depth of morbid qualities and a state of mind which can be characterized only by the word *insanity*.

The assertion has, therefore, recently been made that the reason why Jesus considered himself as the Messiah and the Son of God was that he was religiously insane. The psychopathical criticism of Jesus has been followed by the psychiatric or pathological.

These we must now analyze in turn.[1]

I.—Psychiatric Criticism.

The most recent literature on this subject is represented by three "outsiders,"[2] who have had the audacity to bring forward circumstantial "proof" that Jesus was, in the literal sense of the word, mentally deranged—a paranoiac. I say expressly "had the audacity" to do this, for "on the threshold of such investigations it is to be remembered that it exceeds the ability of even the most distinguished psychiatrist to pronounce an absolutely reliable, impartial judgement upon the mental condition of a person long since dead. He has not for this the very first means of determining the point—personal observation and examination. In by far the greatest number of cases a competent decision is possible only by these means. As far as the mental condition of Jesus in particular is concerned, inquiry into it is directed only to the psychical side of the question, and in the Gospels this is not present in the completeness desirable for this purpose."[3]

What, however, it has not been possible for all the combined forces of psychiatry to achieve, a Danish "theological" candidate, Emil Rasmussen,[4] has promised to be the first to accomplish. His translator announces this marvel with the sensational statement that "it is a question here of shattering the traditional portrait of Christ by historical criticism, such as has been scarcely attempted since the days of David Friedrich Strauss."[5]

In reality this youthful production of Rasmussen has nothing to do with historical criticism, and it shares with Strauss only the wish and effort to destroy the traditional portrait of Christ. How childishly or fanatically simple Ras-

[1] Apart from various magazine articles, both these groups of critics have been answered by the monographs of the Catholic Professor of Apologetics in Würzburg, Philipp Kneib, *Moderne Leben-Jesu-Forschung unter dem Einflusse der Psychiatrie* (1908); of the liberal-conservative Protestant, Hermann Werner, *Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu* (1909); and of the rationalistic psychiatrist, H. Schäfer, *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung* (1910).

[2] This is the name given by Adolf Jülicher to the representatives of consistent psychiatry and eschatology. See his *Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Ueberlieferung*, p. 9.

[3] Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 4. *Cf.* Schäfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 f.; Jordan, *Jesus und die modernen Jesusbilder*, pp. 46 f. (Leipzig 1909).

[4] *Jesus—A Comparative Psycho-Pathological Study*, translated and published by Arthur Rothenburg (Leipzig 1905).

[5] *id.*, vii.

mussen imagines the attainment of this aim to be appears from the contents of his book. More than half of it is concerned with the here very superfluous assertion that all "Men of God," or "Prophets," have been insane epileptics. On this account he speaks, in the last thirty pages only, of the mental condition of Jesus. This is diagnosed as epileptic derangement, for two reasons: first, because Christ regarded himself as a prophet, and hence *a priori* must have been of the "prophet type," exactly like the others—a man suffering from "falling sickness" or epilepsy.[1] Moreover, *a posteriori*, also, he shows real epileptic symptoms—attacks of apprehension and terror,[2] abnormal self-consciousness, the mystical feeling of being adopted by God, violence, hate, continual vacillation, distrust and an unnatural sexual life."[3] That is all, and all written in the trivial style of a newspaper story!

Almost at the same time with Rasmussen's book were published *Walks of a Materialist* and *A Freethinker's Breviary*, a pamphlet of a hundred pages, by the pseudonymous author, Dr. de Loosten.[4] From the origin,[5] social position,[6] words and deeds[7] and influence[8] of Jesus Loosten claims to have obtained the result that "Jesus was probably a hybrid, handicapped by heredity from his birth, who, as a born degenerate, already early in life attracted attention by an extravagantly and strongly marked self-consciousness. . . . This increased in slow development until it reached a condition of fixed delusions. His final ruin was brought about by the unavoidable collision of delusions with reality."[9] Loosten's book throughout does not, however, give the impression of a calm search for truth, but is rather, as H. Schäfer[10] himself says reproachfully, dictated by hatred towards Christ and Christianity. In consequence it does violence to the sources of information until these promise to adapt themselves to the psychiatric extravagances of this lay exegete.

The third book to be considered in this connection (this time, however, a carefully equipped work of two thick volumes) is marked by hate not only for everything Christian, but for every religious idea whatever. It will nevertheless probably remain the standard work of psychiatric criticism of Jesus, because its author, Dr. Binet-Sanglé,[11] a well-known psychiatric writer and professor at the *École de Psychologie*

[1] *id.*, p. 135. [2] *id.*, pp. 137 ff. [3] *id.*, pp. 143 f.
[4] *Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters* (1905). The real name of Loosten is Dr. Georg Lomer.
[5] *id.*, pp. 18-22. [6] *id.*, 22-29. [7] *id.*, 29-53.
[8] *id.*, 53-89. [9] *id.*, 90 f.
[10] *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung*, pp. 6 ff.
[11] *La folie de Jésus*, vol. i; *Son hérédité, sa constitution, sa physiologie*, vol. ii; *Ses connaissances, ses idées, son délire, ses hallucinations* (1910).

at Paris, exhaustively presents all the material pertaining to the subject, together with much that is extraneous, and strives to give to his two volumes a specious appearance of erudition. This is carried to the point of rendering all the Hebrew, Greek and Latin names in the original language, as a proof of scientific exactitude.[1] Thus, Jesus is written "Jeshou," Mary "Miryam," Cleopas "Khalipai," Matthew "Matthittiah," Saul "Shaoül," Isaias "Jeshayhou," Jeremias "Yiremeyahou," Jerusalem "Jerousshalaim." A pose of vanity! Only in the names and material pertaining to clinical demonstration, which fill the volumes of Dr. Binet-Sanglé, is the conscientious scientist seen. The personality of Jesus, however, and the Gospels, which are really the only things of importance, are treated with unexampled levity and interpreted with a more than blind credulity in support of the psychiatric theory. Binet-Sanglé himself will soon be made to confirm the justice of this very severe accusation.

He is, however, only half responsible for his monstrous views. The other half of the responsibility should rest upon the psychological and psychiatric school, out of which he has emerged, and to which he belongs. More than half a century ago the founder of this school, the alienist J. Moreau, in his work *Pathological Psychology in Its Relation to the Philosophy of History* (Paris 1859), promulgated the principle: "The states of mind by which one man differs from other men, through the originality of his thoughts and conceptions, the superabundance and energy of his emotions and the extraordinary character of his mental powers, have their origin in the same organic conditions as have the different mental disturbances whose complete expression is insanity and idiocy."

Intellectual greatness and genius are signs of insanity; that is the substance of this leading principle. The French *École de Psychologie* has, however, carried this farther, and drawn therefrom the logical consequences. Thus Lélut has "proved" by this principle the mental derangement of Socrates, and Jules Soury has applied it to the case of Jesus Christ. In the latter's essay entitled *Jésus et la Religion d'Israel* (Paris 1898) the founder of the Christian religion is represented as "a lunatic and one who suffers from hallucinations." The extravagant Messianic ideas of his time appeared most strongly, it is claimed, in the family of Joseph of Nazareth. Infected with this, Jesus, partly through an asceticism injurious to his health, and partly by reason of his surprising successes, became always more and more diverted from a normal state of mind until he finally was completely deranged. We shall see that these views of Soury appear again in the writings of his countryman and colleague,

[1] *id.*, i, *Préface.*

Binet-Sanglé, and have been developed by him into a far-reaching psychiatric criticism of Jesus.

If we summarize the "proofs" which he and his less important predecessors and sympathizers bring forward for the alleged insanity of Jesus, we obtain the following: The judgement of Jesus by his contemporaries; his origin; his social position; his bodily constitution; his physical ailments; his views of life; his words and deeds; and his world of ideas.

What shall we say of these? What conclusions do the psychiatric critics draw from them, and what can be concluded from them scientifically and really for or against the psychiatric theory?

1. *Pathological Judgement of Christ by his Contemporaries.*

Psychiatric criticism derives the justification for its existence from the fact that Jesus was already considered to be deranged by some of his contemporaries. According to Rasmussen, "we can clearly read in the words of the Gospels that this psychiatric notion of Jesus is no invention. We hear continually how people think of Jesus that he has an unclean spirit and is possessed. But people possessed of the devil are sick people who need to be healed. Even as late as in the Gospel of John we hear, as it were, the voice of the people in the words "He hath a devil, and is mad" (John x, 20). Here one could raise the objection that such words are to be attributed to hostility. But just the same words are said to have been uttered by his family, his mother and his brethren (Mark iii, 21) when they wanted to go out and restrain him: "He is become mad."[1]

The psychiatric judgement passed upon Jesus by the Jews, and even by his nearest relatives, is, therefore, ostensibly beyond all doubt. Only ostensibly, however, for in reality things were quite different.

First of all, the assertion that Jesus was reported by his relatives, and especially by his mother, to be mentally deranged, is based upon a wrongly interpreted and incorrectly rendered episode from Mark iii, 20-35. The affair was as follows: Jesus had, a short time before, begun his Messianic preaching and activity. The tidings of his unheard-of claim to the Messiahship, and of the miracles on which he founded this claim, spread like wildfire. The whole neighbourhood streamed into Capharnaum, where he frequented the house of Peter. A deputation of scribes had come all the way from Jerusalem to see whether Jesus really united in himself the

[1] Rasmussen, 151. *Cf.* Loosten, 61; Julius Baumann, *Die Gemütsart Jesu*, 5 (1908); Binet-Sanglé, i, 83 ff.

characteristics of the expected Messiah. But what a disappointment! Jesus disclaims most emphatically the worldly Messiahship and all the Messianic hopes of official Judaism. Instead of shattering the Roman yoke, as a mighty national hero, and establishing a Messianic secular supremacy, he appears in poverty and humility, vehemently denounces the vain and erroneous fantasies and ideas of the Pharisees and rabbis about the Messiah, and proclaims a purely spiritual kingdom of God and work of redemption.

In the eyes of the people and of the Pharisees this was the rankest nonsense. Even those who were partisans of Jesus—"his own," "his associates"[1]—shared a similar opinion. The claim to the Messiahship suddenly raised by Jesus, and especially the way in which he understood his Messiahship, appeared to them simply incomprehensible. They could explain to themselves this sudden change psychologically only by supposing that an equally sudden catastrophe had occurred in the mentality of Jesus. "They went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is become mad" (Mark iii, 21). The scribes who were present went, however, still further, for they, as semi-official spies, declared: "He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of devils he casteth out devils" (Mark iii, 22).

Thus through charges and counter-charges the bitter feeling against Jesus soon rose to such a pitch that everything was to be feared for him (Mark iii, 23-30). His mother and his relatives, who meantime had come up from Nazareth, tried, therefore, on this account to get him away from the crowd and to rescue him from the threatening danger: "And his mother and his brethren came, and, standing without, sent unto him, calling him" (Mark iii, 31).

That is all! No suggestion that Mary regarded her Son as mentally deranged. It is not once proved that either near or distant relatives judged that he was for a moment beside himself. And even the others who surrounded Jesus, and who by reason of the Master's Messianic preaching and activity had thought of some sudden loss of his mental balance, show by this very fact that they had always previously known Jesus only as a mentally normal and healthy man.

It is true, however, that wide circles of the people, and, for the time being, even partisans of Jesus, saw in him a man ensnared and possessed by the devil; and the pharisaical leaders of the nation gave themselves no end of trouble to promote by all means this opinion of the hated Nazarene. It is evident, not only from the passage just quoted from St Mark's Gospel, but from all the Gospels, that the official and often also the popular judgement expressed itself in the

[1] The expression in Mark iii, 21 οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ signifies in the broadest sense those who stood in some sort of intimate relation to him, without being necessarily his relatives.

words " He is a Samaritan and hath a devil. . . . He hath a devil and is mad " (John viii, 48 and x, 20).

In this the chief emphasis, however, was always laid on the first part of the utterance—that is, on demoniacal possession. Mental disturbance is either not mentioned at all or only as a casual consequence or effect of the possession. In most cases the objection to the Saviour is merely that he hath a devil and works his miracles by the aid of this devil. Jesus himself does not once find it necessary to defend himself against the charge of being mentally deranged, but contradicts only the additional allegation that he is possessed; and this is the case even when he is accused of being both possessed and out of his mind (Mark iii, 21). Not actual insanity, but demoniacal possession, was the charge brought against the Saviour. It was the " possession " that brought with it the idea that Jesus was inspired and directed by the devil; in other words, that he was irrational and not master of himself.

It is easily comprehensible, as we have already pointed out, how the Jews came to this opinion. It was plain to everyone that Jesus made superhuman claims, displayed a superhuman consciousness, and performed superhuman works. The mind of the people, and especially pharisaical casuistry, wanted to have an explanation of this mystery. How had Jesus come to this? How was this to be interpreted? The extraordinary element in his person, doctrines and deeds must originate either in God or the devil.

The latter supposition seemed in advance plausible. Wherever anything abnormal, morbid or extraordinary revealed itself, the tendency at that time was immediately to infer demoniacal possession. It had been so with the forerunner of Jesus. The Saviour himself declares: " John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and you say, He hath a devil " (Matt. xi, 18; Luke vii, 33). So much the more, therefore, must Jesus have had a devil, this carpenter's son from Nazareth, who presumptuously regarded himself as the Messiah, the Founder, Finisher and Lord of the kingdom of God, and at the same time destroyed the whole conception of the Messiah and the kingdom of God held by the Synagogue, and attacked with superhuman energy of word and doctrine the Jewish theology of the time and the political hopes of the nation! To every thorough-going Jew it was, of course, evident that Jesus was influenced, possessed and directed by the devil, and in consequence was beside himself. Even the amazing acts of healing which he performed, and especially his casting out of devils, must, therefore, have been attributed to the same demoniacal influence: " He casts out devils by Beelzebub, the prince of devils."

Thus did the enemies of Jesus judge him, and so must have

judged him even those partisans of his who were still under the spell of narrow-minded rabbinism and the prevalent nationalistic and political ideas concerning the Messiah, and did not wish to be taught anything better. But there is nothing said which indicates that these people, whether friends or foes, looked upon Jesus as being deranged, in the sense of modern psychiatry. To the testimony of the contemporaries of Jesus, and especially to that of his relatives, the psychiatric criticism of the Saviour cannot appeal.

And even if it could, what would the psychiatric theory gain thereby? Nothing; absolutely nothing. Just as little as it follows from the charge of demoniacal possession that Jesus was really possessed, just so little would it follow from the charge of mental derangement that he was actually deranged. The justification for this subjective estimate of Jesus must first be proved, and so much the more as rabbinical Judaism had no idea whatsoever of mental disease and psychiatric diagnosis.

On the contrary, every unusual mental phenomenon was attributed by it to demoniacal influence, and was explained in that way. In such circumstances the alleged psychiatric opinion of Jesus formed by his contemporaries remains wholly unsupported, until its objective accuracy is proven from the history of the Saviour and from his personality and activity. How little that is the case will now be demonstrated.

2. *His Pathological Inheritance and Environment.*

When psychiatric criticism sets about producing positive proof of the paranoia of Jesus, it calls attention first of all to the inherited burden of the "Man of Nazareth." Aware of the fact that, out of one hundred deranged persons, from thirty to forty are descended from mentally defective parents and families, Loosten and Binet-Sanglé in particular exhaust themselves in efforts to produce something of the kind in respect to the Saviour. Let us see how this is done.

The fact that Jesus belongs by his origin to the Jewish nation is thought already to make it probable. "The age in which Jesus was born was one of most turbulent ferment among the Jewish people. The dream of national liberation under a hero, a Messiah out of David's royal race, dominated all souls."[1] That was favourable "for the remarkable suggestive power of certain popular ideas; and, indeed, since every species of fanaticism has in it an element of insanity, it was favourable also for a wellnigh paranoiac tendency of thought in the Israel of that time."[2] "This is true to a still larger extent of the enthusiasm which then prevailed in the widest circles of the people. . . . What psychiatrist is not

[1] Loosten, p. 23. [2] *id.*, p. 24.

involuntarily reminded by this range of ideas (of the sinfulness of Israel and its need of redemption) of the typical clinical phenomenon of melancholia? A portion of Israel was actually ill. The shock to the nerves, occasioned by foreign conquest, had been too powerful not to leave its effects for decades in the immense self-consciousness of the Jews."[1] Therefore the idiosyncrasy of the Jewish race, and the fact of his belonging to this race, make a mental derangement of Jesus probable.

Moreover, the relatives of Jesus must have belonged to that insane portion of the Jewish nation! The history of John the Baptist, who was related to the mother of Jesus,[2] shows this sufficiently. "Probably through suggestion from his father, John fell into mystical insanity, and actually considered himself as the forerunner of the Messiah."[3] The consciousness of guilt characteristic of that age, and based upon religious insanity, had in him also, as in so many others, a crystallization-point. . . . In fact, his exhortations can be summed up in the brief words "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."[4] "That is such an evidently mad view of life and of the world, that many, already then, regarded him as insane. . . . His unsociable life, his peculiar habits, which expressed themselves in his dress and diet, as well as, so to speak, his cultural savagery, impress this thought even now upon the critical observer."[5] "This son of elderly and devout people, this descendant of a hysterical visionary" (Zachary), "was marked in advance for mental disorders."[6]

If we are to believe these critics, the parents of Jesus also bore in themselves the same marks of religious aberration. "Both Joseph and Mary were in reality pious to such a degree that they even made yearly pilgrimages to Jerusalem. But piety is a sign of degeneration! It is met with only in excitable, sentimental and hypersensitive persons, who are incapable of observing, comparing, judging and thinking independently. Piety is a characteristic of peoples which are still in their childhood, or which have relapsed into their second childhood; while among mentally sound peoples only the dregs of their civilization are smitten with it."[7] What the origin of this religious mania in Mary was does not appear. In Joseph it was derived certainly from chronic alcoholism, because the father of Jesus came from a wine-producing, wine-cultivating and wine-drinking region! Jesus himself, considering his constitution, originated undoubtedly from a father affected by alcoholism.[8]

"In such cases as the foregoing, pious parents" (that is, religiously insane persons) "influence their posterity in two

[1] *id.*, 25. [2] Luke i, 36. [3] Binet-Sanglé, ii, 239.
[4] Loosten, p. 27. [5] *id.*, 28. [6] Binet-Sanglé, ii, 239.
[7] Binet-Sanglé, i, 156. [8] *id.*, p. 161.

ways—one through the communication of their own brain organization, and the other by subjecting their children from their earliest years to continual religious suggestion."[1] This also has been the case with Jesus.

Moreover, to the paranoiac influence of the parents was added that of the "brothers and sisters" of Jesus, and that of more distant relatives. So far as we can see, Binet-Sanglé informs us, the family and kindred of Jesus in general were inclined to piety, and therefore to religious insanity. "It [the family] was divided into two parties—one the anti-Messianic clan, which regarded Jesus as a fool; the other the Messianic clan, which proclaimed him to be the Son of God. Doubtless even the former, in spite of its scepticism, was not normal . . . but the second, the Messianic clan, consisted quite certainly of a group of demented persons. It appears to have included only Jesus and James, the former of whom succeeded in subjecting the latter to his power of suggestion."[2] The proof of this lies in the fact that James, in his religious mania, believed that his "brother" was the Messiah and the Son of God, and even allowed himself to be put to death for this belief.[3] Jesus and James together form a psycho-pathological pair. With them it is a double case of religious insanity, whereby one of them confirms the other in his hallucinations.[4]

Besides James, Jesus was particularly influenced by his relative and forerunner, John. "The latter set in motion the secret mechanism of the insanity of Jesus, and called forth its first manifestations. Up to John's time Jesus had concealed his irrational ideas. But the example of that bold ascetic impelled him to reveal them and to transform them into actual life."[5] "It may even be said that John and Jesus formed, for some time, a pair of genuine psycho-pathological subjects, like Jesus and his brother James. John, who regarded himself as the forerunner of the Messiah, saw in Jesus this imaginary being. Jesus, who regarded himself as the Messiah, saw in John the forerunner announced by Malachias."[6] John, who suffered from religious mania, "became the intellectual father of Jesus."[7]

We have thus cited the "clinical observations," which are supposed to justify the audacious assertion that Jesus was from his origin pathologically degenerate. The psychiatric critics proclaim triumphantly that he was born with such a crushing inherited burden, and lived in such a demented entourage, that the form of insanity known as religious paranoia was of necessity his lot!

In reality, however, the whole theory of his degeneracy stands, on its historical as well as on its psychological side, under the spell of an absolutely shameless caprice and a

[1] *id.*, p. 165. [2] *id.*, p. 169. [3] *id.*, 106-123. [4] *id.*, 123.
[5] *id.*, ii, p. 237. [6] *id.*, ii, 253. [7] *id.*, ii, 255.

fanatical hatred of religion. It attains its object only by first misrepresenting the relation of his kinsfolk to Jesus to suit itself, and then by judging these just as prejudicially in favour of the theory of pathology.

Its historical representation of the relations of Jesus to his family is, from first to last, wrong. Jesus is made to appear as the son of Mary and Joseph, in the sense of having been the physical offspring of this pious pair. The Gospel, on the contrary, teaches the supernatural conception of Jesus and his virgin birth from Mary. Joseph, therefore, really represented merely the legal position of father to Jesus,[1] and all blood relationship between him and his adopted child is excluded. In the Gospels, as Binet-Sanglé himself asserts,[2] nothing is told us of the physical constitution of Joseph, but it said there merely that he was a carpenter of Nazareth, and had regularly taken part in the prescribed pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, a few lines farther on, this same psychiatrist expatiates on the chronic alcoholism of the foster-father of Jesus, and "proves" his absurd declaration by the frivolous remark that there must have been many drinkers in the wine-growing country of Nazareth, as well as by an impudent begging of the question in saying that Jesus was certainly affected by alcoholism, and therefore was the descendant of an inebriate. Now, according to the Gospels, Jesus had no natural brothers and sisters. When allusion is made to the "brethren" of Jesus, this expression, according to universally known Hebraic usage, has the same meaning as "cousins."[3] Our psychiatrists, however, ignore this true state of the facts, and are enraged because even Renan has of necessity acknowledged it.[4] With their Greek lexicon in hand they maintain that, in Hebrew, "brethren" can mean only natural brothers, and that Jesus, accordingly, had at least four natural brothers and certainly no fewer than two sisters,[5] although it is plain from the New Testament record that it was merely a case of more distant relatives of the Saviour. James the Less is especially cited by Binet-Sanglé and Loosten as the favourite brother of Jesus, although the Gospels distinctly say that he was a son of Alpheus (Cleopas) and Mary, a relative of the mother of Jesus.[6]

[1] Matt. i, 18-25; Luke i, 26-34. [2] *id.*, i, 80.

[3] See proof in Theod. Zahn's *Brüder und Vettern Jesu* in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vi, Part II (Leipzig 1900). Cornely, *Introductio in libros sacros*, iii, pp. 593 ff. (2nd ed.). Vigouroux, *Les livres saints et la critique rationaliste*, v, 397-420 (4th ed.). H. Lesêtre, *Les Frères de Jésus, Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ii, 2403-2405. Pölzl, *Brüder Jesu* in *Kirchenlexicon*, ii, pp. 1342-1347 (2nd ed.). P. A. Durand, *L'Enfance de Jésus Christ d'après les Évangiles canoniques* (Paris 1908). Durand points out, on p. 65, the rest of the special literature on this subject.

[4] Binet-Sanglé, i, 99. [5] *id.*, pp. 98-102 and 134.

[6] Matt. x, 3; Mark iii, 18; Luke vi, 15; Acts i, 13; especially John xix, 25 compared with Matt. xxvii, 56 and Mark xv, 40.

According to Loosten, also, the blood relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist was so close that "the possibility of an hereditary influence on the mental constitution of Jesus from this relationship is incontestable."[1] The Gospel, however, knows nothing of this. It describes Elizabeth, the mother of John, as merely a kinswoman of the mother of Jesus (Luke i, 36), without stating the degree of the relationship, or even saying whether it was a case of blood relationship at all, or simply one of marriage. It is alleged also by these critics that, later, John and Jesus roamed through the country as a "couple of religious fools," mutually suggesting to each other their mystical ideas, so that John actually became the spiritual father of Jesus. And yet Jesus had already, when twelve years old, expressed his full consciousness of being the Messiah and the Son of God, while John was not yet acquainted with him at the age of thirty (John i, 31), met him then only transiently, and confined himself to giving him baptism at his repeated request.

The relations of Jesus to his kinsfolk and society are, therefore, wholly distorted by psychiatric criticism, for the purpose of supporting the hypothesis of the inherited infirmity and the pathological entourage of the Saviour. This hypothesis breaks down, however, if we put the relations of Jesus to his kinsfolk historically in the right light. Even under the supposition that the relatives of Jesus were mental degenerates, nothing follows from this to prove an inherited infirmity in the Saviour. Nothing could come from Joseph, because he was not the father of Jesus; and nothing from James and the other "brethren of the Lord," because they were only more distant collateral relatives; and, finally, nothing from John the Baptist, because the family ties, as well as the events in the lives of both, were not so closely linked that any conclusion can be drawn from them as to the mental constitution of the Lord.

But have we any reason to suppose that the above-named persons and groups, with whom Jesus was connected socially or by kinship, were, pathologically, abnormally constituted and afflicted? None at all. The pathological judgement concerning the kinsfolk of Jesus is based upon nothing but a fanatical hatred of religion. Anti-religious psychiatry allows itself to be led away by the prejudiced view that whoever is religious is a mental degenerate, and whoever is at all distinguished for piety is a victim of complete religious insanity. In accordance with this principle only do our psychiatrists make a diagnosis of the relatives and acquaintances of Jesus. It is plain, however, that according to this principle of investigation, all of them become fools. The Jewish race, to which Jesus belonged, is pronounced insane, in so far as it was religious, and hoped for religious redemption. The parents

[1] Loosten, p. 21.

of Jesus must also have been mad, because they were pious, and also because their son Jesus exhibited an inherited sentiment of piety. The "brothers and sisters" of Jesus, especially James the Less, must also submit to the charge of being crazy, because (or in so far as) they believed in the Messiahship and divine Sonship of the Saviour. John the Baptist, too, must have sprung from irrational parents, and must himself have been insane, because he shared to a great extent the religious sentiments of his people, expected and preached Messianic salvation, and pointed to the Messiah as actually present.

Never and nowhere, with the exception of a few trifles, is any other argument brought forward for the pathological diagnosis which is made of the family and associates of Jesus.

Yet in the case of John the Baptist there is, at the first glance, an exception. Here, at least, psychiatric criticism clings to the straw of that report in the Gospel, to the effect that some of his contemporaries had already considered the Forerunner to be possessed and mentally deranged (Luke vii, 33; Matt. xi, 18).

In reply, it is to be remarked, first, that John, according to the almost unanimous judgement of his contemporaries, was not at all a weak-brained individual, but a man of powerful intellect. He was wellnigh universally held to be a prophet, and some were even ready to recognize him as the Messiah (Matt. iii, 14; xi, i *ff.*; Mark i, 4; Luke iii, 2; John i, 15). Even the Epicurean Herod had unbounded respect for him, considered him as just and holy, and took counsel with him (Mark vi, 20), until John reproved him for his incestuous relation with Herodias (Mark vi, 17 *ff.*). Flavius Josephus also testifies that the Baptist was an excellent man who incited the Jews to virtue, and urged them, in a spirit of justice towards one another and piety towards God, to submit to a baptism, which was not to serve as an atonement for sins, but as an outward sign of the previous cleansing of the soul, and as a symbol of union with God.[1]

Then Jesus himself informs us on what ridiculous grounds some of the Jews conceived erroneous ideas about John: "For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine, and they say: He hath a devil" (Matt. xi, 18; Luke vii, 33). Schäfer agrees with Renan in regard to this, and remarks that at that time, as very often now, in those localities, people who are distinguished for any kind of peculiarity are decried as being possessed of a devil, and crazy. Among us to-day it is still the same.[2]

[1] Josephus, *Antiquitates*, xviii, 5, 2.

[2] H. Schäfer, *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung*, p. 30 (1910). R. Sommer, *Diagnostik der Geisteskrankheiten*, p. 391, writes: "Experience shows that many people have been regarded by their associates as half, or wholly, paranoiac whom the judgement of history recognizes as the pioneers of new thoughts."

Do the psychiatric critics of Jesus agree with such a psychological estimate as this? If they do, they acknowledge the worthlessness of their own science. If not, they concede the fact that the pathological diagnosis cannot base itself at all upon the testimony of some contemporaries of John, which it invokes.

Everything else, however, that the psychiatrists bring forward as proof of the insanity of the Baptist demonstrates, as the freethinking alienist, Schäfer, says,[1] rather that "John was an important man, than that he was deranged." John's activity and mode of preaching "argue against the theory of insanity. . . . Such insight and such self-depreciation of his own importance are, in a deranged person, so unusual and unknown, that one can say that they exclude the possibility of insanity."[2]

Thus vanishes also the last remnant of the pretended evidence for the hereditary affliction and the pathological entourage of Jesus. Let us now examine the assertion that Jesus was himself mentally diseased.

3. *His Pathological Constitution.*

Having reached this point, it is really a case of *difficile satyram non scribere.* Indeed, the biting satire lies in our enemies' own assertions, not in their refutation. For the most part, there is no need whatever of refutation in order to expose their absurdity.

The bodily organization of Jesus, it is claimed, shows numerous signs of mental derangement. Even his outward appearance, his figure and his gracious demeanour are to be interpreted from the psychiatric point of view.

Jesus, they conclude, must have been of exceptional attractiveness and beauty. "It is difficult to suppose," Binet-Sanglé informs us, "that an ugly man could have aroused such enthusiasm, especially in women. . . . A certain fascination must have emanated from his person."[3] Otherwise it is quite inexplicable why Peter, Andrew, James and John followed him on the strength of a single invitation; why great crowds of the people accompanied him; and why Mary Magdalen remained faithful to him, even to the cross.[4] The Gospel indeed expressly states that Jesus "increased in wisdom and age and in grace with God and man"; but this tends to the conclusion that he was insane, for "there are demented people who are distinguished for their beauty; consequently, we are justified in supposing that Jesus belonged to that number."[5]

Manly beauty and lovableness are, moreover, never united

[1] *id.*, 31. [2] *loc. cit.*
[3] Binet-Sanglé, i, p. 180. [4] *ibid.* [5] *ibid.*

with strongly developed bones and muscles.[1] If Jesus, therefore, was lovable, "he was not very strong."[2] But this proves, again, that he belonged to the class of mental degenerates. "The mental degenerate is mostly also a physical degenerate. His constitution is mediocre or bad. He appears younger than his age. He has a childish, effeminate or youthful appearance. A child, a youth, or a woman in intellect, he is equally so in respect to his body. Accordingly, the sweetness and grace of Jesus were not only those of the Syrian Jews in general in the region of Nazareth, but, as it appears, are also those of the pigmies of humanity."[3] That is, of the fools!

His bodily size and weight strengthen this impression, in the opinion of Binet-Sanglé. "It is certain," he says, "that the stature of Jesus did not exceed the normal measurement."[4] This is proven plainly by the Zaccheus episode. "If Jesus had towered above the crowd by a head's length, Zaccheus, although small of stature, would have been able to see him easily without having to climb a sycamore tree. Probably Jesus was even surpassed in height by the crowd. . . . For on his entry into Jerusalem, he rode upon an ass, which would have been quite impossible if he had had long legs and a considerable bodily weight. He cannot have been remarkably distinguished from his companions, because, when he was taken prisoner, Judas had to give him a kiss in order to make him known to the guards of the temple. Truly it may seem childish, ridiculous and unbecoming to go into such details, but these small characteristics, when grouped together, . . . exactly fit a type which is not unknown to alienists—the classical type of the mentally degenerate, the mystical fool."[5]

This, then, is what the pathological investigation of the outward appearance of Jesus amounts to. Apart from all the other follies and absurdities of this process of "proof," it is clearly equivalent to the assertion that, because Jesus was full of manly beauty and attractiveness, as well as of normal strength, size and figure, he must have been demented. But if he had been ugly, repulsive, built like an athlete, and in his whole outward appearance a superman, would he not then be all the more stigmatized as a fool? In any case, therefore, he cannot escape from the hands of the psychiatrists. It is only a pity that this company of critics do not add their own portraits.

Psychiatry then proceeds still further to the "clinical" declaration that the bodily constitution of Jesus was sickly, and that his unhealthy bodily appearance makes one believe still more in his neglected mental condition and complete paranoia. His digestive organs were also diseased. "He

[1] *id.*, p. 181. [2] *ibid.* [3] *id.*, p. 186.
[4] *id.*, p. 187. [5] *id.*, pp. 187-188.

drank wine, which is poison for the mentally degenerate, and, when taken even in small doses, causes attacks of delirium."[1] "Jesus had in general also a good appetite . . . yet from time to time he indulged in fasting. . . . Fasting is, however, for the half-demented and the mystically insane, so much the easier and pleasanter, as they often suffer from loss of appetite. To this loss of appetite must be ascribed, it appears, the forty days' fasting of Jesus in the desert; and this lack of appetite was only an attendant symptom of the mental crisis through which he then passed in the desert, which manifested itself outwardly in hallucinations"—*i.e.*, of the temptation.[2] All this is supposed to awaken the definite impression that he was insane.[3] This impression is strengthened also by the consideration that the idea of fasting in itself, especially in the case of Jesus, is based upon religious grounds, consequently on pathological aberration, and that history and mental therapeutics are actually aware of many demented people who have distinguished themselves as great fasters.[4]

Always and ever the same sophistry. If Jesus drinks wine, to that extent he belongs to the mental degenerates. If he fasts, he proves himself to be a crazy mystic. And he must be both, because there are found fools among those who eat and drink, and also among those who are abstinent and fast. That is sufficient for our psychiatric critics to enable them to assert the existence of a disease of the digestive organs of Jesus, and reckon on its pathological influence.

The same reckless assertion is repeated by them in regard to the bloodvessels of Jesus. The "bloody sweat" (*hæmatidrosis*) of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemani furnishes the absolute assurance that he was a hallucinated mystic. It is indeed conceded, as every tyro in medicine knows, that the sweating of blood can occur in a perfectly healthy man, and in consequence of purely natural causes. "Hæmatidrosis," says Binet-Sanglé,[5] "occurs in the midst of perfect health. It is caused mostly by strong excitement, anger, violent grief and, above all, by terror." It is also conceded that in the case of Jesus the bloody sweat proceeded from these natural causes, as, for example, from his fear of death.[6]

But, in his case, the hæmatidrosis broke out during prayer, and was accompanied by the appearance of an angel. That is quite sufficient to make it certain "that the founder of the Christian religion was a neuropathic, psychopathic, mental degenerate."[7] He does not, however, stand alone in this, but finds himself in the company of many insane and mystical degenerates, like St Teresa and St Francis of Assisi, in whom religious mania also led to the sweating of blood.[8]

[1] *id.*, p. 190. [2] *id.*, pp. 189, 190, 193. [3] *id.*, p. 194.
[4] *id.*, pp. 191-196. [5] *id.*, 204. [6] *ibid.*
[7] *id.*, pp. 212-216. [8] *id.*, p. 201.

Truly this presupposes very little common sense in the reader. First, it is conceded that hæmatidrosis occurs frequently in perfectly healthy people because of anxiety, grief and terror, and that this, doubtless, was precisely the case with Jesus. Then psychiatry suddenly remembers that the scene in Gethsemani was accompanied by religious phenomena; and since, according to its bold, preconceived notions, everything religious is madness, and all the religiously inclined are fools, it at once announces oracularly that the bloody sweat of Jesus also must have had its origin in hallucination and hysteria, and proves therefore the mental derangement of the Saviour.

After daring to make this clever stroke in regard to the Saviour's digestive and vascular system, nothing prevents the critics from making the respiratory organs of Jesus amenable to pathological investigation. They make, in fact, the diagnosis that Jesus suffered from a severe affection of those organs, and this physical malady leads them to believe in his mental disorder. Hear with amazement how Binet-Sanglé achieves this.

He says that it already arouses suspicion as to the condition of his respiratory organs that Jesus sat down[1] on Jacob's well in Sichar "wearied by his journey" (John iv, 6). But conclusive for the great weakness of his lungs is the fact that Jesus was able to bear his cross only with difficulty, and finally not at all. It is true, he had been mortally wearied[2] by the events which had preceded this. The excitements, mental agony, the bloody sweat, the scourging and the crowning with thorns would alone have sufficed to exhaust the strongest man, and bring him to the verge of death. Yet "we can hardly imagine why a man of thirty-three years, if he were healthy, strong and courageous, was not able to bear his cross, or, at least, drag it along, as the two malefactors did, who were executed at the same time with him."[3] This justifies the conclusion that "Jesus was wanting either in strength, health or courage."[4]

The rapid death on the cross leads to a more exact diagnosis of his malady. Jesus died after only six hours, and from his opened side flowed blood and water. Hence the supposition is natural that he was suffering from pleurisy, and died of it.[5] In fact, it must certainly have been a tuberculous pleurisy, for the latter is extremely common and attacks men even more frequently than women. It occurs especially often in men from twenty to forty years of age, and carries them off preferably in the month of April. Thus there can be no doubt that the thirty-three-year-old Jesus, who died "on the sixth of April," was really ill of tuberculous pleurisy.[6]

[1] *id.*, 217. [2] *id.*, i, 218-220. [3] *id.*, 220.
[4] *id.*, 221. [5] *id.*, 240-246. [6] *id.*, 246-261.

Moreover, it is now still further proved that among such patients also there are very often insane, and even religiously insane, people. Jesus, therefore, was deranged because he suffered from tuberculosis, and, *vice versa,* must have suffered from tuberculosis because he was insane. His condition is to be defined as "religious and tubercular insanity."[1]

This, then, is what the Parisian professor of psychology in fully one hundred pages of his book has conjured up about the physical malady of Jesus and the pathological influence of this alleged illness. In reality, nothing is better adapted to prove the all-round healthy and normal bodily organization of the Saviour than this analysis of psychiatric criticism.

Nor is this criticism any more fortunate with its assertions regarding the immediate mental predispositions and inclinations of Jesus.

In this respect, it constructs the following psychical diagnosis of the Saviour: lack of sexual feeling; impulse to self-destruction; hatred for his family; want of any kind of family sentiment; epileptic attacks of fear and frenzy. All these signs of mental degeneracy, which occur sometimes separately, sometimes all together, in deranged persons, are discovered in Jesus by these pathological writers.

In the first instance, Dr. de Loosten,[2] Rasmussen,[3] and Binet-Sanglé[4] call the lack of sexual feeling in Jesus "*par excellence* a sign of mental degeneration."[5] "Whether Jesus had any erotic elements," writes Loosten, "is more than doubtful. On this point, there is not the slightest positive indication. We might rather suppose, on the contrary, that he was anti-sexual.[6]

But why should we suppose this? From three causes, it is said: first, for the very reason that the Gospels do not afford us the smallest conjecture that Jesus possessed any erotic element in his nature, or had any kind of sexual intercourse.[7] "The whole demeanour of Jesus towards women was not at all of that character. He was rather shy in their society, and treated them as sisters, just as they also considered him as a brother, whom they could follow and approach without fear."[8] But surely this, far from proving sexual degeneracy, is merely in favour of the lofty purity and modesty of the Saviour. That his enemies, from the standpoint of their ideas of morality and chastity, cannot grasp this, we can very well understand; but they certainly should not see in the purity and modesty of Jesus a sign of mental degeneracy and religious insanity. They themselves acknowledge, what every alienist will confirm, that, on the contrary, "in many deranged people

[1] *id.*, 246-261.
[2] *Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters*, 58-59.
[3] *Jesus*, 150.
[4] *id.*, 267.
[5] Loosten, 59.
[6] *ibid.*, 58.
[7] Binet-Sanglé, p. 267.
[8] *id.*, 269.

sexual propensities are powerful, frequent and insurmountable."[1]

As a second supposed proof of the sexual degeneracy of Jesus, it is alleged that Jesus prohibits most severely all sexual intimacy outside of wedlock, and forbids even a desire for another woman.[2] "He that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery. . . . Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Matt. v, 32 and 28). Naturally, we cannot argue with the advocates of free love. They may be offended by the utterances of the Saviour, which presuppose a moral order of the world, but only modern roués and supermen can see in that a proof of pathological derangement.

The same thing is noticeable, if one finally, in the third place, objects to the views of Jesus in regard to matrimonial intercourse and its relation to sexual abstinence.[3] Jesus places the latter state above the former, even in this life, since he praises those who voluntarily renounce marriage and its joys for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xix, 11, 12). In regard to the future life after the resurrection, he knows only of a condition without either matrimony or sex. "For in the resurrection they shall neither marry nor be married, but shall be as the angels of God in heaven" (Matt. xxii, 30; Mark xii, 25). Whoever believes in a resurrection and a requital beyond the grave finds this perfectly natural, unless the Mohammedan "paradise" suits his theology better.

Whoever, like our psychopaths, believes in no future life should leave these things which he does not understand alone; for otherwise he must represent not only Jesus, but the half of humanity which agrees with Jesus in this, as mentally degenerate.

So far as the earthly celibate state and the voluntary renunciation of matrimonial life are concerned, Hermann Werner rightly remarks: "Such moral abstinence is so little morbid, that it is possible of attainment only by the greatest self-command, such as is wanting in a sick man, whose control over his mind has been lost. It is conceivable only in cases of the highest moral and religious idealism, in which the spirit triumphs over nature, and duty over the senses."[4] On this very account, Jesus does not prescribe it for anyone, but simply says: "He that can take, let him take it" (Matt. xix, 12). But that he depreciates regulated sex-activities, or in the least calls "the erotic element merely brute instinct."[5] as Rasmussen intimates, has not a particle of proof in the whole Gospel.

Connected with the reproach concerning sexual sensibility

[1] *id.*, p. 273. [2] *id.*, 267, 285.
[3] Loosten, 58; Rasmussen, 150; Binet-Sanglé, 268.
[4] *Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu*, p. 20. [5] Rasmussen, 150.

is that of a tendency to self-destruction. While the impulse to self-preservation is natural to every healthy organism, Jesus, it is claimed, had, and propagated, the morbid idea that a man should emasculate himself, cut off his hands and pluck out his eyes—a pathological notion, which actually exists among many insane people.[1]

Pathography concludes this from the three following utterances of the Lord. In regard to self-mutilation: "There are eunuchs, who were born so from their mothers' womb; and there are eunuchs, who were made so by men; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. He that can take, let him take it" (Matt. xix, 12). In regard to the cutting off of hands: "If thy right hand scandalize thee, cut it off and cast it from thee; for it is expedient for thee that one of thy members should perish, rather than that thy whole body go into hell" (Matt. v, 30). In regard to plucking out the eyes: "If thy right eye scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; for it is expedient for thee that one of thy members should perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell" (Matt. v, 29).

Now, there certainly lies in these texts, in so far as they are taken literally and in a bodily sense, the mania for self-mutilation; but this sense is absolutely excluded if the texts are interpreted figuratively and spiritually. That such is the sense of the last two utterances of the Lord quoted above can be seen by everyone. The meaning of the passage is that whatever induces to sin, especially to sins against the sixth commandment, of which the context (Matt. v, 27-32) speaks, must be removed, even were it as dear as the right eye or as necessary as the right hand. The reference cannot be to a bodily severance of the hand or plucking out of the eye, because the sin and the cause of the offence would be in no way removed thereby, or even made in the least impossible.

But in the first mentioned text also actual self-mutilation in a physical sense is to be understood just as little. Together with eunuchs from birth and eunuchs who have been made so by human violence, Jesus speaks of such as have mutilated themselves for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. What should bodily impotence have to do with the kingdom of heaven? Of what use could that be to the emasculated man himself, or to his fellow-man to prepare him for heaven? Evidently none at all. On the contrary, the voluntary renunciation of marriage, as Jesus himself and Paul and John and millions of others, following their example, have practised it, is of the very greatest importance for unimpeded labour in the vineyard of the Lord, and for the extension of God's kingdom (1 Cor. vii, 39). Paul says of this, in close connection with

[1] Loosten, 59, and especially Binet-Sanglé, i, 284-287.

the words of his Master and with especial reference to them: "But I would have you to be without solicitude. He that is without a wife is solicitous for the things that belong to the Lord: how he may please God. But he that is with a wife is solicitous for the things of the world: how he may please his wife; and he is divided. And the unmarried woman and the virgin thinketh on the things of the Lord; that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married thinketh on the things of the world: how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your profit; not to cast a snare upon you, but for that which is decent, and which may give you power, to attend upon the Lord, without impediment" (1 Cor. vii, 32-35). Jesus speaks in exactly the same sense. Not physical self-emasculation, but voluntary, moral self-restraint and self-limitation for the sake of the kingdom of heaven is praised by him more highly than the union of the sexes. Of pathological self-mutilation there is nowhere a trace.

No otherwise also stands the case of the pretended "hatred" of Jesus for his family and his lack of family sentiment. Rasmussen asserts that "his relation to his family is such that he hates it, and it hates him. In any case, it is said that he demands that a man should hate his family."[1] Dr. de Loosten repeats this accusation, and justifies it by an appeal to those passages in the Gospels in which Jesus requires from his followers and fellow-workers in the kingdom of God that they should set the call to be his disciples above all ties of blood: "Every one of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. . . . If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke xiv, 33 and 26).

One day when a disciple begged him: "Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father," Jesus replied, "Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead" (Matt. viii, 22; Luke ix, 60). When another said: "I will follow thee, Lord, but let me first take my leave of them that are at my house," Jesus answered, "No man, putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke ix, 61-62). According to our pathologists, it appears from these utterances that Jesus "no longer possessed natural and human sentiments," but taught hatred of one's family.[2]

In the opinion of Loosten, "his individual attitude towards his own family gave eloquent proof of this." He "lived his whole life long at enmity with his own family, or indifferent to it. In fact, he meets his own mother with disrespect, when she longs to get him away from the great multitude of his

[1] p. 147. [2] Loosten, p. 51.

hearers, in order to speak with him" (Matt. xii, 47-50). "And one said unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, seeking thee. But he answering him that told him, said, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said, Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever shall do the will of my Father that is in heaven, he is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt. xii, 47-50). On another occasion, a woman glorified him, and cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck." But he said in reply, "Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it" (Luke xi, 27). The small incident at the wedding at Cana is thought by our critics to be very significant of this attitude, where Jesus, without any apparent reason, addressed his mother harshly with the words, "Woman, what is it to me and to thee?"[1] (John ii, 4). This is the kind of assertion and mode of reasoning on the part of psychiatry in regard to Jesus.

It misunderstands and misuses the words of Jesus in reference to his attitude towards parents, family and relatives. Jesus never and nowhere demanded of his disciples that they should "hate" them in the literal, proper sense of the word. His requirements in this respect contain only the command for a quick, decided and final following of him, as disciples; and, when necessary, also for an abrupt and immediate severing of all the ties of earth and the senses. The Master and his kingdom must come first and above all. This he demands, but in no sense literal hatred towards parents and relatives. Indeed, his views regarding moral duties towards members of the family are much stricter even than those of the Pharisees, and he inculcates especially and with great earnestness the commandment of God to honour and support one's parents (Mark vii, 10-13).

Jesus, therefore, least of all men can have hated his own family, or even treated it with indifference. Nothing in the whole Gospel justifies such a supposition, and from none of his words, especially, can it be inferred that "he behaved towards his own mother with disrespect, and addressed her harshly." Not once do our translations permit such an interpretation of the words of Jesus to his mother, and in the original text the harshness of the expression "Woman," with which he addresses Mary, vanishes completely. On the contrary, the Gospel informs us of something carefully suppressed by our opponents—namely, the childlike obedience of Jesus to his parents and his tender care for his mother at the moment of his death.

If it remains, nevertheless, true that the Saviour put family considerations firmly into the background, this is easily com-

[1] *id.*, p. 51.

prehensible in view of the vocation of Jesus and his disciples. Jesus had not merely a personal and narrow family task to accomplish, but a world-vocation—the Messianic vocation of leading all mankind to God. Occupying such a standpoint, it was necessary for him to place the Messianic task above personal considerations, spiritual above bodily relationships, supernatural above natural interests, and the world-historic purpose of his life above the narrow ties of family intercourse. His family was and is humanity, already redeemed and to be redeemed; and it must be pointed out as a truly unsurpassable expression of this thought, when he utters the wonderful words: "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? Whosoever doeth the will of my Father in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister and mother." Even Strauss speaks in this connection "of the never-to-be-forgotten utterance of Jesus, in which he placed his spiritual above his bodily relatives."

But he must also require the same from his disciples. They were taking a direct part in his Messianic task and activity, and they were to be the bearers of his redemption and the pioneers of the Gospel. They bound themselves also to follow the Lord of the world, to devote their lives to the extension of his kingdom, and to display energy and self-sacrifice to an heroic degree. For this such men alone were fitted as having put their hand to the plough did not look back, let the dead bury their dead, and were ready to overcome all obstacles of blood and kinship, and even to jeopardize their own lives. It was the test of this that lay in the words of Jesus: "Every one of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple."

In this way, the attitude of Jesus to family and relatives becomes comprehensible. Only those who misunderstand his words and his vocation can find therein a want of family sentiment.

Yet, even if there were in them such a want, the pathologists would be wrong to appeal to that in proof of the insanity of Jesus. Dr. Schäfer, an expert, who is not a Christian believer, remarks very justly in regard to this: "We psychiatrists certainly regard a lack of family sentiment as a mark of degeneracy, but by this we mean something entirely different. When a father or a son squanders money, or brings disgrace upon the family, without any feeling of consideration or sympathy; or when a mother indulges in philanthropy by throwing away money and neglecting her children and the care of her husband, then we rightly speak of a lack of family sentiment as something degenerate. But

in the case of Jesus, as in that of other great men, there can be no question of such things."[1]

Connected with the accusation of hatred towards family and relatives is the accusation that Jesus at all events suffered from pathological epilepsy, which manifested itself in attacks of terror and frenzy. This mysterious charge is clearly not to be taken seriously, for the only one who makes it, the Danish "theological candidate," Rasmussen, shows thereby that he understands amazingly little of these matters, and is incited to it by a blind hatred of Christ. Schäfer remarks: "In order to include Jesus among the epileptics, Rasmussen invents a kind of epileptic type of prophet. But in this he can least of all reckon on the agreement of the psychiatrists."[2] In fact, sceptical psychiatry itself most distinctly repudiates the senseless attempt of this Dane to diagnose Jeremias, Ezechiel, Paul, in short, all prophets and men of God, as epileptics of a peculiar sort, and to deduce from them a special epileptic-pathological type, known as the "prophet type."[3] This audacious attempt becomes most repulsive and ridiculous, however, when finally Jesus of Nazareth is included in this type.[4]

Rasmussen bases his theory on the epileptic psychosis, as it is described by psychiatrists. This consists in transient disturbances of consciousness, connected with epileptic attacks. The surest symptom of epilepsy is its peculiar convulsive attack (*le grand mal*), in which the patient falls senseless on the ground and lies there, grinding his teeth, with foam on his lips, and with red, swollen mouth and stiffened muscles, and sometimes striking about him blindly. There are, however, so-called "epileptic equivalents," or attacks of *petit mal*, which with more or less probability point to the existence of epileptic psychosis, such as partial loss of consciousness, feeling of alarm, bewilderment, hallucinations and a semi-conscious state, with loss of memory.

Rasmussen points with one hand to these signs of epileptic psychosis, as they stand in the manuals of psychiatry, and with the other hand turns over the Gospels, in order to discover similar symptoms in the life of Jesus. The net result is pitifully small. Rasmussen finds two cases in all. Yet he consoles himself by supposing that several others may have been forgotten, or passed over, by the Evangelists. For "only the circumstance that Jesus had an attack of terror before one of the historic moments of his life, which of necessity had to be related, has preserved for us one such description. There can be no doubt, he thinks, that the so-called agony in Gethsemani was such an attack. No healthy man has ever experienced anything like it, even when in

[1] *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung*, p. 75.
[2] *id.*, 17.
[3] Rasmussen, *Jesus*, 50-134.
[4] *id.*, 135.

danger of death. He falls upon the ground, he lies there in an agonizing fear of death, and gives vent to his feelings in ardent prayers, exactly as the sick do in such cases. The Evangelists could not depict otherwise a real attack of epileptic *petit mal*. . . . Moreover, it cannot be proved that our reports concerning Jesus exclude other forms of epileptic equivalents. On the contrary, it must be said that a more exact description of an attack of frenzy (*grand mal*) could not be given than the Gospel's portrayal of the driving of the money-changers from the Temple. . . . It stands in perfect agreement with all his similar outbursts directed against the Pharisees, the scribes and the Jewish people, as they are grouped together in the last speeches of Jesus. . . . Here (in the Temple) it is not enough that he overturns seats and tables, but he makes even a whip of small cords, and lashes men and animals out of the building, while he shouts over the heads of the people passages from the Old Testament. . . . . One would think that it must be a relief to deeper Christian natures to regard this scene as the symptom of a malady to which Jesus was subject."[1]

Two epileptic attacks, then—one of terror in Gethsemani, and one of frenzy in the purification of the Temple. Pathographical nonsense can hardly lead one further than this effort of Rasmussen.

The agony in the garden an epileptical attack? It would in any case be so only if the fear of Jesus had been causeless. But it was in the highest degree well-founded. His approaching suffering, with all the bodily and mental tortures which the Saviour with the most intense clearness and vividness foresaw and anticipated with all the delicacy of his nature, make the fear of death easily comprehensible to anyone. It is only a proof how naturally and humanly Jesus felt and suffered. On the contrary, Rasmussen's bold assertion that no healthy man has ever known anything similar, even when in danger of death, is as unprovable as it is unnatural.

The scene in the Temple is also equally clear, psychologically, and contains no morbid element. The pharisaic, hypocritical claim to righteousness, and thereby the most horrible desecration of the holy and most holy, on the one side; and, on the other, the consciousness of Jesus that he was the Messiah and the Son of God, and his zeal for the honour of his Father and the house of his Father, make the action of the Saviour in the purification of the Temple and in the conflict with the Judaists perfectly intelligible. That he on that occasion flamed up in holy indignation, only proves the genuineness and fearlessness of his zeal. Only a reckless critic can find in it a subject for pathology. Even the highly

[1] Rasmussen, 138-141.

trustworthy psychiatrist, Schäfer, declares: "It is absolutely fantastic to explain the agony of soul in Gethsemani by an epileptic attack, and the driving from the Temple as an outbreak of epileptic frenzy."[1]

There can, therefore, in the case of Jesus be no suspicion of a pathological condition. It still remains for us to examine the question of his mental capacity and his range of thought.

4. *His Pathological Mentality.*

It is clear that psychiatry, as applied to Jesus, here reaches the point upon which everything depends. In proportion as its views of the pathological mental functions of the Saviour are proved to be true or false, the entire psychiatric thesis as a whole must stand or fall. It does fall, however—or, rather, it breaks lamentably down—as soon as it undertakes to interpret the ideas of Jesus about science, religion, or his own person as being pathological.

Binet-Sanglé lays great stress upon the fact that the scientific knowledge of Jesus amounted to nothing. "Already 1,000 years before Jesus," declares the Parisian professor of psychology, "the Arian—that is, the Indian—philosophers had taught that matter is eternal, the world only a gigantic mechanism, and the end of man nonentity; that it is madness to seek for first causes, and that we are to study only phenomena. . . . Jesus was ignorant of all this. His scientific views were limited to some errors."[2] No correct astronomy, no botany, no physiology, and an insufficiency of psychology, pathology and therapeutics are to be found in him.[3] "Some knowledge of stock-raising, particularly in regard to sheep; a little knowledge of agriculture, chiefly as regards corn and wine; acquaintance with the habits and usages of the Jewish farmer, such as a carpenter's son can perhaps have, who never left his father's cottage, unless it were to roam through the fields—that comprises the whole stock of knowledge possessed by the Messiah of Nazareth."[4]

As if from a lack of scientific knowledge on the part of Jesus the slightest thing could be established in regard to his psychical state of mind! By the application of such principles, in the last analysis none but the learned would be rational. And if Jesus had appeared as such, if he had revealed himself in the midst of his unscientific contemporaries as a botanical, zoological, physiological, pathological and astronomical colleague of our psychiatrists, would they not again, and indeed with greater right and much greater indignation, accuse him of being an abnormal man? Yet this question is utterly purposeless, because Jesus Christ, as every

[1] *id.*, 18.
[2] Binet-Sanglé, ii, 5, 9.
[3] *id.*, 10-15.
[4] *id.*, 20.

reader of the Gospels well knows, had in mind no scientific revelation and advancement of the human race, but simply a religious one.

How is it, then, with his religious views? We shall give a complete portrayal of these in another place. Here, however, the question is merely whether a pathological strain is discoverable in the religious ideas of Jesus. Baumann, Rasmussen and Loosten, and particularly Binet-Sanglé, consider it proved from the undeniable fact that Jesus was a deeply religious and highly gifted man. "Scientific ignorance on the one side, and religious erudition on the other—that is the ideological characteristic of Jesus. This characteristic is, however, uniformly present in connection with piety and mystical insanity."[1] In Jesus, his reverence for and high appreciation of holy Writ is a further sign of his derangement. "Under the suggestion of the pious Joseph and the devout Mary he had read the Bible over and over again. Himself very imaginative and mystically inclined, he loved this book, full of anecdotes, adventures and seemingly supernatural facts."[2] Finally, even the fundamental religious views of Jesus, his ideas of God, of the angels and devils, of purgatory, of the resurrection, the Last Judgement, heaven and hell, are explained as the ideas of a madman.[3]

Here truly is an end to argument. If not merely faith in a supernatural revelation, but even any religious thought at all is declared to be a proof of madness; and if piety is held to be equivalent to religious mania, then, indeed, Jesus did suffer from dementia, like most of the human family. The only ones free from insanity would then be the fanatics of unbelief who form, however, a diminishing portion of the human race. Against this stupidity on the part of atheistic psychiatry there is no use contending.

When psychiatry, in its treatment of Jesus, applies its anti-religious principles to the judgement of the personal consciousness of Jesus, it reaches the climax of pathographical audacity, in making finally, with absolute assurance, the following diagnosis of the Saviour: "religious megalomania." How is it done? It is very simple. Jesus had a superhuman amount of self-consciousness, and believed himself to be the Messiah and the Son of God; that is, however, evidently religious megalomania. Such is the judgement of our enemies.

Loosten, for example, represents the matter thus: "Jesus, already as a child in the Temple, showed a very high degree of ability, a keen and precocious intellect and a surprisingly well developed self-consciousness."[4] "Captivated by lofty thoughts, peculiarly his own, . . . his self-consciousness gradually grew, unchecked by contradiction, into immense

[1] *id.*, 29.
[2] *id.*, 26.
[3] *id.*, 51-170.
[4] *Jesus Christus*, 32, 34.

proportions. His conviction that he was something better and higher than the plebeian world about him slowly acquired strength, and became an essential part of his ego. Thus, advancing step by step, he finally came to refer ancient prophecies of the Bible . . . to his own person. This is a thoroughly pathological procedure, which must be characterized, psychiatrically, as illusionism."[1]

"The sojourn in the wilderness was for him a physical and mental crisis, from which he emerged with the final resolve to play in the world of that time such a part as had never been known."[2] "What he preached (and he preached, above all, himself and his own person) he wished to have believed unquestioningly and unconditionally. If he spoke, in wonderfully poetical parables, of the kingdom of heaven, he meant by this nothing else than his own kingdom, which was still to be founded. . . . He left to his adherents only the choice either to believe in him as the Messiah, the superhuman, godlike ambassador of God, in order to enter into the circle of his followers, or to remain sceptical. . . . The pathological part had to be included in the bargain."[3] "With his increasing successes, the self-consciousness of Jesus grew greater and greater . . . at the same time, the requirements which he demanded, at the enlistment of new adherents, became always more exorbitant."[4]

Henceforth he never lost the consciousness of being the Messiah, the Son of God and God himself. "The thought of the divinely royal supremacy over Israel completely hypnotized him, and captivated his whole mode of thinking. . . . His self-consciousness rose in slow development to a fixed system of dementia. . . . The physiological element of genius and the pathological element in his nature influenced each other very strongly, and amalgamated with each other."[5] Binet-Sanglé also fully shares Loosten's ideas about the development and character of the self-consciousness of Jesus.[6]

We note, in passing, this acknowledgement of the messianic and divine character of the personal consciousness of Jesus. But the asserted development from non-messianic and non-divine self-consciousness to one which was messianic and divine, we do not admit. Searching investigations into the origin of this have led to the indubitable result that Jesus regarded himself as the ambassador and Son of God from the very beginning, and that in him no idea of a development in this direction can be admitted. With this, however, falls at once also the dramatic, psychiatric evidence for the gradual transition from the mentally sound human consciousness of Jesus to the irrational consciousness of being God and the Messiah.

[1] *id.*, 34 ff. [2] *id.*, 40. [3] *id.*, 46. [4] *id.*, 49.
[5] *id.*, 52, 90. [6] *La folie de Jésus*, ii, 171-327.

But psychiatry really does not care at all about this pretended evidence. It regards it as absolutely unnecessary. The mere fact that the Saviour claimed to be the Messiah and the Son of God is enough to make it declare him insane. Because Jesus claimed to be the Messiah and the Son of God he must be described as a victim of paranoia. That is the argument.

Loosten states this very plainly in the passages of his book just quoted; and Binet-Sanglé sums up his opinion about the "delirium of Jesus" just as distinctly: "Jesus considers himself to be the Messiah foretold by the prophets, and imagines that he will be, if not on earth, at least in heaven, a king. He is the Son of Jehovah, who has descended in the clouds. Jehovah forsakes him not, and has no secrets from him. He imparts them to him orally, and proclaims them through his mouth . . . Jehovah loves him like a father. What Jehovah possesses is similarly also his possession . . . his delirium rises even to the idea, 'Jehovah and I are one.' With this idea, however, the Jewish paranoiac passes into the realm of the absurd. . . . This degenerate suffered, therefore, from religious insanity, from theo-megalomania, or apotheistical delusions."[1] Rasmussen also remarks: "We have to do everywhere here with a prophetic type, in which we meet a man who, with perfect seriousness, regards himself as a superior, divine emissary, and acts accordingly his whole life long. Just as the man who cannot help suffering from fault-finding ideas is a chronic grumbler, and as the man who is forcibly pursued by ideas of megalomania is a megalomaniac, so also the man who proclaims himself as the Messiah is a prophetic figure, a messianic nature—*i.e.*, a mind diseased."[2]

That is, in fact, the only reason why the attempt is made to include the divine Man in the long list of "fools."[3] Jesus Christ claims to be the Messiah, an ambassador of God, and the true Son of God. He is, therefore, a madman. That is the sum and substance of all the psychiatry of Jesus. Everything else that it brings forward is idle vapouring.

But to incorporate the Saviour offhand in the category of "fools," because he professes to be the divine Messiah, is a thoroughly unscientific procedure. His lofty consciousness should be diagnosed as insanity only if, in the first place, he had not furnished proof that he was the Messiah and Son of God, and, in the second place, if at the same time his whole mental activity had justified the diagnosis of insanity.

The first condition needs no discussion. An extraordinarily lofty consciousness is in itself very far from being megalo-

[1] *id.*, ii, 326 ff and 509.
[2] *Jesus*, 135.
[3] Binet-Sanglé, ii, 510.

mania, or even a proof of it. Must we summarily characterize as a megalomaniac every one who claims to be a king, a general, a great scholar, or an artist? Certainly not. It is true only if he cannot produce the evidence that he is really a king, a general, or a great scientific or artistic genius; that is, if his real position and person are in contradiction to his consciousness. So also Jesus Christ should be declared a madman only if he should fail to confirm the truth and correctness of his divinely human consciousness. The question, therefore, is whether he did confirm them; and we propose to bring forward the proofs which Jesus gave of his Messiahship and divinity.

Yet, even if he had not positively furnished these proofs, or if, at least, they could not be recognized by his opponents as sound, the psychologist and pathologist should designate the consciousness of Jesus as insanity only if the mental activity of the Saviour did not contradict such a diagnosis. It is not permissible to separate mental consciousness from mental activity, to divide one from the other, or actually to force each into opposition to the other. A man with a diseased consciousness cannot at the same time develop an all-round healthy and even highly gifted intellectual activity; just as, *vice versa,* an intellectually gifted, active man cannot at the same time be a victim of insanity.

The great mistake of psychiatry, as applied to Jesus, is that it judges and condemns the consciousness of Jesus without any regard to his teaching and mental activity, or even in avowed opposition to them. The rationalistic alienist, Schäfer, remarks: "The psychiatrist must pass judgement on the whole man by every expert method. He should not only consent to include the pure essence of Jesus' immortal teaching, but he should do so before all else. That is the product of his intellectual activity. His immortal teaching is the surest thing we have from Jesus. Jesus can defend himself only by the one argument of his teaching. According to this standard, he was the greatest man and the greatest genius whom the history of mankind knows—the greatest in all past ages, to surpass whom is impossible. His reputation increases daily. He is the Lord of the earth. If God reveals himself to humanity by means of great men, then Jesus was the greatest of such revelations. . . . That Jesus could not have been deranged is proved already by his teaching. I think that no one will ask me to say more."[1]

Even Loosten cannot deny the "immortal teaching" of Jesus, his "superior intelligence" and his "ever pertinent dialectic." He tries, therefore, to save the psychiatric hypothesis by making Jesus sound and unsound mentally at the

[1] Schäfer, *id.*, 126 ff.

same time. He remarks: "The psychologically gifted and the pathological elements in his nature influenced each other powerfully and blended with each other."[1]

But that, above all, in psychiatry is a contradiction. "A genius can indeed be mentally, as well as bodily, ill, and all mental diseases are, after all, also bodily diseases; but that a demented person can at the same time give outward evidence of insanity, and also be a genius, is impossible. Genius requires, so long as it reveals itself as such, a perfect intelligence. . . . In a senseless idea of personal greatness there already lies essentially a high degree of weakness of judgement. The 'Christs' and 'Gods' whom we find in insane asylums are as truly imbeciles as are those who profess to be 'emperors,' 'dukes' and 'princes.' The mental malady which can plunge the most intelligent man into the profoundest imbecility creates also the 'superior God.' These psychiatric considerations are sufficient to lead us to say to ourselves that the mightiest personality in history did not suffer from foolish megalomania."[2]

What, after all this, remains of psychiatry as applied to Jesus? Nothing; except the fact that, in opposition to all psychology and pathology, as well as to the doctrine and life of Jesus, the declaration that the Saviour was insane is simply due to the fact that the critic rejects at the start, on principle and without examination, not only his messianic and divine consciousness, but also every revelation of God, and that even the very idea of God is relegated to the realm of madness.

II.—Psychopathical Criticism.

In dealing with Christ, along with his actual pathological or psychiatric characteristics, psychiatry assumes other mental symptoms which lie on the dividing line between mental malady and health, and signify at least something mentally abnormal, or a "psychopathological inferiority." Liberal critics also, for the most part, now follow the radical alienists into this field of thought. They are, however, unable, with all their denials of the divine consciousness of Jesus, to controvert the fact that his consciousness and mental activity unquestionably far transcend everything merely human. Yet, as they regard the Man of Nazareth merely as a man, and exclude everything supernatural from his nature and person, they see themselves obliged to suppose that he was not, mentally, an entirely healthy and normal man, and, accordingly, they refer

[1] Loosten, 52. [2] Schäfer, *id.*, 129-131.

everything superhuman and supernatural in him to illusions and to an overwrought state of mind.

The usual terms for this psychopathological condition of Jesus are to-day either ecstatic experiences, ecstasy or an ecstatic. Besides the psychiatrists Rasmussen, Loosten and Binet-Sanglé, many other freethinking theologians, together with Havet, Baldensperger, Bousset, Johannes Weiss, Rudolf Otto, Albrecht Schweitzer and Pfannmüller, have adopted in part or in entirety the ecstatic line of criticism. Oskar Holtzmann, in his book, *Was Jesus an Ecstatic?* has endeavoured recently to apply this logically to the whole life of Jesus, and thinks that "it can be considered at present as the dominant theory."[1] So much the more are we surprised to find that the idea involved in ecstasy and ecstatic in this hostile criticism, is frequently expressed in connection with a thoroughly confused and bewildering conception of Jesus.

What is ecstasy? Ecstasy, or rapture, is, according to the plain meaning of the word, a kind of frenzy. Practically, it signifies an extraordinary mental state, in which the soul is, as it were, drawn away from the senses and their influence, and becomes absorbed in thoughts and feelings which are unknown to it in ordinary daily life. In proportion as this transitory condition of the soul is caused by God or by the devil, or, finally, by the nature of the individual, it is distinguished as a supernatural (divine), an extra-natural (demoniacal), or a natural ecstasy. The extra-natural and the natural ecstasy need not necessarily suspend the usual capacity of feeling and thinking; yet they always necessitate at least a partial disturbance of the mental equilibrium. This disturbance makes itself especially noticeable by means of hallucinations or delusions of the most varying kinds, such as optical delusions or visions, and acoustic delusions, or those of hearing. In the supernatural or God-inspired ecstasy, the Creator comes into direct intercourse with the creature, and produces in him an increase of religious discernment, will and life, and, in most cases, also conditions of mystical affections of sight and hearing (inward visions and auditions).

Supernatural and extra-natural ecstasies need not be at all considered here in a discussion with sceptical critics. Our enemies laugh at any such thing as the influence of the devil as at a nursery tale; and in regard to an ecstasy brought about by God, they declare with Julius Baumann: "Ecstatic and visionary states of mind, in the sense of being 'supernatural,' are to be rejected to-day by physicians."[2] It is, therefore, not a question whether Jesus in prayerful communion with the Father was uplifted and carried away to a mystical state, or whether he was the victim of demoniacal delusion. It is a

[1] *id.*, p. 10.

[2] *Die Gemütsart Jesu*, p. 6 (1908).

question here merely whether he was subjected to natural ecstasies, together with their psychopathical conditions and accompanying phenomena.

Modern critics affirm this readily for the most part, but they connect with the word "ecstasy," as has been already remarked, a very indeterminate and partly incorrect idea. This is true of Oskar Holtzmann, the leader of the ecstatic school of criticism, as well as of others who share his views. Even A. Schweitzer reproaches him with "ambiguity in his use of the word 'ecstatic.'"[1] And P. Lobstein remarks very aptly that his Strasbourg colleague "makes use of the idea of 'ecstatics' and 'ecstasy,' but does not anywhere define it clearly."[2]

In the first place, Holtzmann makes the ecstasy of Jesus equivalent to a prophetic "vision," which "has occurred only in the soul of Jesus," and goes back therefore to the theory of hallucination,[3] producing finally "a highly fantastic, enthusiastic and ecstatic faith."[4] So far, the ecstasy of Jesus would be conceived of as a subjective, inward experience, accompanied by a corresponding, and also a purely subjective, and consequently false, mental conception. In accordance with this, Holtzmann sometimes translates the word "ecstasy" better as "vision." He should say, with greater correctness, "hallucination with delusions of the senses," because he not only asserts optical mystifications, or visions, on the part of Jesus, but, as will be presently shown, acoustic ones.

Only a few times, however, in the life of the Saviour has such a transient delusion of the senses taken place. Holtzmann makes a distinction between the intermittent ecstasy and a chronic, almost uninterrupted one, which he defines quite differently. He calls this an ecstasy, which tempts one "to eccentric conduct,"[5] and is equivalent to an "extravagant avoidance of the world,"[6] with excitement as contrasted with tranquillity.[7] According to him, an ecstatic is an "excited man."[8] He speaks of "ecstatic enthusiasm,"[9] or of ecstasy "in the sense of great, passionate excitement."[10] Jesus "acted under the pressure of powerful sentiments and notions, which controlled him. His language also is not the result of calm reflection,"[11] and therefore he is an ecstatic. Ecstasy is in all these cases evidently the same as an overwrought state of mind or extravagant enthusiasm.

The expression "ecstasy," which we encounter so frequently in the psychopathical criticism of Jesus, is in itself

1 *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 298 note.
2 *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 624 (1903).
3 *Leben Jesu*, 105 (1901); *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 106; *cf.* 35-42.
4 *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 43.
5 *id.*, 49. 6 *id.*, 127. 7 *id.*, 135. 8 *id.*, 96.
9 *id.*, 136. 10 *id.*, 106. 11 *id.*, 14.

a word easily misunderstood. Holtzmann has completely misunderstood it. He wishes to include in it two psychopathical phenomena—hallucination and extravagant enthusiasm, which are really entirely different. Hermann Werner, therefore, rightly says: "We do not really know what to do with the definition which Holtzmann gives to the title of his book."[1] The same thing is true of many other modern psychopaths who treat of Jesus. We replace, therefore, the ill-chosen word ecstasy by the practical and appropriate expressions mental delusion and extravagant enthusiasm, yet see ourselves compelled to retain occasionally the ambiguous expression ecstasy in making a literal rendering of the radical-liberal views.

1. *Christ's Psychopathical Delusions.*

Oskar Holtzmann speaks of genuine ecstatic visions on the occasion of the baptism and temptation of Jesus.[2] He refers, however, with great indefiniteness of expression, to still other visions.[3] Albrecht Schweitzer rejects the "ambiguous" ecstatic theory of Holtmann, but maintains, nevertheless, that Jesus was an ecstatic or visionary "to some extent, on the occasion of his baptism and transfiguration,"[4] and that the life of Jesus offers "situations enough, in which Jesus appears to have been in ecstasy."[5]

Wilhelm Bousset asks: "Was Jesus an ecstatic? Did he not live, for a good part of his life, in regions beyond perfectly clear consciousness?" And he replies: "We find also in his life visionary experiences, even if they are not very frequent."[6] Then he calls the baptism, the temptation, and the transfiguration visions, or visionary experiences, in the life of Jesus. Such an experience also took place when Jesus saw Satan, like a flash of lightning, fall from heaven.[7] Johannes Weiss also assumes the existence of "visions and auditions and ecstasies" in the career of Jesus, especially at the time of the baptism.[8] Rudolf Otto finds also that, at the baptism of Jesus, "powerful excitement of the emotions, vivid imagination, nervous irritability, visions, hallucinations and illusions of the senses of sight and hearing played their part."[9]

That the psychiatrists Rasmussen, Loosten and Binet-Sanglé speak even more plainly than the liberal theologians cannot surprise us. Rasmussen writes in his superficial way: "We do not know much about his hallucinations, but, in any

[1] *Die psychische Gesundheit Jesu*, 33.
[2] *Leben Jesu*, 98-119; *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 35-49.
[3] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 7, note 1; 15, note 1.
[4] *op. cit.*, 298.
[5] *id.*, 306 note.
[6] *Jesus*, 11 (3rd ed., 1907).
[7] *id.*, 11 ff.
[8] *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 155 (1900).
[9] *Leben Jesu*, 31 ff., 4th ed. (1905).

case, no one will be able to brush them aside as non-existent. There is even ground for the supposition that an hallucination is hidden under such words as the following: 'I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven.' And when, after his baptism, he hears the voice of his Father, and sees the heavens open, and the Holy Ghost descend in the form of a dove, we gain information which points in the same direction."[1]

Loosten speaks of a gradual overtaxing of his sound personality by morbid ailments, and adds: "This mental malady was accompanied by numerous hallucinations which affected several phases of his mind."[2] Such hallucinations can be supposed to have occurred, especially at his baptism and his temptation. "The opening of heaven is to be interpreted as a phenomenon caused by light. . . . It is a question, therefore, of hallucinations in the sphere of optics and acoustics. . . . It is possible that there, in solitude, he had visions frequently, and held conversations with the devil. But, as it is proved that mental delusions owe their origin to the brain of him who has them, so it is also certain that the words, expectations and promises put into the mouth of the devil had their origin in the personal thoughts of Jesus."[3] "Thus must the devil also have often appeared to him after the so-called temptation. At least, this becomes probable through a passage in Luke's Gospel, where it is stated: 'He said unto them, I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven.'"[4] Loosten considers the transfiguration of Jesus also to have been an hallucination. It is true, "the interpretation of the procedure has many difficulties. . . . It seems certain only that he imparted the hallucination to the two prophets."[5] "How often Jesus was subject to hallucinations in the course of his activity we do not know, but it is likely that visions, similar to those which he had at his baptism, showed themselves later repeatedly. At least, our knowledge of these abnormal mental conditions makes it exceedingly probable."[6]

We can, however, inform ourselves best and most clearly about the views of those who hold the theory of hallucinations from the writings of Binet-Sanglé. He refers the mental delusions of Jesus to what he calls an "hallucination-short-circuit," and thinks that Jesus had probably suffered from hallucinations already as a child. Otherwise he would not have been able to say to his parents: "Did you not know that I must be about my Father's business?"[7] At the baptism, a double delusion occurred. The first was optical (a vision), since Jesus thought he saw a dove. In reality, "perhaps a dove did brush past him when he was immersed in the Jordan,

[1] *Jesus*, 142.
[2] *Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters*, p. 91.
[3] *id.*, pp. 36, 39.
[4] *id.*, 61.
[5] *id.*, 60.
[6] *id.*, 59.
[7] Binet-Sanglé, ii, 346.

and this dove was regarded by him as an incarnation of the Holy Ghost."[1] To this was immediately added an acoustic hallucination, since he believed that he heard a voice from heaven.[2] Thereupon he "went into the wilderness, and had there, under the influence of long fasting, of solitude and of the monotonous region, numerous and confused hallucinations."[3] Tormented by hunger, he thinks of bread, and the vision of bread gives him hallucinations, and he hears the voice of Satan saying to him: "If thou art the Son of God, command these stones to be made bread."[4]

To this first acoustic delusion a second and a third associated themselves, which are at the same time "panoramic" and "aeroplanic" in character. Jesus had the sensation of being carried through the air, and thought he was first in Jerusalem, on a pinnacle of the Temple, and then on a high mountain.[5] In a fourth hallucination, he had one inspiring and one terrifying apparition. It seemed to him at one time that he was ministered to by angels, at another that he was in the midst of wild beasts.[6]

After this enumeration of desert hallucinations, the Parisian professor explains them in the following way: "If we now survey the desert hallucinations of Jesus in their entirety, we notice that they bear a remarkable resemblance to a state of mind which occurs to certain travellers in the desert under the influence of lassitude, hunger and thirst. . . . The stones turn into cliffs and buildings (hallucinations of Jesus about Jerusalem and the Temple). The shadows cast by the moon appear to them abysses and gorges (hallucination of the placing of Jesus on the Temple and mountain). Smaller shadows have the appearance of living beings, and one sees whole caravans of camels file by (hallucination of the devil, angels and wild beasts). Jesus was evidently attacked by this psychopathological condition, caused by the desert, more than any other traveller."[7]

According to Binet-Sanglé, Jesus had "still further visions of Satan. After the above-mentioned hallucinations have been reported, the Evangelist informs us, in addition, that the devil withdrew for some time. And elsewhere we read that Jesus said one day to his disciples: 'I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven.'"[8] Still other luminous illusions are said to be vouched for by the Gospel. "His transfigura-

[1] *id.*, 348-352. [2] *id.*, 353. [3] *id.*, 358.
[4] *id.*, 370. [5] *id.*, 371-374.
[6] *id.*, 378-380. This last, because it is written in the Gospel: "And he was in the desert forty days . . . and he was with beasts" (Mark i, 13). Of this Binet-Sanglé remarks (p. 380): "There cannot be a question in this passage of an *objective* sensation; the wild beasts of the Desert of Judea are not fond of the vicinity of man. It was, therefore, an hallucination provoked by fear." Oh, childish simplicity!
[7] *id.*, 380. [8] *id.*, 382.

tion—that is, his ecstasy on the mountain—was also certainly accompanied by a luminous vision from above."[1] "The last hallucination took place on the night of his arrest. In consequence of an epileptic attack of terror, with bloody sweat, an attack which itself was also doubtless produced by an hallucination—that is, from the fearful vision of a bowl full of blood[2]—there appeared to him an angel from heaven and comforted him."[3]

These are the particular assertions of the hallucination-theory. Measured by the assurance with which they are brought forth, the evidence for them is pitifully small. In most cases, the assertion is merely impudently made, without the assertor caring in the least for even a pretence of proof. We might suppose, in all the instances cited, that the hallucination-ecstasy was a matter of course. And yet how entirely different are the facts!

In the first place, the passage (Luke x, 18) must be kept out of the discussion, where Jesus says to his disciples: "I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven." These words of the Lord are extolled as a classic example of the fact that Jesus really suffered from hallucinations, and "has himself spoken unequivocally of a vision as a personal experience."[4]

But it is not so "unequivocal." Everything is in favour, rather, of the supposition that it is merely a case of a figurative form of speech.

The disciples are returning from their first missionary journey, and are relating to the Master the great things they have accomplished, and how they have even had power over evil spirits: "Lord, the devils also are subject to us in thy name." Thereupon Jesus adds the above words, which plainly denote nothing else than: "I was really with you with my power and with my spirit, and took part in the defeat which you have inflicted upon Satan." The form of expressing this thought has entirely the stamp of figurative language, such as is common to Orientals, and such as Jesus liked to use. Everything here reminds us of the parallel passage: "Amen, amen, I say to you, You shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of Man" (John i, 51). Just as little as Jesus in this latter instance announced a future hallucination on the part of his

[1] *id.*, 387.

[2] Binet-Sanglé bases this assertion on Matt. xxvi, 39, Mark xiv, 36, Luke xxii, 42, in which Jesus, using a figurative expression, describes his approaching passion as a "cup" (of suffering): "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." As if Jesus had not repeatedly spoken in the same way to his disciples of his "cup" of suffering in the quietest moments of his life! (Mark x, 38; John xviii, 11).

[3] *id.*, 386.

[4] Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 7, note 1.

disciples, just so little has he in the other case spoken of such an hallucination in himself.

There are, therefore, only four episodes characterized by our enemies as delusions—namely, those connected with the Baptism, the Transfiguration, the Temptation and the Agony.

That the manifestation at the Baptism had no ecstatical, hallucinary character has been already shown elsewhere in the former volume of this work, and we need merely refer here to what was then said. The investigation, made at that time, resulted in the statement that not only did Jesus see that manifestation, but that John the Baptist also was an eye and ear witness of the event. But if that be so, nothing more can be said of a mere subjective vision. How could both John and Jesus, at the same time, have had precisely the same ecstatic vision? that is (according to the psychopathical conception), how could they both have imagined that they saw heaven open and the Holy Ghost descend, and that they heard above them the voice of God? All the prerequisite conditions for such a double ecstasy are completely wanting, and the rationalizing critics would have to suppose actually a double psychological miracle if they wanted to persist in their view of an hallucination at the time of the baptism.

Precisely the same thing is true of the Transfiguration of Jesus. The illusionist interpretation of this breaks down before the fact that the experience was shared by the three disciples Peter, James and John. All three synoptists report this unanimously (Matt. xvii, 1-9; Mark ix, 1-9; Luke ix, 28-36). Luke represents the circumstance thus: "Jesus took Peter and James and John, and went up into a mountain to pray. And whilst he prayed, the shape of his countenance was altered, and his raiment became white and glittering. And behold, two men were talking with him. And they were Moses and Elias, appearing in majesty. And they spoke of his decease that he should accomplish in Jerusalem. But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep. And waking, they saw his glory, and the two men that stood with him. And it came to pass that as they were departing from him, Peter saith to Jesus, Master, it is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias; not knowing what he said. And as he spoke these things, there came a cloud and overshadowed them; and they were afraid, when they entered into the cloud. And a voice came out of the cloud, saying, 'This is my beloved Son; hear him.' And whilst the voice was uttered, Jesus was found alone. And they held their peace, and told no man in those days any of these things which they had seen."

This whole representation is contrary to the supposition of an hallucination, and the united testimony of the three Apostles

brings to grief every thought of one vision only. Loosten, it is true, tries to escape the dilemma by alleging on the part of Jesus a hypnotic influence on the disciples as witnesses: "Since he possessed a remarkable power of suggestion over his disciples, it is possible that he forced them by a kind of hypnotic power to see the same things that he saw. Thus becomes explicable what is said of Peter, 'He knew not what he said; for they were struck with fear' (Mark ix, 6). The expression used by Luke also favours a hypnotic condition of sleep, 'But Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep.' It is also interesting that Jesus forbade them to say anything about it (Matt. xvii, 9). He felt perhaps that the morbid character of the whole incident was mysterious, and he did not want it to be revealed to the people."[1]

This last observation of Loosten is an evidence of excessive critical levity. We have the less need to reply to it, as we have elsewhere brought forth the reasons why Jesus for a time forbade the proclamation of his messianic dignity and glory (vol. I, pp. 138, 144). The additional statement that Peter wist not what he said, for they were sore afraid, is clear to anyone of sense. The transfiguration was such an extraordinary occurrence that the disciples were alarmed at it, yet wished that they could remain for ever in the presence of this glory, while Jesus, on the contrary, now began to speak of his and their future sufferings. Moreover, if the disciples were sore afraid, then they were not hypnotized; for, in a hypnotic state, and in consequence of it, they would have adapted themselves to anything without any consternation. Loosten's strongest argument appears when he infers their hypnotic sleep from the words, "They were heavy with sleep." For that reason he thinks that their sleep was a hypnotic one, and that it was in this hypnotic sleep that they saw the transfiguration. In the Gospel, however, it is said, on the contrary: "They were heavy with sleep, and waking, they saw his glory." While they slept they saw nothing, because it was not a hypnotic sleep; but as soon as they woke up, they saw and heard the incidents of the transfiguration—a proof that there is no justification for speaking of hypnosis and hallucination.

The mysterious days of his fasting and of the Temptation in the desert, and the fearful hours of the Agony in Gethsemani were passed by Jesus in the presence of no human witnesses. They remain for us, therefore, an unfathomable mystery. We know of them only so much as Jesus himself wished should be told us in the Gospel. According to that, we have, no doubt, to do with real, objective events, not with fantasies of the brain, when it is narrated that Jesus contended with Satan in a temptation repeated three times, and that he was then

[1] Loosten, 60 ff.

ministered to by angels, and, later still, was comforted by them on the Mount of Olives. Exegetical criticism should think of hallucinations only if the rest of the life of Jesus which is known to us should justify us in such a supposition—that is, if the Saviour should exhibit a constitution inclined to ecstasies and hallucinations. That, however, is not at all the case. Rather does the whole psychical constitution of Jesus offer us the assurance that neither the last named episodes, nor any others, were based upon mental delusions.

An hallucination always presupposes a disturbance of the mental equilibrium. The natural ecstasy, which is here in question—that is, ecstasy as a psychopathic state of rapture —becomes possible only if the activity of the cerebral system becomes weakened or interrupted, and that of the ganglionic system becomes too powerful. In consequence of this, the soul loses the means of regular sense-perception, and even of normal bodily movement. The victim of hallucination is usually dumb, insensible and motionless, or else he makes the most unnatural gestures and movements of the limbs, with which he acts as if he were crazy, according to the character of the hallucinatory manifestations.

Corresponding to these bodily symptoms of the malady are symptoms of profound psychical disease. The nervous system is highly overwrought and in feverish excitement, over which the victim of the hallucination has no control. The imagination is disordered, distracted, and filled with the wildest fancies. The will is irresolute, indolent and weak to the point of complete helplessness. The thoughts roam hither and thither without stability or order, since the victim is not able to direct them. His power of forming a decision remains inert. Flashes of thought may succeed one another with astonishing rapidity, but "it is a mind of superficiality, which does not understand itself, and which in the intellectual order comes directly after that of the parrot."

The sufferer from hallucination is not necessarily a paranoiac, yet certainly is bordering on insanity. Continued hallucinations force the rational daily life more and more into the background, and end in complete derangement. No psychopath will agree with O. Holtzmann, when he, on the one hand, stamps Jesus as a visionary, and even supposes in him a continuous state of ecstasy, and, on the other, says of him that he was perfectly healthy mentally.[1] Whoever defends this hallucination-theory must, much more logically, presuppose a disordered mentality in the Saviour, or, with Rasmussen, Loosten and Binet-Sanglé, simply call him a paranoiac.

Not only has the psychiatric criticism of Jesus proved itself a delusive theory, but even liberal investigators confess that

[1] *Leben Jesu*, 106.

every psychopathical depreciation of Jesus contradicts the portrait of him given in the Gospels. O. Holtzmann, above all, sees in him nothing morbid,[1] and says: "Jesus proves so fully the clearness and certainty of his judgement and the strength of his will, directed to definite good purposes, that in his case the introduction of visions, caused by mental disorder, is absolutely impossible."[2] And was he, nevertheless, a visionary? This is a glaring contradiction. The only conclusion which results from Holtzmann's words is a rejection of the theory of illusions. This is felt not only by critics like Bernhard Weiss and Willibald Beyschlag, but also by Julius Kögel, Ernst Kühl and even Hermann von Soden. Kögel considers "the theory of ecstasies as unjustified."[3] Kühl says no less decidedly: "The whole impression of the personality of Jesus . . . renders the theory of visionary conditions in his life completely impossible."[4] Soden remarks emphatically: "And this nature is thoroughly healthy. In spite of all his depth of feeling, there is no trace of sentimental extravagance. In spite of all the ardour of his piety, there is no sign of ecstasy or visions."[5]

But if this be so, and if the theory of ecstasies or visions runs counter to the portrait of Jesus in the Gospels, and cannot be proved by a single one of the Gospel episodes, where, then, lies the real and only motive for the supposition of hallucinations in the life of the Saviour? Precisely in our enemies' conception of the world and of Jesus, which is involved in their philosophy of the universe.

Wherever we encounter the vision-theory, we meet infallibly, from first to last, the presupposition: "A revelation and supernatural religion are impossible." This idea wholly dominates the atheistic, monistic, rationalistic and rationalizing criticism of Jesus. This criticism constructs its so-called historical Jesus in opposition to the Christ of faith. Everything in the life of Jesus, which seems perfectly natural and wholly human, is recognized as genuine and historical, and the sum-total of the traits thus accepted is supposed to form the historical portrait of Jesus. On the contrary, everything which cannot be understood from the purely human conception of Jesus is stamped as a later ingredient and an addition to the Jesus-legend of faith. If it be objected by us that Jesus himself had a superhuman consciousness, as the Messiah and Son of God, and experienced supernatural revelations at his Baptism, in the Temptation, the Transfiguration, and in the Agony of Gethsemani, then it is said he cannot have observed

[1] *ibid.* [2] *ibid.*

[3] *Probleme der Geschichte Jesu und die moderne Kritik*, 48 (1906). Cf. *Jesu Ekstase und die Verkündigung seiner Parusie* in *Reich Christi*, viii, 362-380.

[4] *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 41 (1907).

[5] *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, 90 (1907).

any such things in a normal state of consciousness, but can have "experienced" them only in an ecstatic vision.

We find this mode of thought everywhere among those who advocate the "Vision-theory." O. Holtzmann designates as "ecstatically visionary" all those utterances which "exceed the human standard," and all the thoughts and views which "lie beyond the limits of human imagination."[1] According to Loosten, with all that sort of thing "the historian has no concern. That can be merely matter of inward experience,"[2] of visions and hallucinations, and of a rift in the soul of Jesus, developed either from within outward, or from without inward.

There is no doubt that the theory of illusions is the logical outcome of the preconceived philosophical conception, characteristic of the sceptical criticism of Jesus. Both from an historical and scientific point of view, however, the theory of hallucinations in Jesus of Nazareth is untenable.

The only question remaining is, whether we are justified in speaking at least of his extravagant enthusiasm.

2. *His Psychopathical Exaltation.*

By exaltation we understand a one-sided, intense excitement of the psychical life produced by the delusion of passionately conceived ideas. According to the domain to which these ideas belong, exaltation of this sort is classified as artistic, scientific, political or religious. The religious *exalté* insists upon an extravagantly conceived view, or on some partial manifestation of religious life, cherished to excess, whereby he rejects all superior authority, and relies only on his own particular relationship to God.

Most of the unorthodox critics of to-day include Jesus in the number of religious visionaries, fanatics or enthusiasts. In many cases, they express themselves ambiguously when they call Jesus an "ecstatic." But, provided we leave out of the question the "ecstatic visions," already discussed, the word "ecstasy" means to them nothing more or less than exaltation. We have already demonstrated this fact sufficiently in regard to O. Holtzmann, the champion of the ecstasy theory. According to him, Jesus—at least, after the conclusion of his Galilean activity—and in consequence of his "extravagant messianic hopes," was driven into an "exalted mode of action," into an "*exalté's* path," and into "a state of extravagant exaltation."[3] These transitory visionary conditions are said to have resulted in a permanent exalted way of thinking and acting.[4]

Many investigators before and since Holtzmann have held

[1] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 15, note. [2] *id.*, p. 38.
[3] *Leben Jesu*, 109. [4] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 50-113.

similar views, but some of the earlier rationalists still hesitated or rejected the theory of exaltation entirely. Thus, Theodor Keim writes that "in the case of Christ there can be no mention of 'powerful exaltation.'"[1] "The holy serenity, clearness and spirituality of his actions is the very opposite of all sanguine precipitancy and outbursts of anger."[2] Karl Hase also confesses: "We have shrunk from recognizing in him any unprecedented exaltation."[3]

Strauss alone had already cast aside this reserve. In his letter to Käferle, June 15, 1862, he says: "When a man has given up the orthodox view of Jesus, there stands before him, first of all, the *exalté,* an *exalté* so intense that it is difficult to conceive of so much exaltation combined with so much good sense."[4] Renan, the French Strauss, entitles the nineteenth chapter of his *Vie de Jésus,* "Increasing Enthusiasm and Exaltation." His Jesus is an exalted "inspired" man, who verges on the limits of insanity. "In him the madman closely approaches the inspired man; but insanity never achieves success. Until now, madness has never succeeded in exercising a decisive influence on the progress of humanity."[5] Supporting his statements by Renan, Havet also describes Jesus as one "inspired," and adds: "Modern criticism sees in inspired men, sick men, whose intelligence has been overwrought to the point of mental disorder."[6]

The new radical critics loyally support this opinion. Thus, although Rasmussen, Loosten and Binet-Sanglé, as we know, hold that the exaltation of Jesus rose to complete insanity, Julius Baumann thinks: "We do not need to imagine religious mania in him. . . . We can satisfy ourselves with calling it nervous hyper-irritability . . . an excessive irritability of the nerves, such as has made its appearance so frequently in the history of religion."[7] Ernst Horneffer writes of the preaching of Jesus: "I see nothing but a dream—the ardent dream of an *exalté.* We honour it, but cannot share it."[8] For Eduard von Hartmann, Jesus is briefly "a quiet fanatic and transcendental *exalté.*"[9]

The most modern liberal school still endeavours, in part at least, to combat the theory which makes an *exalté* of Jesus. Among them are Bernhard Weiss on the more conservative

[1] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara,* ii, 571 (1867-1872).
[2] *id.,* i, 547. [3] *Geschichte Jesu,* 677 (2nd ed., 1891).
[4] *Cf.* Strauss, *Leben Jesu,* i, 494 (1835), and later his *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* pp. 236 ff. (1864), as well as his latest book, *Der alte und der neue Glaube,* p. 73 (1881).
[5] *Vie de Jésus,* 80 (49th ed., Paris, Calmann-Lévy).
[6] *Le Christianisme et ses origines,* iv, 41 (Paris 1884).
[7] *Die Gemütsart Jesu,* pp. 40, 50 (1908). For Baumann the distinctive character of religion in general is nervous irritability and exaltation.
[8] *Jesus im Lichte der Gegenwart,* p. 13 (1910).
[9] *Das Christentum des Neuen Testaments,* p. 72 (1905).

right wing; Harnack, Heinrich Holtzmann and Pfleiderer in the centre; and Julius Wellhausen on the left. Wellhausen expressly declares: "He [Jesus] has in himself really nothing of the ecstatic *exalté*."[1]

In opposition to them, however, numerous liberal critics declare themselves in favour of the theory of exaltation. Nothing else can be meant when Wilhelm Bousset reminds his readers of "many a crisis in the life of Jesus in which he acts as if driven on by dim, inexplicable inward stimuli; of the impulsiveness with which he promulgates his weirdly strict moral requirements; of the ardent certainty with which he announces the nearness of the wonderful kingdom of God."[2] Still more definitely does Adolf Jülicher depict Jesus as a religious *exalté*, who "was not satisfied to dream of his ideals, like a mystic, but lived and worked with them, saw them already tangible before him," and led himself and others into error with his enthusiasms.[3]

We do not need to name, in connection with Bousset and Jülicher, many liberals of lesser importance, yet at least may mention Frenssen, who most faithfully represents the liberal-protestant school, and whose Jesus (Kai Jans) is nothing else than a dreamer and enthusiast, essentially as he was once portrayed in the poetical productions of R. Prut and Heinrich Heine, and against whom Goethe, in the worst period of his life, wrote the unworthy words: "Every enthusiast is hanged only in his thirtieth year."[4]

The view of Jesus as an *exalté* is, therefore, spread broadcast among critics of all shades, although the moderns often prefer the ambiguous word "ecstasy" to the German word "Schwärmerei"—extravagant enthusiasm.

Since the time of Lepsius, modern research as to Jesus has become, for the most part, "a tragedy of enthusiasm," and O. Holtzmann can truly say that "the ecstasy-theory may for the moment be considered to be the dominant one" in the camp of the sceptics.[5]

This is not at all to be wondered at. On the contrary, the rationalizing school of research must represent the Saviour as an *exalté* if it wishes to be logical and does not prefer merely to play with psychiatric theories.

This inexorable necessity results from the modern conception of Jesus, derived from a religious-historical and religious-psychological point of view, and especially from its attitude towards the consciousness of Jesus. As the modern higher criticism looks upon Christianity as only the result of the natural evolution of humanity, and considers it merely as

[1] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 96 (1911).
[2] *Jesus*, p. 12, 3rd ed.
[3] Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, ii, 8 (2nd ed., 1910).
[4] Frenssen, *Hilligenlei*, pp. 496 and 541.
[5] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 10.

a transitional stage in the moral, intellectual and religious progress of the race, so also does it regard the Saviour Jesus Christ as only one member and a single factor of this natural evolution. It sees in him merely a man, without any previous life in heaven and with no divine nature—a man, like other men.

With this difference, that this particular man believed that he had an extraordinary task in life. He cherished the consciousness that he was the world's Messiah, and lived for the messianic vocation—to announce the coming kingdom of heaven, and, through his preaching, activity, sufferings, death, resurrection and reappearance, to make it a reality.

But how is it possible to solve the psychological riddle of his messianic consciousness from the standpoint of these critics? It is, of course, evident that a mere man can never, in a normal state of mind, believe himself to be the Messiah. If, nevertheless, he does so, he thereby proves indubitably that he thinks too highly of himself, that he is a dreamer, a religious fanatic and enthusiast. To this extent, O. Holtzmann is right when he writes: "The claim to be the Messiah is for Jewish minds such an unheard-of piece of audacity, that a conviction that one is entitled to make such a claim can be reached only in a state of ecstasy. A quiet, sober way of thinking will never lead one who is a mere man to believe that the judgement of the living and the dead, and the dominion over a glorified world, will ever be consigned to him."[1] Accordingly, the majority of the liberal and radical critics assume that in the psychical life of Jesus there was a fundamental element of exaggerated exaltation, which, in some exceptional hours in his career, such as his Baptism, Temptation, Transfiguration, and Agony, rose "in the lofty spheres of sentiment"[2] to visionary hallucinations, but which elsewhere remained permanently on the level of mere day-dreams. From this state, however, Jesus easily came to see visions, in which he acquired the conviction of his messianic dignity, and, in conformity with this conviction, he thereafter acted, preached, worked and thought, as a genuine, chronic enthusiast. Such is the explanation of liberal and radical criticism, and we cannot but recognize that in this it proceeds logically. In fact, whoever sees in Jesus Christ merely a man is compelled to think thus.

But it is precisely here that there lies the key to the refutation of the theory of exaltation. Jesus is held to be an *exalté* only because, and in so far as, in his consciousness, his person, his teaching and his activity, the supernatural, the messianic, or the completely divine asserts itself.

[1] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 39, and Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, p. 155 (1900).

[2] J. Weiss, *id.*, p. 157.

It is true, other pretended doubts of his sober, quiet and normal mental condition are occasionally presented. Bousset, for example, sums these up approximately in the words: "We think of the struggles of Jesus in prayer, of his continually repeated flights into solitude,[1] of the intense emotional excitement which seized upon him especially in connection with his acts of healing and miracles,[2] of the sudden flaming up of his indignation, of many a crisis in his life in which he, so to speak, acted under the pressure of obscure, inexplicable impulses,[3] of the energy with which he promulgates his weirdly strict moral requirements, and of the ardent certainty with which he announces the nearness of the wonderful kingdom of God."[4]

But provided in all this it is not a question of the purely natural manifestations of a perfectly normal human inner life, everything is comprehensible from the standpoint of the messianic and divine consciousness of Jesus. This, however, forms precisely the stumbling-block for the "exaltationists."

We read this, wellnigh page after page, in the oft-mentioned typical book of O. Holtzmann. In his opinion, the messianic idea of the nearness of the kingdom of heaven has in it the element of exaltation. "From the beginning, Jesus holds fast to the ecstatical, fundamental thought of the Baptist, regarding the proximity of the kingdom of heaven. That is not, however, the view of a person proceeding quietly along life's appointed way. Whoever sees before him the speedy collapse of the whole existing order of the world, lives in a realm of ideas foreign to most men. . . . The notion that one can, by one's own action, confer immediately the ultimate and highest good upon humanity, will always be thought to be ecstatical."[5] So much the more is the language of Jesus, concerning the actual presence of the kingdom of God, that of an *exalté*. "At the basis of these discourses about the presence of the kingdom of God, there is everywhere, from the first, an ecstatical expectation of the speedy coming of God's kingdom with power. Because Jesus starts out with this expectation, he can . . . see the dawning of the kingdom

[1] To pray and to withdraw into solitude for prayer is, for those who deny everything supernatural, "exaltation." Religion even is for them nothing but "psychical, inward experience," emotional intoxication, without any real relation to a supra-mundane divine being.

[2] Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 96, says precisely the reverse—namely, that Jesus "in performing his great deeds shows wonderful calmness and steadiness."

[3] Bousset cites, as evidence of this, Mark i, 35, 38; vi, 31, 45; and x, 32, where it is stated that Jesus rose early to pray; that he determined to go into the nearest cities to preach; that he invited his disciples to rest a little in solitude; that he set off suddenly for Bethsaida, and finally, on the way to Jerusalem, in advance of his disciples.

[4] Bousset, *Jesus,* 3rd ed., p. 12.

[5] *War Jesus Ekstatiker,* pp. 50 and 52.

of God already actually at hand, yet in its entirety still concealed. It is clear that such a perception lifts him far above the common view of things; it transfigures for him the whole world; it produces ecstasy . . . the belief in the nearness of the Last Judgement and of the kingdom of God,[1] the belief that he himself was the future Messiah; the conviction that through his own activity the kingdom of God was already in preparation; and his assurance of the kingdom of God to separate individuals—all this might and must be regarded as ecstatical."[2]

No less ecstatical are the miracles of Jesus, because they have been evolved out of his Messianic consciousness: "Also in the miracles of Jesus, so far as they may be judged historically, the ecstatical element in Jesus finds expression.[3] . . . The (messianic) sense of duty impelled Jesus to alleviate and remove distress among the sick, and his ecstatical faith (in his Messianic vocation) gave him actually the power to render such help. Again, by means of his successes, he inspired the sick with confidence that he could help them, and this confidence contributed to the healing of many."[4]

Ecstatical also are "the prophecies of his sufferings and death. . . . The thought which came to him in ecstasy, that the Messiah must die, Jesus only gradually applied to himself. . . . If Jesus (at the Last Supper) expressed by action and accompanying words that his death was the means of bringing about the promised union between God and man, this is again a highly ecstatical utterance; it transcends the measure of human self-consciousness."[5]

Therefore, everything that exceeds the measure of human self-consciousness, everything that indicates a Messianic or wholly divine consciousness in Jesus, everything that proceeds from this consciousness—deserves, in Holtzmann's opinion, the name of ecstasy or of exaltation.

And Holtzmann is not the only one to make such assertions. Havet thus explains the "inspirational" or overwrought mental condition of Jesus: "Jesus does not conduct himself in the way usual to men. He sees what others do not see; he knows what they do not know; and what he teaches comes to him not from men, but from heaven. Moreover, he does

[1] We shall treat elsewhere of the prophecies of Jesus concerning his second coming. It will be shown that Holtzmann and the liberal critics are unjust in attributing to the Saviour the extravagantly "enthusiastic" idea that he was to appear again immediately, on the morrow even, at the last judgement and the end of the world.

[2] *id.*, 53 and 71.

[3] Holtzmann admits as historical only a part of the *miracles of healing*, because he fancies that he can explain them as ecstatical. He rejects as unhistorical all the miracles of *raising from the dead*, and also *those of nature*, because they cannot be explained by ecstatical influence (*id.*, 92-96 and 99).

[4] *id.*, 98.

[5] *id.*, 100, 104, 113.

not demonstrate and convince; he commands. He produces the illusion that he has in himself something supernatural, and he himself seems to indulge in this illusion. He is not a professional teacher like the scribes, but a man of faith. . . . The more such traits are contained in the Gospel, the more divine does the Jesus of the Gospels appear in ages of faith. To-day, however, such a state of mind makes us uneasy. Modern criticism sees in 'inspired' persons, people who are ill, and whose intellect has been strained to the point of derangement."[1]

"If Jesus himself claimed to be the founder of a religion," remarks A. Kalthoff, "and if he regarded himself as the Messiah and the founder of a world-kingdom, then, as a man, he was an *exalté,* who can now excite at most a pathological interest."[2] This is also the opinion of Karl Otto. "Deprived of everything transcendental and supernatural, and relegated in his miraculous powers to the place which is due to him, we see in Christ only a mortal man, full of high intelligence and pure aspirations, inspired also, certainly, by a morbid ambition, which finally nearly bordered on megalomania. It intoxicated him to be called God by the people."[3] W. von Schnehen takes a similar view. "If Jesus really, as the Gospels represent, believed himself to be the Messiah, the Son of God, or anything else of a wholly peculiar significance and divine rank, then we have therein undoubtedly the expression of a morbidly exaggerated self-esteem, an *exalté,* comprehensible only pathologically."[4] Frenssen also, who has translated liberal christology into the language of the poets and the people, founds his charge that the Saviour was a dreamer and an *exalté,* upon his supernatural consciousness: "His mind evolves colossal ideas, and creates pictures of immense glory. His mind goes to the very limits of sublime insanity."[5]

This, therefore, is an incontrovertible fact—psychopathological criticism considers Jesus to have been an *exalté* only because he claimed to be more than a man and possessed a superhuman consciousness. Now, certainly, a mere man, who pretends to be the Messiah or God himself, is actually a fanatical *exalté.* So far, sceptical criticism is right. But when it declares Jesus, at the outset and without any investigation, to have been a mere man; when it rejects on principle all proofs of the truth of his divinely Messianic consciousness; when it either eliminates altogether from the Gospel every transcendental, supernatural manifestation and revelation of

[1] *Le Christianisme et ses Origines,* iv, 41.
[2] *Das Christus-Problem,* p. 27 (2nd ed., 1903).
[3] *Die Wahrheit über Jesus von Nazareth,* p. 50 (1909).
[4] *Der moderne Jesuskultus,* p. 9 (2nd ed., 1906).
[5] *Hilligenlei,* p. 541.

Jesus, or, at all events, regards them as a proof of mental derangement—it is wrong. Every honest historian, whether he believes in Christ or not, must indignantly reject this mutilation of the history of Jesus by the naturalistic philosophy and view of life, as being unscientific and audacious prejudice. That would mean condemning history and philosophy to a madhouse.

But let us leave this for a moment out of consideration. Let us suppose, for an instant, that everything supernatural does exist only in the imagination of fanatical enthusiasts, and that Jesus must on this account be numbered among their company. Is the problem of sceptical psychology in regard to Jesus thereby solved? Does the Protestant, nay, does merely the liberal-radical portrait of Jesus, correspond to the appellation "religious *exalté*"? Not at all.

Every line and every feature of that portrait contradicts the characterization of Jesus as an *exalté*.

The *exalté* is eccentric by nature, the very opposite of a calm, complete and mature character. His delusion never allows him to arrive at intellectual clarity, sober consideration, reflection, an unprejudiced judgement, and peace and harmony of soul. Unstable, immature, confused, without aim, sense of proportion and mental equilibrium—that is the psychical personality of the *exalté*. Think merely of the false Messiahs—of Mohammed and the fanatics of history.

Jesus Christ is the very opposite of these. High and holy calm, undimmed clarity of intellect, complete, absolute harmony of thought and will in word and deed, and unfathomable, divine peace, unclouded by a single passion, these fill his soul. "A quiet, equable composure of mind, wholly directed towards one aim, governs him . . . an inward freedom and cheerfulness of soul in the midst of the highest mental tension, such as no prophet before him ever possessed, . . . a proof of intense calmness and complete certainty."[1] Even Bousset is compelled to "acknowledge" the impression of quiet certainty, friendliness, peace and harmony of soul in the whole portrait of Jesus.[2] Could such a man have been a fanatical enthusiast?

The *exalté* is fanatical in his demands. For him there is only one thing to be thought of—to push forward in his crazy way, regardless of consequences. For this even the most infamous means and the most crooked methods are good enough for him. With force and violence, fire and sword, he strikes down everything that opposes his plans. Pitiless and irreconcilable to his foes and those who differ from him in opinion, he has for them only curses, hate and persecution. Shameless and unreasonable in his treatment of his friends

[1] Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums*, p. 23 (1905).
[2] *Jesus*, p. 13.

and partisans, he exploits them to promote his cause with cold, satanic selfishness.

How entirely different is Jesus! Although he devotes himself to his lofty task with his whole soul, he does not wish to establish his kingdom with furious violence and fanatical, arbitrary power. The kingdom of God is to develop itself gradually, from within outward, in an organic evolution and out of its own force, like the mustard seed, which silently and quietly grows into a great tree. Every violent measure he rejects indignantly. "Put up thy sword into the scabbard," he cries at a critical moment to Peter (John xviii, 11), and sharply checks the "sons of thunder" who wish to call down fire from heaven upon his enemies. "Ye know not of what spirit you are. The Son of Man came not to destroy souls, but to save" (Luke ix, 55 f.). "Blessed are the peacemakers; blessed are the merciful; blessed are the meek; blessed are they that suffer persecution, blessed, blessed, blessed" (Matt. v, 4-11). Meekness, gentleness, love, peaceableness, mercy, forgiveness, self-denial, self-renunciation, self-sacrifice even to the severest suffering, yes, even unto death, for friend and foe—these are the underlying principles of his life and Gospel. He can, therefore, recommend for imitation his meekness and humility—the personal opposite of, and the living contrast to, fanaticism. "Learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart" (Matt. xi, 29).

The ideas of the *exalté* are fantastic. He is properly the man of one idea, and this is a result of his unbridled power of imagination—a form of insanity. The very pith and essence of fanatical enthusiasm lies in the fact that it stands in contradiction to reality, and lives for a confused dream, whose realization is utterly impossible. It has no eyes to see, no ears to hear, and no heart to feel anything else in heaven or on earth.

But who has not admired the sense of reality, the universal frankness, and the warm sensibility of Jesus for all and everything? "He lived in religion, which was for him the breath of life, in the fear of God. His whole life and all his feeling and thinking were absorbed into his relationship with God; and yet he never spoke like an *exalté* and fanatic, who sees only one burning point, and for whom, on that account, all the rest of the world and all that is in it vanishes. He delivered his sermons, and looked out into the world with a clear, fresh perception of the great and the small in the life which surrounded him. He proclaimed the fact that the gaining of the whole world is of no importance, if the soul be lost; and yet he remained sympathetic for and interested in every living thing. That is the greatest and most astonishing thing about him. His words—generally put into the form of parables and aphorisms—display all degrees of human speech

and the whole scale of human emotions. . . . Entrusted with the highest mission, his eyes and ears remain open to every impression of the life about him."[1]

What has he not observed, experienced, shared and depicted in his discourses and parables! What is there that has not enchained his interest? House, hearth and home; the playing and banter of children, whom he caresses and blesses; the care of the woman for her wheaten flour, yeast and bread-baking, or for her house-cleaning and looking for her lost coin; the son going into a far country, and the sorrowful father watching for his return; the happiness and peace of a circle of friends, which he knows how to enjoy perfectly; the bridal procession, the customs at a wedding, and the marriage feast in which he participates; the festivities of the living and the lamentations for the dead; agriculture and vine-growing, trade and industry, the preparation of the soil, and the yoke of oxen in the field; the sowing of the seed, the growth and swelling of the grain, the watering of it and the pulling up of weeds, the withering and trampling under foot of the young growth, the cutting of the sickle, the entry into the barns, the separation of the wheat from the chaff and the burning of the weeds; the vintner among the vines, his work and his activity; the day labourers, who stand idle in the market-places; the steward who pays the wages; the shepherd who seeks in the fields the lost lamb, and goes after it and brings it back on his shoulders to the fold; the pearl merchant on the sea; the fisherman on his boat or repairing his nets on the shore. Life in all its gradations and in all its relations—those of the family, society and the State; mourning and weeping, laughing and dancing, wealth and poverty; hunger and thirst, health and sickness; the luxury of the fashionable and the misery of the beggars; the caste-system of the higher classes, and the political intrigues of parties; the pupil and the teacher; the tax-collector at the receipt of custom; the money-changer at his table; the dealer in doves and cattle; the official in his room; and the judge in the court-room. Nature, also, with all its beauty and variety—clouds and sunshine, rain and snow, flood and drought; indications of spring, harvest-time, and the approach of autumn; how the trees burst into leaf, how they bear fruit, each after its kind, how they are cut down and used as fuel; the lilies of the field, which surpass in their decoration the fine raiment of Solomon; the hen, which gathers her chickens under her wings and shelters them; the birds of the air and the sparrows on the roof.

These and a thousand other things Jesus has seen, felt, and experienced personally. "A universal and illuminating frankness permeates his discourses, and gives particularly to his

[1] Harnack, *id.*, p. 22.

metaphors and parables a unique and wondrous charm, impregnating them with a glow of the clearest and most splendid colours. In them there is revealed an insight into the things of this world, the significance of which Jesus has absorbed with his sharp and penetrating glance, and whose value, even if naturally only a relative one, he frankly acknowledges, since he makes use of them for the elucidation of his thoughts and imageries."[1] What a contrast between Jesus and the religious *exalté,* who with open eyes dreams in his home in the clouds, without any idea of the world and reality!

The champions of the "ecstatical" school of criticism do not once dare to assert that Jesus can be understood from the standpoint of "ecstatical exaltation." O. Holtzmann himself confesses that "Jesus appears as the exact enemy of everything of an ecstatical nature."[2] No exaltation is to be found in his views of nationality and the State. "There is discoverable in Jesus none of the *exalté's* contempt for nationality and the order of the State."[3] The same is true of his valuation of work and manual labour. "Jesus also did not have a poor opinion of labour . . . and in this Jesus appears as a very enemy of everything in the nature of excited ecstasy."[4] Nor was there anything of the *exalté* in his attitude towards civilization. "If he does not pursue the thought of working for civilization, the reason for this lies in the fact that he sees and approves of civilizing efforts everywhere. The ecstatical element in Jesus here retires entirely into the background."[5] There was also nothing of exaltation in his conception of his vocation and his activity for the care of souls. "Jesus arranges very definitely the activities of his disciples and also his own activity in the sphere of universally useful, vocational efficiency, which, in his opinion, should be a source of livelihood. . . . That is a consideration of the real state of things wholly opposed to the theory of ecstasy."[6] Nor was there anything of the *exalté* in his doctrine of property and social relations. "Also here we see how far removed he is from the picture of a fanatical recluse."[7] The same is true of his idea of God and his revelation. "Precisely here, where we might speak of the highest revelation to Jesus and through Jesus, there is not discoverable the least trace of ecstasy."[8] There was not anything fanatically enthusiastic even in the way in which he develops and understands the doctrine of his Messiahship and his second coming, which is, however, often pointed out as "ecstatical." Even there he reveals his "sober circumspection."[9]

[1] Julius Kögel, *Probleme der Geschichte Jesu und die moderne Kritik,* p. 35 (1906).
[2] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* p. 115.
[3] *id.,* 118.
[4] *id.,* 118.
[5] *id.,* 122.
[6] *id.,* p. 122.
[7] *id.,* 127.
[8] *id.,* 127.
[9] *id.,* 116.

Thus, the most serious attempt of the "ecstatic" school of criticism ends in such a way that it "prudently neither completely affirms the 'ecstatical exaltation' of Jesus, nor yet completely denies it."[1] Once more, therefore, we have the yes-and-no-christology. Christ was an ecstatic and he was not; he was in part an *exalté,* but for the most part was a thoroughly sober-minded man. Everyone must see the duplicity and impossibility of such a psychology. Exaltation and its contradiction cannot dwell in one and the same soul. Here there is only a decided "either one thing or the other." Since our hostile inquirers do not care to say this, it proves only that neither the ecstatical theory nor any kind of psychopathical or wholly psychiatric criticism of Jesus is able to make Jesus intelligible and comprehensible as a mere man.

This is the important final result of our investigation into the mental soundness of Jesus. We only need now to state it more definitely. In sharp and concise words we have before us this conclusion:

1. Sceptical science cannot deny that Jesus claimed to be more than man, and that he had a supernatural and superhuman consciousness. The messianic consciousness, at least, is conceded by liberal-radical theologians, apart from a few eccentrics; and, moreover, orthodox christology proves that this was a divine and Messianic consciousness.

On the other hand, Christ was, according to the principal dogma of our enemies' criticism, only a man; an ideal man certainly; a nobly developed, sublime, profound, courageous man undoubtedly; yet only a man, who "in no respect exceeded the human standard."

2. A mere man, with a more than human consciousness is, however, a logical and psychological contradiction. Every sound intellect recognizes the immensity and absurdity of this contradiction. If Jesus himself did not see it, but rather declared expressly and emphatically that he was a mere man and yet not a mere man, that can have its origin and its explanation only in a mentally abnormal condition. Jesus must, then, have been at least an *exalté* or an ecstatic, suffering from hallucinations. In fact, in his case, exaltation and hallucinations must have reached the highest degree of mental derangement and complete religious paranoia, for only thus can a mere man imagine that he is the Messiah and God. The psychopathical and psychiatric conception of Jesus is, therefore, we reiterate, a necessary postulate of sceptical criticism.

3. But with this postulate sceptical criticism condemns

[1] O. Holtzmann, *Christus,* p. 148 (1907).

itself. If Jesus was really insane—whether in the highest form of religious mania, or in the lowest form of religious exaltation does not affect the issue at all, and results in one and the same thing—then he was neither an ideal man, nor a wonderfully developed type of humanity. The portrait of Jesus drawn by naturalistic and rationalistic christology is, therefore, shown to be in any case a delusion. If the Jesus of the liberals and radicals, with his morbidly exaggerated opinion of himself, had ever really lived, then we should have in him, as the rationalist Schnehen says, " the very best proof of the absurdity of the modern view of Jesus, which wishes to force upon us this *exalté,* only to be understood pathologically as an object of pious reverence and a moral and religious ideal."[1] Hence sceptical research with its pathology, as applied to Jesus, contradicts itself.

4. It is, moreover, in contradiction with historic truth. The psychology of Jesus, as we have been able to convince ourselves, proves worthless every psychiatric and psychopathical claim to be considered valuable. The Saviour's supernatural and superhuman consciousness of his own nature and vocation is that of a thoroughly healthy, sober-minded, intellectually normal man, with a perfectly rational and orderly consciousness.

Very well, then, he is not a mere man. He is that which he considered himself and proclaimed himself to be—the Messiah and the true Son of God.

Only one objection to this would be conceivable—namely, the question whether Jesus was a criminal who has deceived the world. This reproach would, however, again presuppose in Jesus a fanatical mania. Only a mentally deranged criminal could conceive the idea of representing himself to the world as the Messiah and God. That he was no insane criminal is proved with certainty from what has been already said of the mental soundness of Jesus. It will, however, become more evident, when, in the following chapters, we expressly demonstrate the intellectual sublimity and moral perfection of the Saviour. This gives us, moreover, the opportunity of developing two other proofs of the internal truth of the Messianic and divine consciousness of Jesus.

[1] *Der moderne Jesuskultus,* 9 (2nd ed.).

CHAPTER II

THE SPIRITUAL SUBLIMITY OF CHRIST

I.—His Wisdom.

JESUS repeatedly affirms that he is the master and leader of mankind by reason of the truth and wisdom which dwell within him and go forth from him. "I am the truth" (John xiv, 6); "I am the light of the world" (John ix, 5); "One is your Master, Christ" (Matt. xxiii, 10). His disciples are conscious that they have received from this teacher the fulness of knowledge: "We have seen his glory," testifies John in the name of his fellow-apostles, "a glory full of grace and truth" (John i, 14). Paul has also learned that in Jesus Christ "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col. ii, 3). According to the belief of all *positive* Christianity, the "Logos," the Word and Wisdom of God, appeared in Jesus in human form and imparted to men repeated revelations of light and truth out of the treasure of his personal wisdom.

The rationalistic school of research, it is true, denies the divinity of Jesus, and sees in him a mere man. That in this man an unsurpassed and unsurpassable intellectual force revealed itself is acknowledged, however, for the most part by all shades and schools of rationalism. The well-known expression "The sage of Nazareth" has actually become the shibboleth of freethinking Christians ever since the eighteenth century. They enrol Jesus in the category of great men, and even assign to him a central position as the greatest of them all. To them Jesus is the religious genius of the human race; no less than that certainly, but also no more. They think that they have stated thus the entire personal and historical value of Jesus.

Against such a conception of the mental greatness of our Lord, Christianity cannot sufficiently protest. Jesus claims to be more than a man of genius; he claims to be incarnate God and the Son of God. The intellectual sublimity, which reveals itself in his human manifestation, may not be separated from his divine consciousness. His intellectual greatness becomes the test of the truth of his divine consciousness. Jesus would not be the mighty intellect which he is said to be, if he had deceived either himself or us in regard to his recognition of himself as the Messiah and God. Thus considered, the freethinker's belief in the intellectual genius of Jesus becomes an argument in favour of his divinity.

In order to escape this conclusion, the extreme modern critics in the liberal and radical camps deny also the intellectual greatness of the Saviour. They claim that the intellectual capabilities and accomplishments of Jesus were really exceedingly modest.[1] Sometimes he is made to appear as an average sort of man, tormenting himself with his ideas and frequently falling into errors, like Kai Jans in Frenssen's *Hilligenlei;* at other times his Gospel is maliciously caricatured in order, in accordance with psychopathical criticism, to accuse him of promulgating, together with really intelligent ideas, many senseless trivialities also. Sometimes they try to make him the advocate of their own syncretic, atheistic and socialistic views, and deeply regret that he does not approve such ideas. They are, however, chiefly scandalized because Jesus has revealed nothing new in regard to secular matters. Neither philosophy, nor philology, nor the science of history, nor medicine, physics, chemistry, mathematics nor astronomy have found in him a professional representative and promoter.

However true this last assertion is, it proves nothing against the intellectual greatness of Jesus Christ. He could have been a great, yes, the greatest of human geniuses, without distinguishing himself in all the spheres of knowledge and ability.

It is not important that the wise man should cultivate all departments of intellectual life, but it is important that he should act as an original genius in some one department. Superiority and leadership establish the fact of genius, however broad or narrow may be the domain of knowledge or ability which it controls.

The truth is, it was not the task and vocation of the Saviour to be a leader in politics, art, science, or philosophy, but only in religion.

The whole revelation of the Old and New Testament had for its object solely the religious and moral education of the human race; and he who perfected and completed this revelation pursued no other aim. "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix, 10). "God sent his Son into the world, that the world might be saved through him" (John iii, 17). "I am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly" (John x, 10). Jesus directed his efforts only to the supermundane and supernatural life of faith, holiness and final blessedness. Nowhere and never was he anxious to correct or amplify by word or example the purely secular notions of his time. He passed

[1] See, for example, Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 49th ed., pp. 32-44; E. v. Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testamentes*, pp. 44-49 (1905); W. v. Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesuskultus*, pp. 23 and 36 (1906); and Binet-Sanglé, etc.

them on, as they came to him and to his fellow-countrymen through simple observation or tradition. His wisdom was essentially religious wisdom from God, divine revelation. That civilization, art and science were also indirectly benefited by the moral and religious transformation of the world brought about by Jesus is an historic fact. This lay hidden, in advance, in that saying of Christ: "Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you" (Matt. vi, 33; Luke xii, 31). But the object directly striven for by Jesus was only the moral and religious renovation of the world. In this renovation he manifests and demonstrates his strength and greatness of mind.

The inquiry as to the novelty and sublimity of the teaching of Jesus is identical with the question whether his teaching concerning the Old Testament and the late Judaism of his own day is elevated or not. The pagan philosophies and religions do not here come into consideration. Apart from the fact that they stand immeasurably lower than the teaching of Jesus, they can have had no influence in any way upon the founder of Christianity. Jesus came into no contact with them whatsoever. That is to-day conceded even by our opponents. The times when it was announced in the nursery of youthful historians of religion that the Saviour had studied and made a hotch-potch of Egyptian, Grecian, Babylonian and Buddhist wisdom are gone for ever. At most, the Christianity of the Apostles and the primitive Church is still occasionally described as explained by the "history of religions." The teaching of Jesus is acknowledged to have had its growth entirely on the soil of Palestine. The religious environment from which Christ emerged and in which he was active was exclusively that of the Old Testament and of the late rabbinical Judaism contemporaneous with him. His wisdom is new and peculiar in so far as it rises above the religion of the Old Testament and late Judaism.

We could indeed say briefly—in so far as it rises above the later Jewish religion. If the religious knowledge of Jesus rises above late Judaism, it bears the stamp of the new and peculiar, whether it surpasses the Old Testament or is only a return to it. For the latter appeared to Jesus, humanly speaking, only through the perspective of rabbinical late Judaism. Between Moses and the prophets, on the one hand, and the Gospel, on the other, lay many centuries, which made an approach to the right understanding of the Old Testament revelation difficult and sometimes almost impossible.

The Rabbis had encompassed and barricaded the "Law" more and more with a veritable battlement of dogmatic, exegetical and casuistic precepts. Their greatest pride consisted in having erected a "fence" around the Law. "Make

a fence about the Law! Make the fence high!" That was their highest principle.[1] They did indeed make it high; so high and strong that they themselves could no longer see over it to discern the Law; so firm and impenetrable that it separated them from the Law for ever. It is that for which Christ, with holy indignation, reproached the Rabbis, saying: "Woe to you lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge (of the Old Testament); you yourselves have not entered in (to their sanctuary), and those that were entering in, you have hindered" (Luke xi, 52). The result of the pharisaic cavilling about the Law was that they first of all misunderstood the prophetic meaning, the religious doctrine, the soul and spirit of the Old Testament, and disfigured them in favour of a mere literal obedience to the Mosaic Law; and, secondly, that they then made special interpretations of the letter of the Law itself, and misstated it in favour of arbitrary precepts invented by themselves.[2]

Jesus waged a relentless conflict with this pharisaical legalism. His entire life and teaching stand in direct opposition to rabbinical Judaism. "Woe, woe, woe"—this annihilating word comes to his lips whenever he speaks of the typical representatives of Judaism of that time. That the Pharisees and scribes of that day hated him most bitterly, persecuted him and finally crucified him on account of his hostility to rabbinism, is known to every reader of the Gospels. The Apostle Peter considers liberation from the rabbinical Law and yoke as one of the principal achievements of the lifework and the death of Jesus, when he speaks of the *vana conversatio paternae traditionis* to his Jewish Christians. "You were redeemed . . . with the precious blood of Christ . . . from your vain conversation of the tradition of your fathers" (1 Pet. i, 18). If the Saviour had accomplished merely this one thing—the return from late Judaism to the pure, unadulterated religion of the Old Testament—he would have effected a new creation of the first magnitude.

He went, however, still further. His creative wisdom as a teacher makes itself effective also in contrast to the Old Testament. Certainly in quite another sense. From what has just been said, it appears beyond a doubt that he did not intend to found a religion fundamentally different from that of the Old Testament. His words are very definite on this point: "Do not think that I am come to destroy the Law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled" (Matt. v, 17, 18). Fulfilment, completion and consummation of the

[1] *Pirke aboth*, i, 1.

[2] For proof of this, see my lecture, *The Crisis in Religious Judaism at the Time of Christ* (1903).

truth of the Old Testament revelation—these were, therefore, the first object of his appearance in the midst of the people and country of Israel.[1]

But every true fulfilment and completion is, in contrast to that which is unfulfilled, unfinished, germinating and budding, something new. Every fulfilment and accomplishment pre supposes that the former imperfect form is done away with and replaced by something better and more perfect. Indeed, Jesus appears in the highest sense original also, when he transmits the thoughts of the prophets. For he does not transmit them without, at the same time, filling them with the full force of life, and transforming them into flexible reality. The cleft between thought and deed, prediction and accomplishment is in him completely closed.

There is not a single Old Testament doctrine which has not been brought into a new light through Christianity. Yet Jesus also goes far beyond the Old Testament, and proclaims with creative genius a message hitherto unheard. It does not at all follow from his consciousness of standing on the foundation of the Old Testament that he has remained standing by the Old Testament. He feels himself, indeed, to be the absolute master of the Mosaic Law (Matt. xii, 8; Mark ii, 28; Luke vi, 5). As such he advances boldly over and beyond the doctrinal wisdom of the then existing sources of revelation, and says: "You have heard that it was said to them of old . . . but I say to you" (Matt. v, 21-48).

This independence in the perceptions and demands of Jesus, from the very beginning of his public appearance, astonished the Jews, so that they disputed among themselves and said: "What is this? A new doctrine with full authority?" (Mark i, 27). Jesus accomplished both the fulfilment of the Old Testament and its further development into the Gospel in such a masterly way that his whole religion bears throughout the stamp of something new, peculiar, independent, and in all respects original.

Within the limits of this book we can only demonstrate this along the main lines of the preaching of Jesus.[2]

[1] *Cf.* L. Jacob, *Jesu Stellung zum Mosaischen Gesetz* (1893); J. Meinhold, *Jesus und das Alte Testament,* pp. 1-109 (1896); H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie,* i, pp. 130-160 (1897); Hans H. Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu,* pp. 177-209 (1901).

[2] For a full exposition of the teaching of Jesus see G. Schnedermann, *Das Judentum und die christliche Verkündigung in den Evangelien* (1884); Bousset, *Jesu Predigt im Gegensatz zum Judentum* (1892); B. Weiss, *Lehrbuch der biblischen Theologie der Neuen Testamentes* (1895), pp. 32-116; W. Beyschlag, *Neutestamentliche Theologie,* i (1896); H. J. Holtzmann, *id.,* i, 28-344; Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums,* 32-47; Erich von Schrenck, *Jesus und seine Predigt,* pp. 24-234 (1902); Pierre Batiffol, *L'Enseignement de Jésus* (1905); Philipp Bachmann, *Die neue Botschaft in der Lehre Jesu* (1905); Ludwig Lemme, *Jesu Wissen und Weisheit* (1907); L. Pullan, *The Teaching of our Lord*

The Christianity of the New Testament cannot in any case be treated here in its entirety. The proof that the teaching of the Apostles goes back in all points to Jesus has not yet been produced. Only the Gospels are to be considered as documentary evidence of his wisdom. But we ought not to form an estimate of the doctrinal contents of the Gospels without any distinction and in the sense in which they are held by believing Christians to-day. The specifically Christian dogmas of the divine Trinity, of Baptism as a sacrament, and of the Eucharist—in a word, the mysteries of Christian doctrine—presuppose faith. Whenever it is a question of the proofs of the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus, and, in general, of the apologetic preliminary conditions of faith, we must at once give up the introduction of the mysteries. We shall be able to come to an understanding with our opponents only in respect of those fundamental characteristics of the preaching of Jesus which cannot be overlooked or contested by any reader of the Gospels.[1] These fundamental characteristics consist of the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God, the Gospel of the Kingdom of God, and the Gospel of Likeness to God.[2]

1. *The Gospel of the Fatherhood of God.*

The Apostle John is thoroughly aware that Jesus brought to mankind a new conception of God, and that it is precisely this conception which forms the soul of the Gospel: "This is the declaration which we have heard from him . . . that God is light and in him there is no darkness" (1 John i, 5). Moreover, Jesus himself declares that he is the representative and preacher of an entirely new idea of God: "No one knoweth the Father, but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him" (Matt. xi, 27; Luke x, 22). This is certainly not to be understood in the sense that Jesus had revealed a hitherto unknown God. Rather does he point out that the God of whom he speaks is the God of the Old Testament and of all his Jewish contemporaries—Jehovah Elohim, the one personal God, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the God of Israel (Mark xii, 26, 29).

Jesus, however, teaches men to know this God, as God the Father, paternal goodness, paternal love, the heavenly Father. The announcement of God as the heavenly Father is the most

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(London 1908); Schell, *Jahwe und Christus,* pp. 403-480 (1908); G. B. Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus* (London 1910); H. B. Swete, *Studies in the Teaching of our Lord* (London 1911).

[1] *Cf.* Ottiger, *Theologia fundamentalis,* i, p. 606 (1897).

[2] For the peculiar form of the teaching of Jesus, see the admirable exposition by E. Esser, in *Jesus Christus, der göttliche Lehrer der Menschheit,* pp. 215-219 (1913).

original feature of his preaching. By this alone he created a really new religion, immeasurably more sublime than the Old Testament and the teaching of the Rabbis.

It is true, we already find the name of Father, as applied to God, at various places in the Old Testament. Jehovah is called the Father of Israel, because he had chosen that people and made it great (Deut. i, 31; viii, 5; xxxii, 6; Isa. i, 2; lviii, 16; Jer. iii, 4). Even with sole reference to the creation by God, the Israelite addresses Jehovah with the name of Father (Ecclus. xxiii, 1; Mal. ii, 10). Jehovah is also called Father, in so far as his providence watches over the fate of men (Wisd. xiv, 3).

But these are exceptions. Only in comparatively few passages of the Old Testament does God receive the name of Father.

The Psalms, which form the typical expression of Israelitish piety, and the epitome of all Old Testament devotions, give to God almost exclusively the title of King, and represent one who prays, not as a child of God, but as a servant (Ps. v, 3; ix (x), 16; xxiii, 7; xxviii, 10; xviii, 12, 14; xxvi, 9; xxx, 17; xxxiii, 23).

The royal supremacy of Jehovah and the servitude of the Israelite are the major chords in the religious symphony of Israel, although there are also discernible therein the undertones of trust, resignation, confidence and love. The reverential awe inspired by the majesty, might, sublimity, holiness and justice of God diminished the thought of his fidelity, compassion, grace and forbearance. Even if the prayerful Israelite was now and then conscious that "As a father hath compassion on his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that fear him" (Ps. cii, 13), nevertheless it was only the kingly name that corresponded fully to his idea of God, and to his own relation of servant to the Lord of Israel, according to the Mosaic Law. The prophet, therefore, announces as the joyful tidings of the Messianic era that God will then be called the Father of his chosen people (Jer. iii, 19).

If, therefore, the name of Father, and especially the fatherly nature of God, was present only in embryo in the Old Testament conception of God, the later rabbinical Judaism was able to conceive of God as a Father even less clearly. We meet with the title of God as "Father," it is true, occasionally in the pharisaical writings about the time of Christ.[1] The Gospel itself informs us that the Pharisees called themselves sons of God, and God their Father (John viii, 41). They did so, however, merely in order to boast of their Israelitish origin and of the fact that they belonged to the chosen people. The

[1] See Dalman's collection of them in *Die Worte Jesu*, i, pp. 150-155 (1898).

rabbinical idea of God made it impossible to conceive of the innermost nature of God in the sense of a real fatherhood.

For Jewish consciousness, the first and most important characteristic of the nature of God was his supermundane grandeur. The belief that Jehovah was not to be thought of as a creature of this world, limited by the senses which restrict us, formed, from the first, the most precious possession of Israel. In order better to preserve this, as opposed to the polytheistic conceptions of God prevalent among the heathen, they went, however, in the period succeeding the exile, so far as to separate God completely from the transitory world, and to set him, where it was possible to do so, in contrast to it. The notion of God became, therefore, little by little so entirely transcendental, that his absolute being completely excluded any concrete, living connection with the finite creature.

The Jewish writings of the latest period before Christ and of the first Christian century[1] more and more explain away the being of God into a mere abstraction. Only at the two extremes of the beginning of the Creation of the world and of its Last Judgement does God, according to rabbinical literature, enter into the world. Otherwise, he keeps entirely apart from it. The rabbinical idea is so exclusively dominated by transcendentalism that even the utterance of the name Jehovah was regarded as a crime. Apart from the ritual of worship, God might be called only the Highest, the Living, the Eternal, the Almighty, the Holy One, the Exalted One, Lord of heaven, God of heaven, the heavenly God, God of Gods, King of Kings, Lord of Lords. It was even preferred to substitute for the name of God simply abstractions. He is called Heaven, Height, Glory, the great Majesty, the Shechina, the Throne. If, nevertheless, God must be spoken or written of, it is done preferably by writing or speaking a sentence without subject or predicate, rather than by expressly uttering the name of God.[2] All this proves clearly that the Jews in New Testament times had raised insurmountable barriers between God and the world, and between God and men. Every thought about God was abstract and problematical. All intercourse with God was made difficult by a stiff and heartless ceremonial. A fatherly condescension on the part of God to this earth, and a childlike looking up to heaven on the part of man, is unthinkable in the theodicy of the Rabbis.

The whole idea of this theodicy was that the relation of

[1] See the Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Jubilees, the Ascension of Moses, the Sibyllines, the Third Book of the Maccabees, the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Apocalypse of Baruch.

[2] Consult H. Bousset's *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter,* pp. 291-313 (1903); also Ferd. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften,* pp. 148-161 1897).

God to man, and of man to God, was conceived of, not at all as an ethical relation of love, but as one of law. Intercourse between them is maintained only on the ground of law and service, not on that of love, grace and compassion. We shall soon see that obedience to the Law and justification by the Law constituted the entire piety of the Pharisee. Here it is only necessary to establish the fact that God, on his part, appeared to the pious Pharisee always as a jurist and casuist, not as a Father. Between God and men lay the Law. Only through the Law did they come into contact with each other. Only according to the standard of the fulfilment of the Law could and must God estimate man's lawful reward. No place was left for grace, fatherly goodness, and kindly forbearance. Paul, the former Pharisee, expresses this in numerous passages of his Epistles with the greatest clearness (Rom. x, 5; Gal. iii, 10, 12); and the later writings of the synagogues continually emphasize the whole subjection of God to the Law.[1]

God is obliged to judge according to the Law with mathematical exactitude. The reflections, thoughts and will of God are concentrated only on the Law. Just as on earth, so also in heaven, is there a Sanhedrim and a whole hierarchy of Rabbis, in the midst of whom sits Jehovah, and studies and disputes with them concerning the paragraphs in the Law.[2] According to the Targum of Jerusalem, "He occupies himself three hours daily with the Law."[3] The conduct of God also is subject to the provisions of the Law.[4] He observes the Sabbath in spite of important work,[5] goes into his synagogue,[6] puts on his *Talith* (praying-shawl);[7] and assumes the phylacteries of hand and head.[8] In a word, God is wholly absorbed in the Law of Moses, and even in that Law as it had been deformed by the Pharisees through thousands of superfluous additions and captious criticisms. Where can the smallest possibility of any such relation as that of father and child remain in such a system? The Old Testament sources of a belief in God, as a Father, had been buried for centuries, and the way to such a belief was barred by all the mountains of rabbinical theology.

Now, in the midst of this rabbinical age and society, Jesus suddenly proclaims the unheard-of fact that God is, before all and above all, the heavenly Father. That God is raised

[1] How far the often subsequently quoted Talmudic writings may be appealed to for a judgement of the rabbinism contemporary with Christ, see the first volume of this work (I, 154), where all that is necessary has been already said about the mode of quoting from these writings. See also Joseph Felten, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgeschichte,* i, 8-17 (1910).

[2] *Baba mezia,* 85 b, 86 a; *Bereshith rabba,* c. 49.

[3] *Targum Jer.* on the Fifth Book of Moses, 32, 4.

[4] *Shemoth rabba,* c. 30.

[5] *Berashith rabba,* c. 7.

[6] *Berachoth,* 7 a.

[7] *Rosh hashshana,* 17 b.

[8] *Berachoth,* 6 a, 7 a.

above all earthly things, as the supreme Lord of heaven and earth (Matt. xi, 25; Luke x, 21); that we are his servants and labourers, and owe him absolute service (Matt. xviii, 23; xx, 1; Luke xii, 42-48 ff.); that we must unconditionally fulfil his will as the sole law of our life, and hallow and glorify his name; all this is the belief of Jesus, just as truly as it was for Old-Israel and later Judaism. Yet in Jesus we should seek in vain for the transcendental, abstract conception of God held by the Rabbis, or even the characterization of God prevailing in the Old Testament, as the absolute King and Ruler. In the Gospel the Holiness, Grandeur and Majesty of Jehovah never appear separated from his Fatherhood.

The name of "Father" is the favourite title by which God is addressed in the Gospel, the only expression in which the Saviour incorporated his idea of God. We know that he calls God *his* Father in a quite peculiar sense; for Jesus alone is the Son of God in the essential, natural and physical meaning of the word. But the ethical idea of God as Father is not limited to the Only-begotten Son. God is "the Father" in general (Matt. xi, 27; Mark xiii, 32; Luke xi, 13). He is "Father" in accordance with his entire nature, and precisely on that account is he the Father of all and the Father of each individual—Father, only Father. Even the lowliest and the poorest, even the worst sinner and reprobate, is God's child, and has in God his heavenly Father (Matt. xviii, 14; v, 44). "Your Father," "Our Father"—into this tender word do all the revelations which Jesus brought from heaven to earth finally resolve themselves. And similarly our own intercourse with heaven, and our own worship of God and our own prayers should be based upon and permeated by the childlike consciousness that God is our Father. The Jew may begin his daily "Shmone-Esre" prayer with the words "Praise be to thee, Lord, our God and the God of our fathers, God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, great, mighty, fear-inspiring and supreme God. . . ."[1] Jesus teaches his disciples to pray only to the Father (Matt. vi, 9; Luke xi, 2). "Thus therefore shall you pray, Our Father, who art in heaven."[2]

The fatherly name and nature are so uniquely and incom-

[1] E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi,* ii, 461 (1898). The final edition of the "Shmone-Esre" prayer was completed between A.D. 70-100, and consequently the original form of it was certainly known during the time of Jesus. Schürer, *id.,* 462; Felten, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte,* ii, p. 165.

[2] The latest attempt made by the Jews (J. Eschelbacher, *Das Judentum und das Wesen des Christentums* (Berlin 1905) to derive the Lord's Prayer from Jewish sources has proved unsuccessful. See Fiebig, *Jüdische Gebete und das Vaterunser,* in the *Christliche Welt,* 947-949, 961-969 (1906). Also A. Bludau, *1st das Vaterunser aus jüdischen Gebetsformeln zusammen gesetzt?* in *Der katholische Seelsorger,* xx, 19-26, 53-60.

parably a part of God that their full value cannot be conveyed to human intelligence. "Call none your father upon earth; for one is your Father, who is in heaven" (Matt. xxiii, 9). This conception of the heavenly Father which we find in the Gospel is, in the eyes of Jesus, a proof of such superhuman and inestimable wisdom that he, on that account, bursts forth into that joyful prayer of thankfulness: "Father, I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me. . . . Holy Father, keep them in thy name . . . that they may be one, as we also are. . . . Just Father, the world hath not known thee; but I have known thee, and these have known that thou hast sent me. And I have made known thy name to them, and will make it known, that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them" (John xvii). "I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so hath it seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered to me by my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither doth any one know the Father but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal him" (Matt. xi, 25-27; Luke x, 21). And turning to the disciples he adds: "Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see. For I say to you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them" (Luke x, 23-24).

But if God is by his name and by his nature our heavenly Father, his whole attitude towards us will be determined by fatherly sentiment. "God only is good." God alone is the infinite goodness, with which no goodness on the part of a creature can be compared (Matt. xix, 17; Mark x, 18; Luke xviii, 19). "God is love," benevolent, tender love towards men (1 John ii, 15; iii, 1, 17; iv, 8, 9, 16). "The Father himself loveth you" (John xvi, 27). Love, mercy, benevolence, grace, kindness, these are the highest expressions of the sentiment of the heavenly Father towards us.

This fatherly sentiment extends to body and soul, to the least and to the greatest, to things temporal and things eternal. Jesus can never sufficiently impress upon us "Your Father knoweth what is needful for you before you ask him" (Matt. vi, 8). "Ask and it shall be given you; seek and you shall find; knock and it shall be opened to you. . . . Or what man is there among you, of whom if his son shall ask bread, will he reach him a stone? If you then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" (Matt. vii, 7-11; Luke xi, 9-13). "Be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat; nor for your body, what you

shall put on. . . . Consider the ravens; for they sow not, neither do they reap, neither have they storehouse nor barn, and God feedeth them. How much are you more valuable than they? . . . Consider the lilies . . . they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, not even Solomon in all his glory was clothed like one of these. Now if God clothe in this manner the grass, that is to-day in the field, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, how much more you, O ye of little faith? And seek not what you shall eat or what you shall drink, and be not lifted up on high. For all these things do the nations of the world seek; but your Father knoweth that you have need of these things. . . . Fear not, little flock, for it hath pleased your Father to give you a kingdom" (Luke xii, 22-32). "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not therefore, better are you than many sparrows" (Matt. x, 29-31).

Truly, the fatherly love and fatherly care of God could not be described or conceived of in more tender, delicate and loving terms.

Faith in the divine Father, as portrayed in the Gospel, reaches its climax in the feeling of immediate nearness to God, and in the joyful certainty that God loves us infinitely and protects us as the apple of his eye, and in the trustful, childlike feeling and consciousness that we are sheltered on the heart of our heavenly Father.

After all this, it is clearly evident that a mere legal attitude of God towards us is impossible. The fatherly sentiment in the Gospel takes the place of the stiff, unyielding legal conception of Jehovah as preached by Judaism. Assuredly the Father in heaven is also a just judge and recompenser, who eternally rewards the pious, and assigns the unrepentant sinner just as mercilessly to everlasting punishment (Matt. v, 12, 46 and similar passages). But the final condemnation falls upon the godless sinner only if and because he has to the very end abused the fatherly goodness of God, and has rejected the Father's outstretched hand. And the pious man receives his reward not only in accordance with justice and right, but in such abundant measure as he could have neither earned nor expected. Whatever he may have done or sacrificed for God and his kingdom will bring him a hundredfold reward here below and, in the future world, life everlasting (Mark x, 29-31).

Yes, God pours out upon us his fatherly benefits quite beyond any corresponding service or right on our part. He bestows good gifts upon us, not only for our good deeds, but also merely at our request (Matt. vii, 9-11; Luke xi, 9-13). Out of the kindness of his heart he gives to the labourer of

the eleventh hour a full day's wage (Matt. xx, 1-16). He, the Father in heaven, "maketh his sun to rise upon the good and bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust" (Matt. v, 45). The wicked, in a certain sense, stand even nearer to his fatherly heart than do the good, because his anxiety is "to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke xix, 10). How wonderfully Jesus portrays this love of the heavenly Father in the parables of the lost piece of silver (Luke xv, 8-10), the prodigal son (Luke xv, 11-32) and the lost sheep. "What man is there of you that hath an hundred sheep, and if he shall lose one of them, doth he not leave the ninety-nine in the desert and go after that which is lost until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it upon his shoulders, rejoicing. And coming home, call together his friends and neighbours, saying to them, Rejoice with me, because I have found my sheep that was lost. I say to you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance, more than upon ninety-nine just who need not penance" (Luke xv, 4-7; Matt. xviii, 12-14).

That is the new and sublime idea of God proclaimed by Jesus, superior not only to pagan polytheism and rabbinical monotheism, but also to the Old Testament theodicy. The infinite, perfectly holy and perfectly just God in heaven is a Father—Father in name and Father in his whole being. Moreover, he is our Father in heaven, who with an infinitely paternal affection cares for us and has compassion upon us, loves us and is near to us. The whole religion of Jesus is filled and based upon this thought of God, and thereby it becomes the religion of childlike love to the heavenly Father.

The whole conception of the world and life also becomes glorified and ennobled by the Saviour's belief in God as a Father.

With what sadness, pessimism and melancholy does late Judaism contemplate the world and human life! But how joyously and buoyantly does Jesus survey the world, in which the heavenly Father maketh his sun to shine and sendeth rain upon the just and the unjust, in which he has mercy upon the most abandoned sinner, clothes the lilies of the field, feeds the birds of the air, and lets none of them fall from the roof! How joyful and happy in this world stands the child of the heavenly Father, to whom it resigns and trusts itself with no anxiety, from whom it hopes for everything, and in whom it knows itself to be protected to-day and to-morrow, for time and for eternity!

The immense distance between this new belief in God as a Father, taught in the Gospel, and the former belief in Jehovah is most emphasized by those very disciples who had once considered Judaism as the highest ideal, and had lived in accordance with its precepts. "No man hath seen God,"

exclaims John; "the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him" (John i, 18). "And this is the declaration which we have heard from him, and declare unto you, that God is light . . . that we have fellowship with him . . . you have known him who is from the beginning . . . you have known the Father" (1 John i, 5, 6; ii, 13). "Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called and should be the sons of God. . . . We are now the sons of God" (1 John iii, 1, 2).

Still more strikingly does Paul repeatedly express the same thought. He, the former Pharisee, who brought with him from the schools of Hillel and Gamaliel the purest form of the rabbinical idea of God, and whose mind had once been all aglow with burning zeal for the old, ancestral religion of Jehovah, now feels and describes as no other has done the blessed superiority of Jesus' conception of God.

"God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God" (2 Cor. iv, 6). Formerly, God had been the relentless Lord and Judge; but now we are his children, and pray to him, "Abba, Father" (Rom. viii, 15; Gal. iv, 6). Previously, servitude, menial labour, and a servile spirit before God; now, adoption, a childlike relation and a filial spirit (Rom. viii, 14-16; Gal. iii, 23; iv, 7; v, 1). Formerly the law and a taskmaster, universal fear and trembling in religion; now, only grace and mercy and the freedom and joy of the children of God (Rom. iii, 21-28; v, 1-11; vii, 14-25; viii, 14-39; Gal. iii, 10, 23). Nothing and no one could show more convincingly the progress from the old conception of God to the new belief in God as a Father than the teaching and powerful personality of the former Jewish theologian and subsequent Apostle to the Gentiles—Paul.

2. *The Gospel of the Kingdom of God.*

The glad tidings concerning God as a Father are indissolubly connected with those of the kingdom of God. If God is our Father, then we human beings are the universal family of God—his kingdom, God, our Father, and God's kingdom—these two thoughts, the greatest ever conceived, belong together. The idea contained in the phrase "the kingdom of God" is "nothing else than the idea of God thought out to its legitimate conclusion."[1] Hence Jesus in the Lord's Prayer has the first petition, "Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," followed immediately by the second, "Thy kingdom come." Hence also the message of the kingdom of God takes in the preaching of Jesus the principal

[1] Hermann v. Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, p. 86 (1907).

place, together with the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God. He announces the kingdom of God at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of his mission. In fact, he considers this announcement precisely as the essential task for which he was sent: "I must . . . preach the kingdom of God, for therefore am I sent" (Luke iv, 43).

It is true, the idea of the kingdom of God is not his own creation. The Old Testament is filled with it, and no expression of his found more approbation among his Jewish contemporaries, and none was more commonly in use or more popular than that of "the kingdom of God." And yet the Gospel of the kingdom of God, as Jesus portrayed it, was far superior to everything thus far known.[1] He gave to the idea of the kingdom of God an absolutely independent meaning, and transformed the mere conception of it into a reality.

Accordingly, before we disclose the peculiar meaning of the idea of the kingdom of God held by Jesus, we would like first to present those characteristics of it which were common to all three notions of the kingdom of God—that of the Old Testament, that of the Jews, and that of the Gospel.

In all of them we find the expression "kingdom of heaven" or "kingdom of God," in the most closely connected, literal sense of the term. The Old Testament, the Mishna and the Aramaic mother-tongue of Jesus and his contemporaries all spoke in general of the "Malkuth Jehovah," or "Malkuth Shamain"—the dominion of God, or the dominion of heaven. Both expressions mean the same thing. "Heaven" was merely a metaphorical designation for God. The "dominion of heaven," therefore, means the "dominion of God." The Evangelists translate "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of heaven" by the Greek words ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Οὐρανῶν. Matthew writes usually "kingdom of heaven"; Mark, Luke and John always write "kingdom of God."[2]

[1] For the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God, see O. Schmoller, *Die Lehre vom Reiche Gottes im Neuen Testament,* 19-175 (1891); E. Le Camus, *La Théologie populaire de N. S. Jésus-Christ,* 185-221 (1891); Bousset, *Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum,* 78-104 (1892); Schnedermann, *Jesu Verkündigung und Lehre vom Reiche Gottes,* i and ii (1893-1895); W. Lütgert, *Das Reich Gottes nach den synoptischen Evangelien* (1895); A. Titius, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes* (1895); Dalman, *id.,* 75-113; Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (1900); Wendt, *id.,* 209-325; Rose, *Études sur les Evangiles,* 84-126 (1902); B. Bartmann, *Das Himmelreich und sein König* (1904); Erich Bischof, *Jesus und die Rabbinen. Jesu Bergpredigt und "Himmelreich" in ihrer Unabhängigkeit vom Rabbinismus* (1905); Schell, *Jahwe und Christus,* 449-481 (1908); H. E. Savage, *The Gospel of the Kingdom* (London 1910); P. Metzger, *Der Begriff des Reiches Gottes im Neuen Testament* (1911).

[2] Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu,* i, 75-79 (1898); F. Zorell, *Das Himmelreich, das Gottesreich,* in *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie,* xxvii, pp. 581-583 (1903); Fonck, *Die Parabeln des Herrn im Evangelium,* 60, 3rd ed. (1909).

It is evident here that the Greek translation does not perfectly render the Aramaic original either literally or according to its sense. "There can be no doubt," says Dalman, a first-class authority on the subject, "that both in the Old Testament and in Jewish literature the word 'Malkuth,' applied to God, always means the 'King's government,' and never 'kingdom,' which would suggest the region ruled by him. . . . To-day, as in antiquity, an Oriental 'kingdom' is not a political organization in our sense of the term, or in any way a conglomeration of people or territory, but just a 'sovereignty' which extends over a definite area. This is an indication, therefore, that, in reading the words of Jesus, we should proceed from this meaning of Malkuth."[1]

When Jesus preaches the "kingdom of God," he wishes that this expression should be understood in the sense that God himself will reign from now on as the absolute Lord and Master of the world; that those to whom his kingly domination extends itself, will constitute his dominion, his state, his kingdom; that he will bestow the whole power and protection of his divine government upon them, as distinguished from the rest of mankind, who stand under the guidance and dispensation of God only in a broader sense.

But if the important element of the "kingdom" lies in the dominion which God himself exercises, establishes and realizes, man is the part of it which receives and is endowed with grace. The kingdom of God is given to man freely; he accepts it, he finds it, as he might find a treasure, like a precious pearl (Matt. xiii, 44-46), and he is invited to it as a royal banquet (Matt. xxii, 1-14; Luke xiv, 16-24). By the idea of the "kingdom of God" there is indicated for man, at least first and directly, not so much a human task as a divine benefaction, a good.[2] The kingdom of God is a good of salvation, a state of salvation, a period of salvation, an institution for salvation and a community of salvation. In this, Jesus is in harmony with the Old Testament as well as with his Jewish contemporaries.

The difference first begins with the question whether we here have to do with a natural or a supernatural good of salvation; and, furthermore, whether this bears merely a Jewish-national character, or is of universal importance. Jesus answers these questions in such a manner that his idea of the kingdom of God exhibits a sharp contrast to late Judaism, and shows an ideal fulfilment and perfect realization of the Old Testament. We have, in another volume of this

[1] Dalman, *id.*, p. 77.

[2] *Cf.* the detailed proofs of this in Schmoller, pp. 21-43; Dalman, pp. 2-17; Lagrange, *Le règne de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament*, in the *Revue biblique*, 36-61 (1908).

work, proved this exhaustively in connection with the Messianic idea. Here we limit ourselves partly to enlarging and partly to epitomizing what was then said, with constant references to the previous proofs and contexts.

The Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament expect from the kingdom of God, first and chiefly, spiritual and religious blessings. It will bring a perfect knowledge of God (Isa. ii, 2-4; xi, 9; Mic. iv, 1-3). The whole people shall be blessed through the presence of Jehovah, and shall find in him a refuge and help in every time of need (Isa. iv, 4, 25 ff.). Above all, however, the kingdom of God will be blessed through the complete fulfilment of the forgiveness of sins promised by the Messiah and earned by his death (Isa. i, 18; xliv, 22; Jer. xxxi, 34; l, 20; Zach. xiii, 1). These spiritual blessings are to flow not only to the Israelites, but to all nations. The Messiah-king, who will be at the head of the kingdom of God, is called to be "the Light and Redeemer of the Gentiles unto the ends of the earth" (Isa. xlii, 1-7; lix, 6; lv, 4). He shall reign "from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. . . . All kings shall adore him; all nations shall serve him . . . and in him shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed" (Ps. lxxi). "The earth is filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the covering waters of the sea" (Isa. xi, 9).

Yet, though the fundamental tone[1] of the Old Testament idea of the kingdom of God is thus thoroughly spiritual and universal, *it cannot keep itself entirely free from political and national additions*. Jerusalem was, after all, plainly indicated as the seat and capital of the new kingdom, where the throne of the Messiah was to be erected, and whither the rich gifts and the silver and gold of all nations were to flow (Isa. lx, 1). The most illustrious of the prophets had also promised to the children of Israel that they should eat the riches of the Gentiles and in their glory boast themselves (Isa. lxi, 6), and that they should suck the milk of the Gentiles and the breasts of kings (Isa. lx, 16), and that strangers should build up their walls and that the kings of the Gentiles should serve them (*id.*, lx, 10). It is said there likewise: "The children of them that afflicted thee shall come bowing down to thee, and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet" (*id.*, lx, 14). "The house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids; and they shall make them captives that had taken them, and shall subdue their oppressors" (*id.*, xiv, 2). "And it shall come to pass that in that day the Lord shall visit upon the host of heaven on high, and upon the kings of the earth, on the earth; and they shall be gathered together, as in the gathering of one bundle into the pit, and they shall

[1] See M. Güdemann, *Jüdische Apologetik*, pp. 51, 211 (1906); M. Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, 17-35 (1908).

be shut up there in prison, and after many days they shall be visited. And the moon shall blush, and the sun shall be ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in Mount Sion and in Jerusalem, and shall be glorified in the sight of his ancients. . . . And the Lord of hosts shall make unto all people in this mountain a feast of fat things, a feast of wine, of fat things full of marrow, of wine purified from the lees, and he shall destroy in this mountain the face of the bond with which all people were tied, and the web that he began over all nations. . . . And the Lord God shall wipe away tears from every face, and the reproach of his people he shall take away from off the whole earth" (*id.*, xxv, 6-8).

Now, carefully as we must guard ourselves from a too literal interpretation of these passages, they tell us clearly, nevertheless, that the prophetic hope knew also political, and even purely earthly, aspirations, and that it was unable entirely to overcome Jewish national chauvinism, but wished to secure for the people of Israel an exceptional position in the kingdom of God.

Later Judaism made the material and national element in the kingdom the principal thing. The religious and universal tones became less and less audible and finally were heard no more. The "kingdom of God" meant, first of all, the claim of Israel to the politico-national hegemony of the world and the hope of the elimination and destruction of all the kingdoms of the earth. Hand in hand with this went the positive expectation that all imaginable and desirable sensuous blessings would find a place in the kingdom of God—such as the removal of every sort of discomfort and sickness; wonderful physical beauty and vitality for the children of Israel; a fabulous fertility of trees and soil; extravagant joy at the calamities of the humiliated heathen nations, which shall lie as slaves at the feet of the chosen people. Even proselytism argues not against, but for, the fact of the narrow-minded Jewish chauvinism. For, however great the zeal of late Judaism for the conversion of the heathen[1] was, the proselytes, even the circumcised, were always looked upon as only half-Jews,[2] and were excluded from the real blessing of the Messianic kingdom.[3]

Moreover, in the days of the Messiah and his kingdom of God, no more proselytes were to be accepted.[4]

This conception of the kingdom of God was the common Jewish one shortly before and after the time of Christ.

[1] Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, iii, 113-123; Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, p. 77; Felten, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, i, 505-518.
[2] Schürer, iii, 122-135; Bousset, 190; Felten, i, 518-525.
[3] Bousset, p. 222.
[4] Bousset, *id.*; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, ii, pp. 385-387.

Official pharisaism and the eschatological-apocalyptic particularisms were, in this respect, united. Only in regard to the how, where and when of the establishment of the kingdom of heaven did they differ. The Pharisees were convinced that the kingdom of God would make its appearance in this present world, and before the conclusion of the actual life of our planet. The older apocalyptic writers also held wholly or partially to the idea of a kingdom of God here on earth and the Messianic king of the synagogue. But when the prospects of the realization of the Davidic, Messianic kingdom vanished more and more after the fall of the Machabees and the commencement of the period of Herod, many zealots despaired of seeing the Messianic kingdom in this thoroughly depraved world. They clung now narrowly and exclusively to Daniel's prophecy of the Son of Man, who is first to appear at the end of earthly time with inconceivable power, coming at the head of a supermundane kingdom of God. The eschatologists taught that the existence of this present world must first be brought to an end before the supramundane, Messianic æon of the kingdom of God can come. But this eschatological feature is the only difference between the rabbinical and the apocalyptic kingdom of God. The essence of the kingdom, on the contrary, is fundamentally the same in both—a glorious Jewish world-power, at the head of which stands Jehovah and his representative, the Messiah; a politico-national, exceedingly narrowly conceived, chauvinistic world-position for Israel, of a strongly sensuous stamp.[1]

How utterly different is the conception of the kingdom of God entertained by Jesus! The kingdom of God, as understood by him, is neither a theocracy of a material nature in this world, in the rabbinical sense, nor a theocracy in the world to come, in the apocalyptic sense. Neither in its present temporal beginning, nor in its future, eternal state has it anything political about it. It finds its antithesis, not in a world-kingdom, but in the kingdom of lies, sin and the malice of Satan. He excludes from it with the greatest firmness every thought of a subjugation of the Romans and of the establishment of a military power. But he also eliminates from his conception of the kingdom all sensuous and earthly elements. His ideal consists of a spiritual, religious kingdom of grace, truth and redemption, forgiveness of sins, holiness and blessedness. A religious, spiritual dominion of God in man and over man on earth, and an everlasting dominion over him in heaven, and, furthermore, a spiritual reconciliation of man to God here through grace and a never-ending union with God above—that is Jesus' idea of the kingdom.

By Jesus Christ's purely spiritual conception of the kingdom of God, its decidedly universal character becomes now for the

[1] Proof in vol. i, 154-170.

first time possible.[1] Jesus enlarges the idea of the kingdom of God so as to include the whole world. The Son of Man and Founder of the kingdom of God is, indeed, first of all sent to seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv, 24), yet he comes to seek and to save that which was lost (Luke xix, 10; Matt. xviii, 11). Also the sheep which do not belong to this chosen fold of Israel he will gather into the kingdom of God (John x, 16). He gives up his blood and his life for all men in order to redeem them and win them for God's kingdom (Matt. xxvi, 28; Mark xiv, 24; Luke xxii, 19). The kingdom of God turns away from the Jews to the Gentiles, who are more inclined to receive it (Matt. xxi, 43). The parables of the wicked vintners (Matt. xxi, 33 *ff.*) and of the marriage feast (Matt. xxii, 1 etc.), the relations of the Lord to the Samaritans, his meeting with the centurion of Capharnaum, and the adjoining reference to the coming of the believing Gentile world to the kingdom of heaven (Matt. viii, 5) are eloquent witnesses to the universalism of Jesus. Jesus expressly prophesies that the Gospel of the kingdom of God shall be preached to all the nations of the whole world (Mark xiii, 10; Matt. xxiv, 14). To the preachers of the kingdom the missionary commission is given: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the Gospel (of the kingdom) to every creature, and make all nations your disciples" (Mark xvi, 15; Matt. xxviii, 19). Entry into the kingdom of heaven through faith and baptism is made the indispensable duty of all men: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned" (Mark xvi, 16).

Thus the message of Jesus concerning the kingdom of heaven has really a sublime significance, and one worthy of God. It not only stands immeasurably higher than the ideal of the kingdom of God which the Jewish contemporaries of the Saviour had, but it far surpasses also the Old Testament conceptions in ideal loftiness and absolute purity. This thought of the universal kingdom embraces all the nations of every zone and age, and aims at the bestowal of the highest spiritual blessings. Summed up in only one word, which was used repeatedly by Jesus, the kingdom of God is Life, Eternal Life—the life of the individual man in God's favour and love, through God's grace and power, and also the gathering together of all the children of God into a divine community of those who have attained to life and salvation, beginning here below and destined to endure for ever in the world to come.

And yet, with this, we have appraised only one side of

[1] *Cf.* Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (1908); *Missionstheoretisches,* in *Theologie und Glaube,* i, 808-812 (1909); *Jesus als Begründer der Heidenmission,* in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft,* i, 21-41 (1911); Fried. Spitta, *Jesus und die Heidenmission* (1909); J. B. Mayor, *Did Christ contemplate the admission of the Gentiles into the Kingdom of Heaven?* in *Expositor,* pp. 385-399 (November, 1909).

Jesus' message of the kingdom of God—namely, the meaning which he gave to the thought of that kingdom. Still more important for us is the fact that he transformed the thought of the kingdom of God into practical reality.

Here is the gulf which separated him most profoundly from the Old Testament and late Judaism. The prophets hoped for the kingdom of God; they looked for it with lively faith; and they gazed with an ardent longing towards a future in which God would be present in Israel as its helper. That was all; as the prince of the Apostles remarks: "Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and diligently searched, who prophesied of the grace to come in you; searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ in them did signify . . . to whom it was revealed that not to themselves, but to you they ministered those things which are now declared to you" (1 Pet. i, 10-12). The rabbinical Judaism of the Talmud sees even now the kingdom of God at an uncertain distance, while the interpreters of eschatological revelations have finally given up the idea of its coming in this world. Jesus, on the contrary, brings the tidings that the turning-point in human history has now come, and that the kingdom of heaven is now at its beginning.

Only the beginning, however, not the completion of the kingdom of heaven, lies in the present. The kingdom of God on earth is, in its entirety, as well as in its application to the individual man, only a preliminary step, a preparation for the kingdom of heaven destined in the next world to last eternally. In its ultimate perfection, therefore, the kingdom is still unrealized. It is conceived of only as approaching (Luke xix, 12), and we must continually pray for its coming, "Our Father who art in heaven, . . . thy kingdom come" (Luke xi, 2). As often as Jesus speaks of entering into the kingdom of God, he represents it in this sense—as a future event (Matt. v, 20; vii, 21; Mark ix, 46; x, 15, 23). Whenever he calls the members of the kingdom of God on earth blessed, he holds out to them the kingdom of God in the next world as a reward—"For theirs is the kingdom of heaven . . . for they shall see God" (Matt. v, 3-12); "Then shall the just shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. xiii, 43); "And they shall come from the east and the west and the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God" (Luke xiii, 29). "That you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom" (Luke xxii, 30); "I shall drink with you a new wine in the kingdom of my Father" (Matt. xxvi, 29); "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world," Christ will say at the Last Judgement (Matt. xxv, 34). He admonishes his disciples continually to fix their eyes and hearts on that which is to follow the Judgement—on that

kingdom of heaven, characterized by perfection and unending blessedness, which is to come in the next world.

Not less strongly, however, does he emphasize the fact that what comes after the Judgement must be prepared and developed here on earth, that the kingdom of heaven in the next world is but a further growth of the kingdom in this world, and that this world's kingdom of heaven becomes a reality by means of him and in his presence.

This is to be demonstrated in reply to the eschatologists among the modern critics of Jesus, especially Wilhelm Baldensperger, Johannes Weiss, Albrecht Schweitzer, Dalman, Hollmann, Zimmermann, Arnold Meyer and Loisy.[1]

The foundation for this demonstration has been already laid elsewhere in this volume by the proof that Jesus will not first exercise his Messiahship at his second coming, but has already exercised it in his life on earth. Now the real Messianic achievement consists in the realization of the kingdom of heaven. Hence the Saviour accomplished that realization in this life and before his return to his Father. The direct proof of the founding of the kingdom here and now is furnished by the following utterances and parables of Jesus.

"The time is accomplished, and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark i, 15; Matt. iv, 17). John the Baptist had just promised the immediate advent of the kingdom with the words: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iii, 2). In so doing, he had pointed to Jesus as one mightier than he, the latchet of whose shoes he is not worthy to unloose (Matt. iii, 11; Mark i, 7; Luke iii, 16; John i, 27). Jesus takes up the burden of his forerunner's preaching, and carries it further. From the first hour of his public activity, "he preached the Gospel of the kingdom of God, and said: The time is accomplished, and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent and believe the Gospel" (Mark i, 15). He sends the Twelve also, at the very beginning, into the world with the message "The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. x, 7). It was not yet established, but it had come near, and was very near ever since the first appearance of Jesus. Every step of the Saviour signifies an approach, a coming nearer of the kingdom, which until then had remained at a distance. The period of watching and waiting, of prophecy and hope is over. "The time is fulfilled." The kingdom is coming. It stands before the door. The kingdom is here. That is the meaning of the message which associates itself with the first appearance of Jesus.

"This day is fulfilled this scripture in your ears" (Luke iv,

[1] That the kingdom of heaven on earth in its outward form is identical with the Church, we have not to prove here. For this, see Bartmann, *Das Himmelreich und sein König*, 32-69; Stanisl. von Dunin-Borkowski, *Die Kirche als Stiftung Jesu* (1913).

21). Soon after his baptism and temptation, Jesus began his activity in Galilee. "The glad tidings of the kingdom of God" (Luke viii, 1), the "mystery of the kingdom of God" (Mark iv, 11), the "preaching of the kingdom of God" (Luke ix, 2), were the substance of his daily public utterances. In cities and villages, in the synagogues, in the market-places, on the shores of lakes and the slopes of mountains resounded this preaching of the kingdom of God. That this preaching was, however, of a present, not of a still remote, kingdom of God, is evident from the still partially preserved address which Jesus delivered in his paternal city, Nazareth. According to his custom, he went on the Sabbath into the synagogue, and stood up to read aloud. He chose the passage from Isaias, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives, and sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. To preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke iv, 16-20). The prophet speaks here of the future Messiah and his kingdom in such a manner that to him the liberation from the Babylonish captivity and the release from sin and spiritual distress blend in one picture. To not one hearer of these words could there be any doubt that the reference here was to the Messiah and the blessings of his kingdom. Jesus, however, closed the book, and continued the thought, characterizing the passage, in the following commentary: "This day is fulfilled this scripture in your ears." The Messiah-king stands before you; his work of redemption and salvation has begun; the kingdom of heaven is here.

"Amen, I say to you, there hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than John the Baptist; yet he that is the lesser in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away. For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John;" but from now on the glad tidings of the kingdom is proclaimed (Matt. xi, 11-14; Luke xvi, 16). John stands on the dividing line between the Old and New Testaments. Down to his time had lasted the period of hoping, expecting and waiting for the kingdom of heaven; but thereafter the kingdom itself had come into power. But with this also the mighty conflict of hostile forces against the kingdom of heaven began. Since the days of John, the kingdom of heaven is persecuted with violence and by every means wrenched away from those who wish to form a part of it.[1] Jesus reproaches the Jewish hierarchs in particular with the words: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,

[1] This is the only correct sense of the passage. *Cf.* Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in quattuor Evangelia* i, pars prior, pp. 435-439 (1892).

because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for you yourselves do not enter in, and those that are going in, you suffer not to enter" (Matt. xxiii, 13; Luke xi, 52). John himself was prevented by imprisonment and death from becoming a disciple of Jesus and a citizen of the kingdom.[1] He who walked in the "way of the just" (Matt. xxi, 32), the last of the prophets (Matt. xi, 13), the greatest of all until then born of women (Matt. xi, 11), is, therefore, less than the lowliest and smallest in the kingdom of heaven. By this it is perfectly plain, of course, that the language here does not refer to the kingdom of heaven in the next world; for that John will be in heaven ranked below the lowliest is not to be supposed in view of his extraordinary perfection of character. But on earth John is less than the least of the disciples of Jesus, because he was only a forerunner of the coming kingdom, while these were actual members of the kingdom of heaven already present. So certain is it that the kingdom is here, and so infinitely important is it to belong to it.

"The kingdom of God is already come unto you" (Matt. xii, 28). The antagonism between the kingdom of God and human hostile powers arises, first and last, from a much deeper hostility, which exists between Christ and Satan, and between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil. For Satan also possesses "a kingdom, a dominion" on earth (Matt. xii, 26)—the dominion of sin and hostility to God. On this conviction rests the whole preaching and activity of Jesus. In daily conflict, with prayer and fasting, by teaching and example, by means of adjurations, threatenings and commands he pursues Satan into all his strongholds. In his unparalleled miracles, in the supreme power by which he drives out devils, in the manifestations of the power of God which proceed from him, the dominion of Satan is forced back step by step. The fall of Satan's kingdom is sealed—"The prince of this world is already judged" (John xvi, 11); "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out" (John xii, 31); already Jesus "saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven" (Luke x, 18). All this justifies him in concluding that now kingdom is reared against kingdom: "If I by the Spirit of God cast out devils, the kingdom of God is already come unto you."

"The kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii, 21). The Jews also were agreed in thinking that the establishment of the kingdom of God meant the destruction of the dominion of Satan. By "Satan"—"the prince of this world"—they understood, however, first the Roman Cæsar, and in general the great powers of the pagan world. These were to be overcome by the kingdom of God, and indeed by a great

[1] *Cf.* the connection of the words of Jesus about John (Matt. xi, 12-14) with the impatient inquiry of the Forerunner, languishing in prison: "Art thou he that art to come . . ." (Matt. xi, 2 ff.).

cataclysm, shattering the heavens and the earth. They thought that there would suddenly descend upon this world, with great external pomp, the complete Malkuth of Jehovah. But Jesus contradicts such views concerning the coming and rapid spread of the kingdom of God, and declares: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Behold here or behold there, for, lo, the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii, 20, 21). While the Jews were looking for the catastrophe expected from heaven to usher in the kingdom, that divine kingdom had quietly and unawares established itself on earth. From heart to heart it had made its peaceful entry into the circle of the disciples of Jesus. The kingdom was there. It was living and working in the midst of their Jewish contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. But the Pharisees in their blindness did not recognize its presence, and on that account was passed upon them the condemnation: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof" (Matt. xxi, 43).

These utterances of Jesus refute incontrovertibly the hypothesis evolved by eschatological criticism. They emphasize the ever-recurring thought that the Saviour is already establishing his kingdom during his earthly life. Still more vividly do the present character of the kingdom of heaven, and its earthly birth, growth and activity, as well as its perfect consummation in the next world, reveal themselves in the parables.

"So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the earth, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should spring, and grow up whilst he knoweth not. For the earth of itself bringeth forth fruit; first the blade, then the ear, afterwards the full corn in the ear. And when the fruit is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come" (Mark iv, 26-29). This is the "mystery of the kingdom of God"; the present age and the world of to-day form the sowing-field of divine salvation and eternal life. God has sown in the furrows of this field the great abundance of his grace, love and forgiveness, and the greatest treasures of his help and fatherly blessing. And ever more and more richly does the seed of God, in its germ, bud and blossom, unfold itself, until the ripe fruit is gathered into the heavenly granary.

"The kingdom of heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, which a man took and sowed in his field; which is the least indeed of all seeds; but when it is grown up, it is greater than all herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and dwell in the branches thereof. And the kingdom of heaven is like to leaven, which a woman took, and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened" (Matt.

xiii, 31-33). As the grain of mustard seed develops outwardly from a tiny beginning to a mighty tree, dispensing abundant shade, and as the leaven from within gradually leavens the whole mass of meal, so does the kingdom of heaven grow and develop. Clearly this is not the eschatological kingdom of the next world, which is no more capable of any change, but the actual kingdom, now and here, which by continual external growth, and from its interior, organic, vital force, conquers and transforms the world.

"The kingdom of heaven is likened to a man that sowed good seed in his field. But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat, and went his way. And when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared also the cockle. And the servants of the goodman of the house coming said to him: Sir, . . . wilt thou that we go and gather it up? And he said: No, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it. Suffer both to grow until the harvest; and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers: Gather up first the cockle, and bind it into bundles to burn; but the wheat gather ye into my barn" (Matt. xiii, 24-30). The sower is Christ, the enemy is Satan; the wheat signifies the children of God's kingdom, the tares are the children of the kingdom of Satan. The time for the sowing is the earthly present; the harvest-time is the Last Judgement and the eternal kingdom of heaven which is connected with it. Of this there can be no doubt. Jesus founds his kingdom in this world, and trains his followers in virtue and holiness to become true children of God; while Satan leads many away and makes of them children of the devil. The Day of Judgement will bring all things to light, and apportion to some the punishment of hell and to the others the joys of heaven. That is the sense of the parable. The meaning cannot possibly be of merely an eschatological heaven, because in such a heaven no sowing and no growth are any more conceivable, to say nothing of tares and the work of Satan.

"The kingdom of heaven is likened to a king, who made a marriage for his son." The guests are invited to the wedding, but decline to appear. Now, therefore, the previously uninvited are brought to the table—the lame, cripples and people from the highways and hedges, good and bad, until the wedding-rooms are filled with guests. When, however, the king observes that one guest has no wedding garment, he has him cast out into outer darkness, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth. "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. xxii, 1-14). In God's kingdom in the future world no more invitations are issued, and no one will refuse to join the table of the eternal banquet. Even the foolish will try to force an entrance, and will cry:

"Lord, Lord, open to us" (Matt. xxv, 11). In the future kingdom of heaven there are also no bad persons, nor more moral cripples, and no more expulsions will take place. For no one will come in who does not wear the wedding garment of God's grace and filial adoption. All the called are there chosen, and all the chosen ones are called. The whole parable is, therefore, to be understood as referring to the kingdom of God on earth, which ends with the Last Judgement.

"The kingdom of heaven is like to a householder, who went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard." At the third, the sixth, the ninth and the eleventh hours he goes out again, and whomever he finds idle, he sends into his vineyard. At evening each receives his day's wage, the one who had come last the same as he who had borne the burden and heat of the whole day; for the Lord of the kingdom of heaven is good (Matt. xx, 1-16). Precisely in order to make prominent the goodness and generosity of God to the labourers who had been called later, it is said here that all receive essentially the same reward of heaven. That God, however, is also just and rewards every man according to his deserts, is shown by the parable of the talents (Matt. xxv, 14; Luke xix, 12), which expands and explains the previous one about the labourers in the vineyard. There is no doubt that the evening, with its wages, earned and unearned, symbolizes the future, eternal kingdom of heaven. But the reference to the day's work and its burden and heat cannot apply to that kingdom, but only to the present kingdom on earth. Here, early or late, are the call of God to the vineyard, the toil and labour and patient fidelity in the service of the kingdom; but there will be the reward and the possession.

It becomes thus perfectly clear in the parables of Jesus that the kingdom of God in the next world, the eternal festival of joy, eternal blessedness and everlasting life is preceded by a kingdom in this world, which was founded by Jesus Christ and by him made a reality. The kingdom of God here is the beginning, and that of the next world the completion, of man's salvation. Between the two, however, there lies no longer a gulf or interruption. Since the time of Christ, the "well of water springing up into everlasting life" has never more oozed away. This constitutes first the whole cause for jubilation in the glad tidings of Jesus concerning the kingdom of heaven.

Yet one thing in this jubilation should not be forgotten. The divine treasure of grace and salvation, which is confided to us with the call into the earthly kingdom of God, must not be buried. The talents lent must be placed at interest (Matt. xxv, 14-30); the seed must grow and ripen to a harvest; the

grain must yield, some thirty, some sixty, and some a hundredfold; the grain of mustard seed must develop; the leaven must do its work; work must be performed in the vineyard of the earthly kingdom of heaven; and without a wedding garment no one may seat himself at the table of the kingdom of heaven in the next world. In other words, the fruit of the present kingdom and the indispensable condition of admission to the future kingdom is man's personal sanctification and moral perfection. Hence the commission of Jesus to the Apostles, not only to receive all nations into the kingdom of heaven, but also to exhort them to observe the commandments of the kingdom: "Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matt. xxviii, 19, 20). Hence too his admonition to all: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his justice" (Matt. vi, 33). Of this justice of God's kingdom and its difference from the Old Testament and Jewish justice we have still to speak.

3. *The Gospel of Likeness to God.*

Together with the belief in God, as a Father, and the message concerning the kingdom of God, there was also given the Gospel of Likeness to God.[1] If we are in the fullest ethical sense children of God and heirs of his kingdom, our whole endeavour must be directed towards becoming like our heavenly Father through inward moral holiness. In exact contrast to the Old Testament and Jewish doctrine of perfection, Jesus sets before his disciples the command: "Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. v, 48).

However high the ethical ideal of the Old Testament was, the admonition to become like God in perfection was never given to Israel. Such a strange command could not possibly be issued to that people, inclined as they were to idolatry.

[1] We rely here also on the question of the fundamental character of the moral teaching of Jesus. Special investigations of this point are offered by Ehrhardt, *Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu* (1895); Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu,* 325-411; Schrenck, *Jesus und seine Predigt,* 98-145; Eduard Grimm, *Die Ethik Jesu* (1903); Peabody, *Jesus Christus und der christliche Charakter,* 53-245 (1906); W. Hermann, *Die sittlichen Weisungen Jesu* (1907); Moritz Meschler, *Zum Charakterbild Jesu,* 1-30 (1908); H. Ch. King, *The Ethics of Jesus* (London, 1910); P. Möhring, *Die Sittenlehre Jesu* (1910); Otto Kirn, *Die sittlichen Forderungen Jesu* (1910); Lahi, *La Morale de Jésus* (1911); Evans, *The Ethics of Jesus and the Modern Mind,* in the *Harvard Theological Review,* iv, 418-438 (1912). See also the portions pertaining to the subject in the monographs on New Testament theology by W. Beyschlag, B. Weiss, H. J. Holtzmann, H. Jacoby, P. Feine and A. Schlatter.

Rather was it necessary for the prophets continually to insist that created, sentient, finite beings have no resemblance to Jehovah. If they had spoken otherwise, their hearers would have degraded God into something human and created, instead of themselves becoming like God through ideal morality. The Israelites, therefore, are not to be perfect *as* Jehovah is perfect, but *because* Jehovah is perfect. "I am the Lord your God," they are told; "be ye holy, because I am holy" (Lev. xi, 44). Significant in this particular is the fact that the reference in the first place is to the observance of the laws of purification, by which it was prescribed not to eat of many kinds of food, to avoid the touching of certain things, and to practise numerous bodily ablutions.[1] As is well known, these things were prescribed partly for the Levites and partly for the entire people. Acts of purification constituted fully half of the practice of Old Testament justice. In the Temple service, in religious private life, in daily conduct, in social intercourse, in short, in the whole consciousness of the Jewish nation they played the most important part. And yet no direct moral and refining value was attached to them. Of a purely external character, they were merely a symbol of inward moral goodness. Through a removal of physical and esthetical uncleanliness the elimination of moral sinfulness was to be symbolized and incited.

The moral life of the Israelites was to be practised and regulated by the commandments, of which the Mosaic Decalogue formed the central point. Some separate commandments had preceded this, and others were derived from it, but they were all referred back to the Law of the two Tables of Stone. Here for the first time we have to do directly with ethical values and duties. Singularly enough, however, the chief emphasis is still laid on the external manifestations of morality, not on the inward disposition. It is commanded—to worship Jehovah by external acts of adoration and not to dishonour his name by words; to keep the Sabbath day holy by resting from the servile labour of the week; and not to offend, either by sinful words or deeds, against the love of children and neighbours, and against truth, justice and chastity. It is true, in Exodus xx, 17, the coveting of the wife and property of one's neighbour is forbidden; but by this is meant, as appears from Matthew v, 27, that desire which uses external means for the deed, a provable attempt at adultery or theft. That is all. The people were too grossly sensual to have been able to appreciate either sinfulness or moral goodness confined to mere inward dispositions.

The two halves of the Mosaic teaching and practice of

[1] See the whole eleventh chapter of the Third Book of Moses. The parallel passages in Ex. xxii, 31; Lev. xix, 2; xxi, 6, 8; Num. xv. 40; Deut. vii, 6; xiv, 2; xxvi, 18.

justice, the sacred observance of the commandments and sanctity by means of purifications are forcibly expressed in the words: "That they being mindful of the precepts of the Lord may do them and be holy to their God" (Num. xv, 40). Nevertheless, the commandments and purifications were meant more and more to elevate the inward dispositions, and to be observed through the influence of those dispositions. It is true the thought that the disposition of the heart is the sole decisive principle of all morality is nowhere strongly brought out in the Old Testament. Yet in the advancing prophetic revelation an increasing emphasis is always laid on the fact that the holiness and righteousness of the heart have the greatest value in the sight of God.

Already in the Book of Josue is the admonition: "Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him with a perfect and most sincere heart" (Jos. xxiv, 14). "The Lord beholdeth the heart," says Jehovah to Samuel (1 Kings xvi, 7). "The innocent in hands, and clean of heart," is the fundamental principle of the moral teaching of the Psalms (Ps. xxiii, 4); for "the searcher of hearts and reins is God" (Ps. vii, 9). "I the Lord search the heart, and prove the reins," says God to Jeremias (Jer. xvii, 10). Hence the prophets' repeated admonition: "Wash thy heart from wickedness" (Jer. iv, 14); "Wash yourselves, be clean; take away the evil of your devices from my eyes" (Isa. i. 16).

Moreover, the value of the inward character and its demands in the ethics of the Old Testament are already contained in the one principal commandment of love, in which all the Law and the prophets are epitomized (Matt. xxii, 40). It is a grand and sublime religious programme; one could almost say, a complete doctrine of dogma and morals, which in the concluding harmony of the Torah rings out so purely and powerfully, so simply and concordantly: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul and with thy whole strength. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart; and thou shalt tell them to thy children, and shalt meditate upon them sitting in thy house, and walking on thy journey, and rising. And thou shalt bind them as a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be and shall move between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them in the entry and on the doors of thy house" (Deut. vi, 4-9).

The justice of late Judaism was no more able to retain this ideal of the Old Testament ethics. It is true, the Pharisees swore by the letters of the principal commandment just quoted, and recited it thrice daily in the shema prayer.[1] In general also they observed the Law in its full extent with

[1] *Berachoth*, i, 1-4; ii, 4; *Tamid*, v, 1. Consult Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates*, iv, 8, 13.

unexampled zeal, but its spirit and heart they nevertheless denied.

There were assuredly pious Jews in every age who were anxious not only to fulfil the commandments and laws of Jehovah outwardly and literally, but also to fashion their inward dispositions in accordance with the law of God. We meet with such just persons among the Jews repeatedly in the New Testament. Mary and Joseph, Zacharias and Elizabeth, Simeon and Anna, John the Baptist, and especially the Pharisee Saul, are typical representatives of profound piety and justice. These were, however, exceptions, and, so to speak, side currents. What is characteristic of rabbinical Judaism is outward observance of the Law and mechanical service raised to a principle of conduct.

This low moral standard was caused by the fact that rabbinism, as we have already seen, formed an exclusively transcendental conception of God, and defined the relation between Jehovah and Israel as purely one of Law. "Ethics and theology resolve themselves into jurisprudence."[1] Between God enthroned in solitary grandeur on the unapproachable heights of heaven, and man toiling on the earth, lies the "Law," as an implacable, absolutely binding power. The observation of this Law, in the broadest sense of the word—that is, of the written rules of Moses and of the rabbinical interpretations of these[2]—is for God, as well as for men, the absolute and only duty. Reward and punishment, blessing and curse must be reckoned by Jehovah with mathematical exactitude according to the letter of the Law. And, consequently, the morality or "justice" of the Israelite also consisted in a mathematically precise accommodation between debit and credit, between the precepts of the Law and the fulfilment of the Law. Precepts and fulfilment are day by day recorded, calculated, paid in, and balanced.[3] Wholly righteous is he whose fulfilments of the Law equal in number the sum of the commandments.[4] Relatively righteous is he whose daily

[1] Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* ii, p. 491, 3rd ed.

[2] These interpretations were called the "Oral Torah," and consisted of *Mishna* and *Gemara* (Talmud). The Books of Moses comprised the Law of Right (*jus*), the Mishna, the *corpus juris,* the Gemara (Talmud), the commentary on the *corpus juris.* All three counted as *One Law* (*Sifre,* 132 a; *Bammidbar rabba,* c. 13; *Pesikta,* 98 a). According to the rabbinical view, all were given at Sinai (*Baba mezia,* 59 b; *Tanchuma Ki(?)tissa,* 16; *Berachoth,* 5 a) and are of equal value, equally divine in origin, content and binding force (*Pesikta,* 98 a; *Bammidbar rabba,* c. 13, 15; *Berachoth,* 5 a; *Chagiga,* 3 b; *Sota,* c. 7); it was even held that the Scripture was of less value than the Mishna and Talmud (*Sopherim,* 15, 7; *Pesikta,* 101 b; *Shir rabba,* 10 a b), and therefore to infringe rabbinical statutes was far more sinful than to infringe the written Law (*Erubin,* 21 b; *Aboda sara,* 35 a; *Berachoth,* i, 4 b).

[3] *Wajjikra rabba,* c. 26; *Tanchuma, Wajjelech,* 2; *Aboda sara,* 2 a.

[4] *Shabbath,* 32 a.

balance, or that of his whole life, shows at least an absolute majority on the side of legal fulfilments.[1] The disposition and the inward state accompanying these actions are of little importance, provided only the lawful form and legal quantity are not wanting.

The necessary consequence of this was a frightful falling off and atrophy of moral thought and action. All anxiety was concentrated on an effort not to violate the letter of the Law. Every paragraph and point of it were established with the extremest precision, concretely applied to all conceivable cases, casuistically discussed, and literally fulfilled. Think, for example, of the rabbinical definitions of what is clean and what is unclean (Matt. xv, 1; Mark vii, 1; Luke xi, 38). Whoever comes from the market-place or public highway without taking a plunge-bath is unclean in the sight of the Law. Whoever eats bread without having previously washed his hands is unclean before the Law. Whoever does not cleanse dishes and pitchers, and does not wash benches and tables before mealtime, is legally unclean. If a dead fly has fallen into an earthen jug, this must be broken; otherwise it makes one legally unclean. And because, in the act of drinking, a gnat could easily be swallowed, and gnats are unclean, the liquid must be previously strained. Otherwise one becomes legally unclean. These laws of purification, alluded to in the Gospel, are only a little specimen of innumerable others, which fill twelve treatises—that is, the sixth part—of the Mishna.[2] In a similar way, the conscience of the nation was hampered on all sides with numberless and often absurd prescriptions of the scribes, which, according to both the Gospel (Matt. xxiii, 4) and the Talmud, were intolerable.[3] Whoever follows them literally and with painful exactitude is a "just" man, even though his heart is full of vileness and wickedness.

But with all this external fidelity to the letter of the Law, the Rabbis regarded it so conscientiously only in appearance. Jesus could with impunity reproach them thus: "They bind heavy and insupportable burdens, and lay them on men's shoulders, but with a finger of their own they will not move them" (Matt. xxiii, 4). So soon as the fulfilment of a commandment was unpleasant to them, the whole pharisaical

[1] *Kiddushin*, 40 b. [2] Schürer, ii, 478-483.

[3] In the Talmud the fulfilling of the Law is everywhere described as a "yoke" and a "heavy burden." (*Cf.* Gal. v, 1.) Even one single commandment is exceedingly hard to fulfil (*Mechilta*, 110 a). But definite commandments are attached "to everything, yes, to absolutely everything" (*Sifra* in the Third Book of Moses, 8, 25). Every matter must be done according to special rules, and every kind of work—as, for example, ploughing and sowing—must be performed according to definitely expressed regulations, otherwise one commits a grievous sin (*Bammidbar rabba*, c. 17).

sophistry was called upon to circumvent the letter, or to reconcile itself with it in some way, when necessary, even at the cost of morality and the spirit of the Law. The Gospel shows this by a striking example (Matt. xxiii, 16-22). Mishna and the Talmud contain dozens of them. Thus the Mishna-treatise *Erubin* (*Mixtures*) occupies itself exclusively with concocting clumsy methods of evasion and opening little back doors through which one can escape the duty of keeping the Sabbath. For example, it is forbidden to go on the Sabbath more than 2,000 ells. This prescription is cunningly circumvented by depositing, the day before, at the end of the Sabbath day's journey some food, and thus acquiring there a nominal domicile, from which one can consequently go on another 2,000 ells. Or, it is forbidden to convey anything on the Sabbath day from one district into another. Hence either the alley or the wall which separates two districts is closed; or the neighbouring inhabitants of different districts or courts unite their districts into one, so that on Friday they can deposit somewhere food brought from the common stores of supply. In this way one can then, without violating the Sabbath, carry loads about in the entire circuit created thus in imagination only.[1]

In the same breath, however (since with such extravagant humbug the Law is continually tripped up), the treatise *Beza* enters into that great, and never wholly settled, dispute between the Hillelists and the Shammaites, whether it is a sin to eat an egg, which is laid by a hen on the Sabbath, or which even had been carried by her on the Sabbath.

External service devoid of spirit; mechanical manipulations without any inward worth, and often without any honesty and sincerity; that is the stamp of official, pharisaical "justice."

The Saviour with equal severity characterized and condemned it when he exclaimed to his contemporaries: "Woe to you, scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites; because you tithe mint, and anise and cummin, and have left the weightier things of the Law, judgement, mercy and faith. These things you ought to have done, and not leave the other undone. Blind guides, who strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you make clean the outside of the cup and of the dish, but within you are full of rapine and uncleanness. Thou blind Pharisee, first make clean the inside of the cup and of the dish, that the outside may become clean. Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all filthiness. So you also

[1] *Mishna, Erubin*, c. 1-9, and *Beza*, c. 2.

outwardly appear to men just, but inwardly you are full of hypocrisy and iniquity" (Matt. xxiii, 23-28; Luke xi, 39-44).

In most violent contrast to this merely external and false "justice," Jesus sets forth the "better justice" of the kingdom of heaven, preached by him. "I say to you," he exclaims to them, turning from the Rabbis to his disciples, "Except your justice abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v, 20). Yet, at the same time, he expresses very definitely his intention of raising the justice of the kingdom of heaven above that of even the Old Testament, and of fulfilling the Law and the Prophets in the sense of an ideal perfection (Matt. v, 17, 21). In reality, he elevates the moral ideal to the height of likeness to God, since, before all else, he makes the inward disposition the only standard of ethical righteousness, and then declares love to be the only test of inward disposition.

That which is new and peculiar in the teaching of Jesus in regard to justice consists, first of all, therefore, in the fact that he not only emphasized the worth of the inward moral disposition, in opposition to late Judaism and in harmony with the Old Testament, but that he raised this disposition just to become the sole standard of all moral righteousness.

In accordance with his plans, he expresses this in the words recorded by John: "The hour cometh, and now is, when the true adorers shall adore the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to adore him. God is a Spirit, and they that adore him must adore him in spirit and in truth" (John iv, 23-24). Although Christ here speaks especially of the practice of religion, he emphasizes no less the practice of morality in spirit and in truth; for religion and morals depend on reciprocity. In various passages of the Gospels, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, the Saviour expounds the principle that all man's justice is to be measured by his inward disposition, strictly with regard to the most important phases of moral action. In consequence of this, certain forms of the previous "justice" are entirely abolished, others are enlarged, and others perfected.

Physical cleanliness and lack of cleanliness have nothing to do with the disposition of the heart. Hence the former laws and practices of purification are done away with.

The Pharisees and scribes were offended one day because some of the disciples of Jesus ate bread with "common, that is to say, with unwashen, hands" (Mark vii, 1). The cause of offence was, therefore, one of the numberless rules of purification which had been made by the Rabbis in addition to those of the Old Testament. Jesus, in the first place, frustrates the pharisaic hypocrisy by showing by a living example that the Pharisees impose such man-made laws,

ostensibly out of zeal for the commandments of God, while in reality, and only for their own arbitrary pleasure, they make the word and commandment of God despised and of no effect (Mark vii, 3-13).

Then, however, he takes occasion from this to declare and to explain his fundamentally different attitude towards the commandments relating to purification in general. He called the people to him and said to them: "Hear ye me all and understand. There is nothing from without a man, entering into him, that can defile him; but the things which come from a man, those are they that defile a man" (Mark vii, 14, 15).

And when he had come into the house, apart from the people, he said to his disciples in still further explanation: "Understand you not that everything from without, entering into a man, cannot defile him; because it entereth not into his heart, but into the belly, and goeth out into the privy, purging all meats? But he said that the things which come out from a man, they defile a man. For from within, out of the heart of men proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness. All these evil things come from within, and defile a man" (Mark vii, 18-23).

With these words it is forcibly shown that in morality everything depends upon the disposition of the heart; that, if the disposition is evil, no external cleansing can free a man from moral depravity; and that if the disposition is good, no outward purification is needed in order to be found just. The Old Testament and Jewish rules for purification fell away, therefore, before the moral ideal of Jesus.

But if the disposition of the heart is the final standard of morality, then it also must, of course, be subject to commandment or prohibition. Wherever by previous prescriptions merely the coarser sins of commission had been censured, it was necessary for Jesus to enlarge the prohibition, and to declare invisible conduct also, even the most secret thoughts, as sinful. Jesus deduces also this second conclusion from his moral teaching about inward dispositions with great decisiveness.

"You have heard that it was said to them of old; Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgement. But I say to you that whosoever is angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgement; and whosoever shall say to his brother: Raca, shall be in danger of the council. And whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire. If thou therefore offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath anything against thee, leave there thy offering before the altar,

and go first to be reconciled to thy brother, and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift" (Matt. v, 21-24).

According to the Old Testament, only one guilty of murder was delivered over for punishment to the tribunal existing in every city (Deut. xvi, 18), but according to the higher standard of the kingdom of heaven, even anger against one's brother brings one to the same tribunal; and whoever proceeds in his anger so far as to utter insulting words is in danger of the supreme "council," or even of hell fire, according to the severity of his abuse. Indeed, of such importance are anger and its expressions that even the ceremony of the sacrificial gift must be interrupted in order first to satisfy the duty of reconciliation.

"You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you that whosoever shall look on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart. And if thy right eye scandalize thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee; for it is expedient for thee that one of thy members should perish, rather than thy whole body be cast into hell" (Matt. v, 27-29). Even if adultery and the attempt to commit it by force were forbidden in the Old Testament, the Lord now declares that even the lustful look of a married man at a woman, giving rise to a desire for her possession, is equivalent to an act of adultery, and that adultery of heart and disposition is just as sinful as the act itself. Therefore a man should sacrifice what is dearest and most precious to him, even his right eye, if it becomes an occasion for him to commit such a sin of the heart.

"Again you have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt perform thy oaths to the Lord; but I say to you not to swear at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne, nor by the earth, for it is his footstool, nor by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King; neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your speech be, Yea, yea; no, no; and that which is over and above these is of evil" (Matt. v, 33-37). In order not to fall into the danger of perjury, and not to be burdened by their oaths, the Pharisees avoided an oath "by the name of God," but used recklessly other oaths, which had not the real form of an oath, such as "by heaven," "by the earth," and "by my head." Such oaths they then violated without reproach of conscience (Matt. xxiii, 16-22). Jesus forbids this dishonourable conduct in the strongest terms. Whether it is a case of a real oath or a pretended one, or merely of an unsworn utterance, the real and genuine disposition must always correspond to the words, and any false disposition is always a sin. One ought, therefore, in social intercourse to be content with a simple

affirmation or denial, in order to prevent the appearance of not being bound to be truthful even by unsworn statements.

Insincerity and a lack of genuine feeling were, moreover, deep-seated evils, from which even the most distinguished pharisaical righteous practices suffered. Praying, fasting and almsgiving were the duty and care of the Pharisee, but in this the pure intention was for the most part wanting. Jesus, on the contrary, declared that even the best works have the merit of justice only when they are ennobled and purified by a good disposition.

Of the pharisaical hypocrites he says: "All their works they do to be seen of men" (Matt. xxiii, 5). Against this seeming justice he warns the disciples strongly: "Take heed that you do not your justice before men, to be seen by them; otherwise you shall not have a reward of your Father who is in heaven. Therefore, when thou doest an alms-deed, sound not a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be honoured by men. Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward. But when thou dost alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth; that thine alms may be in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. And when ye pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets, that they may be seen by men" (Matt. vi, 1-5). Elsewhere Jesus utters to them the reproach: "They make their phylacteries broad, and enlarge their fringes" (Matt. xxiii, 5) in order to give to themselves the appearance of greater justice in respect to the Law. "They devour widows' houses under the pretence of long prayer" (Mark xii, 40)—that is, they gratify their avarice under the mantle of piety. "Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward. But thou, when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. . . . And when you fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad. For they disfigure their faces that they may appear unto men to fast. Amen, I say to you, they have received their reward. But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou appear not to men to fast, but to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee" (Matt. vi, 1-6, 16-18).

And what Jesus says of praying, fasting and almsgiving, he wishes to have understood of moral justice in the widest sense. Think, for example, of the parable of the Pharisee and the publican. The Pharisee, who, in his own eyes and those of others, passes for a paragon of all justice, and in the most prominent places in the Temple thanks God that he has to his credit all his righteous practices, leaves the Lord's house as "unjust." The publican, at whom he looks askance,

and who humbly beats upon his breast and with a contrite heart confesses his unworthiness, receives forgiveness and justification (Luke xviii, 10-14). "You are they who justify yourselves before men," exclaims Jesus reproachfully to the Pharisees, "but God knoweth your hearts, for that which is high to men is an abomination before God" (Luke xvi, 15). It is impossible to show more clearly and forcibly the principle that the inward disposition is the only standard of all moral justice. The thought of a reward, which Jesus expresses, does not contradict this ideal ethical sentiment, but is in perfect harmony with it. "Eudemonism—the measuring of the value of moral conduct by its general usefulness and the sensuous feeling of happiness which it brings—is very far from the ethics of the Gospel. What Jesus has in mind, as reward and punishment, is something predominantly spiritual, immaterial and ideal. Reward, in the preaching of Jesus, is essentially to stand in God's presence, near God. Punishment is to be banished from God's presence and to be kept away from being near him."[1]

Jesus is, however, not content with this. The disposition itself, which he requires from us, must be of the highest, noblest and purest sort—the disposition of childlike love. We shall bring forward the proof of this in the following chapter, where we shall speak of the Saviour's idea of love for God and neighbour. The example of love in Jesus is too closely connected with his commandment of love for us possibly to separate them. It is only necessary to point out here that already, merely through our Lord's conception of God, love was made both the foundation and the climax of all morality.

Love of God had, it is true, a central place also, literally, in Jewish justice; but only literally. The Rabbis, who wanted to stand in relation to Jehovah merely in a heartless, legal sense, and in consequence taught and practised a purely external, mechanical sort of righteousness, were obviously far removed from a warm feeling of love. Jesus reproaches them for this with the bold words: "Well did Isaias prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me" (Isa. xxix, 13; Mark vii, 6). Even the Old Testament love of God needed "the fulfilment." However insistently it was commanded, and however faithfully it was practised by many pious persons, it nevertheless did not have a markedly childlike character. It was suitable for the supreme Lord, the Almighty, the All-righteous, but not for the Father. It was, therefore, in accordance with the Mosaic and prophetical idea of God, a

[1] Bousset, *Jesus*, p. 58 (1907); L. Ihmels, *Der Lohngedanke und die Ethik Jesu* (1908); G. W. Stewart, *The Place of Rewards in the Teaching of Christ*, in the *Expositor*, 7th series, x, pp. 97-111, 224-241 (1911).

servant's love, often unfortunately only a slave's love, but not the true love of a child.

By proclaiming the Gospel of a Father in heaven, Jesus exalted man's love for God to the rank of child's love, and made this the very soul of man's whole moral and religious life. Here the conception of God determines everything. For Jesus, God is a Father, only a Father; love, nothing but love. If we are correct in this conception of God, and apply it, in its ultimate conclusions, to our attitude towards God, then it is evident that childlike love must be the root, the blossom and the fruit of all Christian feeling and conduct.

The preaching of Jesus concerning the Father in heaven insured the same exalted position even to the love of our fellow-men. If God is the Father of all men, and if we are all children of this Father, then we must extend our love for him to our brothers, and this brotherly love then also flows back again to him. That is the reason why Jesus, in striking contrast to the Old Testament, places the commandment of love to God and that of love to one's neighbour side by side, and lets them really blend. When he was asked by a scribe which was the first commandment of all, he replied: "The first is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one God; thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind, and with thy whole strength. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like to it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments dependeth the whole Law and the prophets" (Matt. xxii, 36-40; Mark xii, 28-31; Luke x, 25-27). The Apostle to the Gentiles has expressed the all-embracing importance of love in the Gospel of Christian perfection in the significant words: "Love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii, 10).

If now we take a survey of the entire purport of the message of Jesus, we must acknowledge that it is the highest revelation of moral and religious wisdom that has ever appeared on this earth. Far above every merely natural view of God, of the world, and of life, it stands vastly higher than even the revelation of the Old Testament. Complete perception of God, communion with God and resemblance to God, perfect insight into God's being, will and decrees; and the Way, the Truth and the Life, as regards the eternal tasks and aims of man—all these the joyful message of Jesus offers and is.

The benefits of this ideal religious and ethical wisdom prove advantageous even to purely earthly conditions and efforts, although Jesus did not directly aim at this. The accusation of an abandonment of the world, renunciation of life, and hostility to intellectual culture, which is raised by many radical

critics[1] against the teaching of Jesus, needs not to be again refuted here. Apart from distortions of the teaching of Jesus, it rests simply on the fact that modern evolutionists and monists estimate "the external values of life" as the supreme good, while the Gospel of Jesus is directed to supermundane aims, to which everything earthly has to be subordinated and adapted.[2] Culture and civilization, science and art, individual personality, the family, the State, society, poverty, work, possession, joy and suffering, renunciation and enjoyment—are all placed by Christianity in an essentially different and purer light. Looked at from the standpoint of the Gospel of Jesus, they shine forth with a wonderful illumination from above. Subordinated to supernatural aims and purposes, and placed in the perspective of the Christian view of life, everything low and bad on earth is recognized and stigmatized in its true form; while everything here below that is really good and worth striving for receives a supernatural and everlasting value.

Thus the threefold Gospel of Jesus, concerning the Fatherhood of God, the Kingdom of God, and Likeness to God, bears the unmistakable stamp of divine wisdom.

II.—His Prophecies.

1. *His Prophecies already Fulfilled—His Supernatural Knowledge.*

If the "glad tidings" of Jesus are proven to be the highest revelation of religious and ethical wisdom, the prophecies of Jesus are, on the other hand, a participation in the unlimited, absolute knowledge of God.

The prophetic figure of the Saviour stands pre-eminent in the whole history of the revelation. The Old Testament revelation, preceding Christ, speaks of him only as the future Messiah and Sovereign of the kingdom of heaven, awaited with infinite longing. Immediately after the Fall in Paradise, the first prophetic ray of hope of the Messiah and Redeemer falls into the darkness of human misery and sin; and, from that time on, light after light, and star after star of promise ascends the firmament of the Holy Scriptures. Ever more clearly, ever more distinctly, ever more definitely do these

[1] Fried. Nietzsche, *Der Antichrist, Works* x, 361-364, 413-415 (1906); Ed. von Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testamentes*, 52 ff; Wilh. von Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesus-Kultus*, 36-38; Fr. Paulsen, *System der Ethik*, 50 (1889); Ernst Horneffer, *Jesus im Lichte der Gegenwart*, 26 (1910); Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 140.

[2] See Winterstein, *Die christliche Lehre vom Erdengut* (1898); Simon Weber, *Evangelium und Arbeit* (1898); Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, 224-228, 280-292, 2nd ed.; Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i, 354-359; O. Wimmer, *Die Wertung der Güter dieser Welt in der Lehre Jesu*, i and ii (1910-12).

point to the great day of redemption, and to the Sun of Righteousness which was to dawn upon all nations. Jesus Christ of Nazareth proved himself to be this sun. He himself asserts that in him is fulfilled all that had been written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man (Luke xxiv, 27). His disciples could, in the presence of Jews and pagans, appeal to this, as an undeniable fact, that God had fulfilled what he had announced beforehand through the mouths of all the prophets (Acts iii, 18). His mental vision with penetrating glance looked through the numerous prophecies which had been apportioned to the prophets in the course of centuries (Luke xxiv, 27); he collected all the threads of this multiform prediction, embodied in his person all their substance, and fulfilled them to the very last iota in his life, his death, his glorification, his teaching and his kingdom. Thus Jesus is the impersonator, the soul, the beginning, middle and end of ante-christian prophecy—the Prophet of all the prophets, who had prophesied before him and of him.[1]

Jesus himself, however, carries prophecy still further, and shows a prophetic knowledge such as was given to none of the other prophets.

To these the gift of supernatural clairvoyance was imparted only as a temporary illumination. In their case this suddenly flames up, illumines the subject which the Lord will make clear, and then disappears again, leaving the prophet once more to the obscurity of his own natural, short-sighted perceptions.[2] The prophets over and over again remind their hearers of this fact in the most varied utterances: "And the word of the Lord came unto me" (Jer. i, 2, 4, 13); "And the Lord said unto me" (Jer. i, 12, etc.); "The word of the Lord also came unto me" (Ezech. xii, 1); "And I turned, and lifted up my eyes, and I saw, and behold . . ." (Zach. v, 1 and vi, 1); "Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month . . . the heavens were opened and I saw the visions of God. . . . The word of the Lord came" (Ezech. i, 1, etc.). As a pupil stands before his teacher, and listens to what he has to learn, so does the prophet stand before the Lord (Isa. l, 4). Very often he looks in vain for instruction and enlightenment, and must confess:

[1] We must decline to go further into the separate Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament and their fulfilment in Christ, following thus the precedent of other Christian apologists of our time. The evidence of such prophecies certainly remains still to-day in its full force, but only under the presupposition that the historic credibility and the Messianic character of the prophetic books and passages of the Old Testament are conceded. That is, however, not the case with the modern students of Jesus, with whom we are now discussing; and the attempt to come to an understanding with them in this question would meet with difficulties at every step, which within the limits of this work could not be properly answered.

[2] St Thomas, *Summa*, II-II, q. 171, a. 2.

"The Lord hath hid it from me, and hath not told me" (4 Kings, iv, 27).

It is quite otherwise with Jesus. The most secret events lie, like an open book, before him. Even the greatest mysteries of God are to him perfectly and constantly clear.[1] He has not to wait for the hour of spiritual illumination and instruction. Not merely now and then is it given to him to behold a prophetic vision, and to stammer out a word of sublime prophecy. Continually, steadily and quietly wells up in him the spirit of prophecy. The superhuman waves of thought stream forth from his soul, as from their own legitimate home, and wherever the opportunity presents itself, the prophetic words flow from his tongue as spontaneously as if it were a question of the most natural things in the world.

A proof of this is especially the ability of Jesus to read the heart. Whoever reads the Gospels attentively cannot escape the impression that the Saviour knew how to read the most secret thoughts of men, and sounded the condition of their inmost souls with absolute certainty.

At the first glance he knows Peter, gauges his character profoundly, and consequently changes his name of Simon into Cephas—"the Rock." "Jesus looking upon him said, Thou art Simon, the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas" (John i, 42; Mark iii, 16; Matt. xvi, 18).

The day after, he sees for the first time Nathanael coming to him, and says of him: "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile." Nathanael saith to him: "Whence knowest thou me?" Jesus answered and said to him: "Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee." At this proof that Jesus read his heart, Nathanael made the confession: "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel" (John i, 43-49).

At Jacob's well Jesus enters into conversation with the woman of Samaria, and says to her: "Go, call thy husband." The woman answered and said: "I have no husband." Jesus confirms the statement and remarks: "Thou hast said well, I have no husband; for thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband. This thou hast said truly" (John iv, 16-19). Moreover, he told her all that she had done (John iv, 29), so that the woman in astonishment exclaimed: "Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet" (John iv, 19).

Jesus was dining in the house of Simon the Pharisee when a woman, who was a notorious sinner, entered, and threw herself, weeping, at the Saviour's feet. The Pharisee seeing this, said to himself: "This man, if he were a prophet, would know surely who and what manner of woman this is that

[1] See vol. i. The words of Jesus concerning the hour of the Last Judgement do not contradict this.

toucheth him, that she is a sinner." Hardly had these thoughts come to Simon when they were known to Jesus, as well as if the Pharisee had uttered them aloud (Luke vii, 36-50).

On the way to Capharnaum his disciples occupied themselves with the thought which of them should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, and finally broke out into an actual quarrel over the matter. But Jesus perceived the thought of their hearts (Luke ix, 47). As soon as they were together with him, he asked them: "What did you treat of in the way?" They, however, held their peace in view of the all-penetrating glance of their Master. But he gave them at the same time an answer and a reproof, saying to them: "If any man desire to be first, the same shall be the last of all, and the minister of all." Then he takes a child and places it in their midst, puts his arms about it, and says: "Amen, I say to you, unless ye be converted and become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever, therefore, shall humble himself as this little child, he is the greater in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. xviii, 1-5 and parallel passages).

Just as in his intercourse with his disciples, so Jesus shows himself a searcher of hearts in controversy with his enemies. He sees through all their schemes, knows beforehand the snares in which they wish to entangle him, and strikingly refutes their arguments even before they attack him with them. The scribes prepare to accuse him of being a Sabbath-breaker, because he, on the Lord's day, heals the man with a withered hand. Jesus, however, "knew their thoughts," and refuted them in advance by a crushing demonstration (Luke vi, 6-11). The Pharisees murmur concerning his driving out of devils, as if it occurred through the power of Beelzebub. Jesus, however, "knew their thoughts" (Matt. xii, 25; Luke xi, 17), and was able to confound them utterly (Matt. xii, 22-30).

The Rabbis are scandalized because Jesus assumes the power to forgive sins. Jesus, however, "perceived their thoughts, and said: Wherefore do you think evil in your hearts?" Then he silences them, and justifies himself by means of an instantaneous act of omnipotence. "And all were astonished, and they glorified God. And they were filled with fear, saying: We have seen wonderful things to-day" (Matt. ix, 2-8; Luke v, 18-26).

Jesus knows the condition of the souls of his friends and foes, and what is to take place in them more clearly than they themselves. "Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that did not believe, and who he was that would betray him" (John vi, 64). He never allowed himself to be imposed upon by pretence, or deceived by hypocrisy. "When he was in

Jerusalem at the pasch, upon the festival day, many believed in his name. . . . But Jesus did not trust himself unto them, for that he knew all men, and because he needed not that any should give testimony of man; for he knew what was in man" (John ii, 23-25).

He knew their disposition; he knew them all; he knew what was in man—that is the impression that Jesus made on his contemporaries, and makes on us. He knew men from within, not merely from without. As our bodily eye beholds the outer material world, and reflects it in itself, so does the spiritual eye of the Saviour penetrate into the depths of the human heart, and so is the little world of the soul reflected in his clear perception, without a wrinkle and without shadow, even to the most hidden thought and the most profound secret. This is expressed in all the Gospels with spontaneous certainty and striking frankness. We should have to destroy completely the best early Christian traditions if we wished to doubt this absolute knowledge of the heart possessed by Jesus. No hostile criticism can invalidate the truth of this fact.

The so-called "natural" explanation of Jesus' knowledge of the human heart breaks down completely. Many have wished to compare it to the occult phenomena of "telepathy," "thought-reading" and "thought-transference." Very recently many attempts have been made to see whether and under what conditions one man can ascertain another's thoughts otherwise than through the media of the senses.[1]

"If," says Bessmer, "we consider with an unprejudiced eye the results of thought-transference, we cannot rid ourselves of the supposition that stimuli of another kind than the usual ones of the senses have been active in the recipient of the thought. Whence come these? The natural supposition is that they come from the sender, and through the medium of the body, particularly of the brain. There are sentient perceptions, sensations and feelings on which the sender concentrates his attention, and similarly there spring up in the receiver sentient perceptions and feelings, and to these the process of thought first unites itself. To prove successful, the attempts at thought-transference often require much time. Both the sender and receiver experience severe nervous exhaustion. Bodily contact between them influences the result favourably. Every indication is that the body has its share in this. . . . So far as the experiments with thought-transference permit us to judge, very narrow limits are drawn for the telepathic, psychical intercourse between man and man.

[1] See on this point the admirable work of Father Julius Bessmer, *Gedankenübertragung,* in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* lxii, 503-525 (1902); *Telepathie, id.*, lxxvii, 13-27, 155-168 (1909); R. Hennig, *Wunder und Wissenschaft,* 151 ff.; Mercier, *Psychologie,* ii, 218, 7th ed.; Désiré Lodiel, *Les phénomènes télépathiques et le secret de l'Au-delà* (1908); Georg Weingärtner, *Das Unterbewusstsein,* 87 (1911).

The experiments are possibly for only a short distance; for the most part in the same room. A positive conclusion in regard to the possibility of thought-exchange at a distance, in the strict sense of the word, cannot, therefore, be drawn. Moreover, the attempts make such demands on the nervous force of both sender and receiver that they cannot be continued, out of consideration for their health. The great length of time required, after the attempt is begun, for the formation of a single idea in this way, does not allow us to hope that any kind of consecutive interchange of thoughts is possible. The fear that by means of distant telepathic sensitiveness someone can read another's heart-secrets against the latter's will is absolutely groundless."[1]

In not a single instance has evidence been adduced for the reality of an "unconscious telepathy"—that is, of a transference of thoughts and perceptions, with which the sender had not consciously busied himself, or which he had not wished to transfer. Where there is not a previous mutual understanding between the thought-reader and the one who is making the attempt, the successful reading of thought is merely the ordinary result of chance or guessing. The results obtained in this way are not more numerous than those of probability, attained by chance.[2]

Experiments in mental telepathy are, therefore, not in any way a counterpart of the knowledge of men's hearts evinced by Jesus. The former are entirely natural, and confirm the supernatural quality of the latter. It is and remains uncontroverted that no mortal has ever been able to read the soul of his fellow-men from heart to heart and from mind to mind. God alone "knoweth the secrets of the heart" (Ps. xliii, 22); only "the Lord searcheth all hearts and knoweth all thoughts" (1 Chron. xxviii, 9); it is he alone who "is the searcher of heart and reins" (Ps. vii, 10) and "understandeth my thoughts afar off" (Ps. cxxxviii, 3). "The eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun, beholding round about all the ways of men, and looking into the hearts of men into the most hidden parts" (Ecclus. xxiii, 28). The reading of the heart is reserved for deity, and results from God's absolute omnipresence and omnipotence. Since, then, Jesus knows the secrets of men, and exposes them unreservedly and without effort, he proves that he shares constantly the divine knowledge, and therefore is a prophet in the fullest sense of the word.

The prophetic knowledge of Jesus is not, however, confined to revealing what is for the moment hidden in the heart of man; it presses forward also into the realm of the future, and unveils things which as yet have nothing to do with the

[1] Bessmer, *id.*, lxxvii, 161, 162.
[2] W. Tereyer, *Die Erklärung des Gedankenlesens* (1886).

present, but are known only to him, for whom there is neither earlier nor later, neither yesterday nor to-morrow—but merely one eternal Now and To-day.

The predictions of the Saviour in regard to the future, so far as they concern apologists,[1] refer especially to the suffering and death, the resurrection and glorification of Jesus, and to the fate of Jerusalem and of the Jewish people.[2]

The prediction of his coming suffering runs, like a red thread, through the whole public life of Jesus. Already during its first period he had, referring to his own body, spoken of the demolition of the Temple (John ii, 19-21), and announced that the Son of Man must, like the serpent in the wilderness, be lifted up, so that everyone who believed in him should have everlasting life (John iii, 14-15). After the termination of his activity in Galilee, he repeats with ever-increasing clearness the announcement of his death.[3] "From that time," says the ear witness, Matthew, "Jesus began to show to his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the ancients and scribes and chief priests, and be put to death" (Matt. xvi, 21). Again and again his discourses lead to such words as these: "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man shall be delivered up to the high priests and scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, and deliver him over to the Gentiles, and these shall mock him, spit upon him and scourge him, crucify and kill him, and after three days he shall rise again" (Matt. xx, 18 with parallels).

In doing this, Jesus announced in advance not only the fact of his coming death and the mode of his sufferings, but also gave the separate circumstances attending it exactly. The instigators of the death of the Messiah are the hierarchs of the Jews; they take him captive, condemn him in an assembly of the Sanhedrim, and give him over to the pagan Romans to confirm and ratify the death sentence. These subject him to the coarsest mockery and bodily insults, inflict upon him the punishment of scourging, and finally crucify him.

Not content with this, Jesus points out also in advance the frightful part which two of his own disciples will play in the history of his suffering. Reading the heart of Judas Iscariot, he had already at an early date declared that one of the Twelve would betray him (John vi, 65, 71). At the Last Supper he gives to this prophecy the most definite form. Matthew and John, who were present, report it as follows: "And whilst they were eating, he said, Amen, I say to you that one of you is about to betray me. And they being very much troubled,

[1] See Ottiger, *Theologia fundamentalis,* i, 749 f.

[2] Fr. Schmid, *Christus als Prophet* (Brixen, 1892); Paul Schwartzkopf, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi von seinem Tode, seiner Auferstehung und Wiederkunft und ihre Erfüllung* (Göttingen 1895).

[3] Schmid, *id.*, pp. 20 ff.

began everyone to say, Is it I, Lord? And he answering said, He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, he shall betray me. The Son of Man indeed goeth, as it is written of him, but woe to that man by whom the Son of Man shall be betrayed. It were better for him if that man had not been born. And Judas that betrayed him, answering said, Is it I, Rabbi? He saith to him, Thou hast said it" (Matt. xxvi, 21-25). Then he immediately adds the attendant circumstance, that the execution of the dark deed is imminent. "That which thou dost, do quickly" (John xiii, 27), he says to the traitor, and soon after, when Judas had withdrawn, he urges those who have remained to "Rise, let us go; behold, he is at hand that will betray me" (Matt. xxvi, 46).

The disciples are at first thunderstruck by this frightful news. But as the Master assures them solemnly that they will all that same night be offended because of him (Mark xiv, 27; John xvi, 32), Peter answers indignantly: "Although all shall be scandalized in thee, yet not I. . . . Although I should die together with thee, I will not deny thee" (Mark xiv, 29, 31). "And Jesus saith unto him, Amen, I say unto thee to-day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice" (Mark xiv, 30).[1]

Some hours after that prediction, Peter is accused of being a disciple of the Galilean, and boldly denies, a first, second and third time, that he even knows "this man." He actually begins to curse and to swear that he knows not the man—and immediately a cock crew. And the Lord turned and looked on Peter. And Peter remembered the words which Jesus had spoken to him: "Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out and wept bitterly" (Matt. xxvi, 69-75 and parallel passages).

Like this prophecy of Peter's denial, the predictions of the betrayal of Judas and all the other details of the sufferings and death are also literally fulfilled. The story of the Passion is in all four Gospels unanimous in this respect, and not one of the hostile critics dares to contest it.

The unanimity in regard to the prediction and fulfilment is, on the contrary, so manifest, that our more radical opponents resort to the desperate expedient of saying that the predictions of his sufferings were devised only after the events. It is said that it is a case of *vaticinia post eventum*—of a story of suffering subsequently transformed into a prophecy; that the oldest Christian community could not bear the thought

[1] Only in the Petrine Gospel of Mark is anything said of the cock crowing twice. Matthew (xxvi, 33-35), Luke (xxii, 33) and John (xiii, 38) say merely that the denial will take place before the time of cock-crowing shall have passed. It is well known that the cock crows every night three times, the last time about three o'clock, which hour, therefore, used to be called that of the "cock-crowing."

that Jesus had been surprised by his tragic death; and that accordingly it caused him to predict his coming doom in all its details.[1] It is claimed that it is not a question here of prophecies, but of primitive Christian "apologetics" or "dogmatics," and that the predictions of his sufferings, as such, are to be rejected beforehand, as "evidently unhistorical."[2]

This sort of hypercriticism is, however, repudiated bluntly by most, and by the most important, investigators of the subject in the liberal camp itself. Thus, Bousset writes: "Against these arguments one tradition of our Gospels stands like a mass of bronze—the scene in the Garden of Gethsemani, which could not have been invented, and bears in itself the stamp of the genuinely historical."[3] W. Baldensperger maintains that not only the scene of Gethsemani, but also the entire Gospel is antagonistic to any elimination of the Passion-prophecies: "In order to establish such a theory, such a radical disregard of the reports of our sources of information would be necessary, that the history of Jesus would then succumb completely to subjectivism. And what then? The early Church, which practically means the disciples, had made its thought on this subject originate with the Master. This, however, breaks down before the other certainly trustworthy statement that only with great effort could they comprehend the revelations of Jesus concerning his approaching sufferings. Yet who will believe that they rejected such an avowal, and thereby, on their own authority, invented the prophecies of Jesus concerning his death?"[4] E. von Dobschütz maintains that "coolly to strike out these [Passion-prophecies] is one of the arbitrary eliminations, characteristic of the latest criticism, so devoid of preassumptions! . . . That Jesus foresaw the outwardly tragic ending of his life, and was anxious to prepare the disciples for it in advance, belongs, in my opinion, to those features of the Gospel history without which the entire portrait is incomplete and incomprehensible."[5]

Infidelity is really opposed to the recognition of the prophecies of Jesus concerning his death because these are an incontrovertible proof of his absolutely supernatural knowledge. Arnold Meyer betrays this secret when he writes, with

[1] Thus Loisy, *L'Evangile et l'Eglise*, 17-19, 50; Arnold Meyer, *Wer hat das Christentum gegründet, Jesus oder Paulus?* 58; Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, i, 360, 389; Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, 171, and *Das älteste Evangelium*, 93-98; W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 87-92.

[2] W. von Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesus-Kultus*, 22.

[3] *Jesus*, p. 87, 3rd ed.

[4] *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu im Lichte der messianischen Hoffnungen seiner Zeit*, p. 120 (1888).

[5] *Ostern und Pfingsten*, p. 13 (1903).

incredible ingenuousness, the following: "Did Jesus really expect to perish so ignominiously? Was Jesus able to know the future in advance? . . . We must not at all imagine that Jesus was omniscient, or that he knew beforehand everything, and how his fate and cause would shape themselves. . . . Accordingly, he could not have known in advance also that he would be crucified."[1] The same writer says: "Since Jesus was not omniscient, he could not have foreseen his early and shameful death and the ending of his cause."[2]

But as it is inadmissible to doubt at all the prophecies of Jesus in reference to his sufferings, so it is also uncritical to dispute them or their details subsequently. It is precisely their separate features which bear in the fullest degree the stamp of the historical. Narratives, for example, like those of the approaching treachery of Judas or the denial of Peter, could not possibly have been invented, but must be derived from reality. And what is true of the separate details of these predictions of his sufferings is true also of their definiteness. When some critics speak of "dark hints," "premonitions," "anticipations of suffering," and of a vivid realization of the thought of death, as "dim forebodings,"[3] they are talking to the wind. Nowhere do the Gospels offer the slightest basis for such ideas. In every passage and in every statement the knowledge and predictions of Jesus in regard to his Passion are in the highest degree definite, positive and clear.

Scientific inquiry, therefore, must once for all give up the attempt to invalidate in any way the historic truth of the prophecies of Jesus regarding his sufferings and death.

The only question is whether it can dispute the supernatural character of those prophecies. The most natural supposition would be that Jesus had acquired the certainty of his future sufferings by reading the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament. There it was clearly stated that the Messiah must submit to suffering and death for our sake. The Saviour also actually reminded his disciples of this, when he introduced his prophecies concerning his Passion, with the words: "Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things shall be accomplished which were written by the prophets concerning the Son of Man" (Luke xviii, 31).

But our opponents have no right to appeal to these, for only the fact and the general outlines of the death of the Messiah were predicted in the Old Testament, not all the details which Jesus foresaw and foretold. Moreover, our opponents ought not, and do not wish, to appeal to the Old Testament passages

[1] *Die Auferstehung Christi*, pp. 306, 308 (1905).
[2] *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, p. 22 (1907).
[3] Thus Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i, 375; Bousset, *id.*, 88; Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu erzählt*, 126, 162 ff.

referring to the "Man of Sorrows," and to the suffering "Servant of God," because they deny the Messianic character of these passages. Julius Wellhausen presents the view of the whole liberal and radical school of criticism when he says: "The idea of the suffering Messiah was not prepared in advance by the prophecies of the Old Testament. No one can deduce that idea from them, unless he brings it with him, or inserts it into them."[1]

As a matter of fact, freethinking critics propose a quite different, "natural" explanation of the predictions of Jesus regarding his sufferings. It is claimed that the catastrophe of Calvary has resulted as the necessary, unavoidable conclusion of the conflict of the hierarchs against the Prophet of Nazareth. That result could not have escaped the foresight of anyone, especially of the Saviour himself. "The longer it continued, the more clearly he perceived that the leaders of the people were becoming his embittered enemies, and in their anxiety about their own might and authority were straining every nerve to check his influence and to destroy his success. Thus the knowledge was more and more clearly forced upon him that . . . conflicts and persecutions were at hand, in which he himself must be the first to sacrifice his life for the cause of the kingdom of God. The recollection of the fate of so many former prophets who had been slain by the chiefs of the people of Israel (Luke xi, 47-51; xiii, 33; Matt. xxiii, 29-37), and the sight of the tragic ending of John the Baptist, enacted before him (Mark ix, 12), must have strengthened in him the certainty that such a fate, common to prophets, was destined for him also."[2]

But, however vigorously this "natural" interpretation is urged by the entire school of sceptical criticism, it still remains unsound. Jesus could not, in any natural way, have concluded from the hostility of the Jewish hierarchs either his death itself, or the manner of that death, or the circumstances attending it, and hence could not in any natural way have prophesied it.

In the first place, the prediction of Jesus about his death

[1] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien,* p. 81 (1911). It is true, quite apart from this, there is found the curious incongruity that, on the one hand, the Old Testament prophecy of the suffering Messiah is denied, yet, on the other, it is appealed to elsewhere to explain the prophecies of his death in a natural way. Thus H. J. Holtzmann writes that the Old Testament "knows as little of a suffering Messiah as does the contemporary Jewish theology," yet, two pages further on it is said that the prophecies of Jesus regarding his Passion gained a "firm consistency" from the Old Testament portrait of the servant of God (*Lehrbuch der neutestament. Theologie,* i, 288-290).

[2] Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu,* p. 491, 2nd ed.; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* II, 258-275, 4th ed.; Oskar Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu,* 258 ff.; *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* pp. 100 ff.; Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* 190, 3rd ed.

does not originate from the time in which the pharisaic party had declared war finally against the Saviour. Already in the first period of his activity he made allusion to his coming sufferings through violence, and ended his definite prediction on that point even before the end of the spring in Galilee, at a time when no one would have dreamed of such an issue of his work and life. Jesus also knew perfectly that it was not permissible for the Jews legally to execute a death sentence upon him. The death sentence was the prerogative of the head of the Roman power only, before whom the Saviour knew that he was blameless. Finally, the masses of the people, before whom their cowardly leaders crouched more and more, had always interposed, as often as the latter had wished to proceed against him (Matt. xxvi, 5; Mark xiv, 1, etc.; Luke xix, 47). On the very eve of his Passion the enthusiasm of the multitude for Jesus showed itself most conspicuously (Matt. xxi, 8-11; John xii, 12). In such circumstances, how would the leaders ever dare to deal with him severely? Moreover, he had only to go back to his native province, Galilee, in order to escape the persecutions of the Jewish chiefs and to remain completely unmolested.

In a merely natural way, therefore, Jesus could not foresee his sufferings so exactly predicted. This is conceded even by decidedly radical critics. A. Schweitzer, for example, writes: "The necessity of death, by which modern theology tries to make the determination and predictions of Jesus comprehensible, is not a necessity of the historic course of events. There was then no natural reason for Jesus to come to such a determination."[1] W. Baldensperger expresses himself in precisely the same way: "The determination of Jesus to suffer and to die is in no way enjoined upon him by any external cause."[2]

Still less had he any reason to foresee the manner of his death. That he, after undergoing judicial proceedings before the highest Jewish and Roman tribunals, and relying on a regular sentence, would be given over to death on the cross appeared absolutely impossible. With the total lack in his case of any legal guilt, which could have justified that mode of death, or even any legal proceeding whatsoever, the sentence of crucifixion was, from a legal point of view, unthinkable. If, however, he should be killed in some crisis of the affair, this could only happen, according to all human calculation, in some popular tumult, or by being stoned to death. The stoning of Jesus by the people could be justified, in appearance at least, before both the Jewish and Roman law; and if Jesus fell a victim to the summary justice of the

[1] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, p. 383.
[2] *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, p. 129.

mob, the instigators might escape the accusation of having decreed and executed a sentence of death contrary to the Roman law.

The Mosaic law, which prescribed stoning for blasphemers (Lev. xxiv, 13-16, 23), could possibly have been applied, though of course unjustly, in the case of Jesus against him. Troublesome prophets had always been denounced by the people and stoned as false prophets and blasphemers. That stoning was the usual death for prophets Jesus himself says in his lamentation: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee" (Matt. xxiii, 37; Luke xiii, 32-34). Stephen also suffered this form of death (Acts vii, 57), and the Jews had repeatedly sought to stone the Saviour himself under the pretext of blasphemy (John viii, 59; x, 31; xi, 8). According to human foresight and calculation, therefore, no other death than this would have been his fate.

Least of all could Jesus have foreseen by any natural process of reasoning the circumstances of his death which, nevertheless, he predicted. That the Roman soldiery would mock him and spit upon him could not have been expected. Moreover, scourging was never inflicted on a victim of the death sentence. The betrayal by Judas also came as a great surprise to all the disciples, in spite of the bad qualities which this "thief" possessed. Had it been otherwise, how could the disciples, one after another, have asked: "Lord, is it I?" (Matt. xxii, 22). How otherwise would Judas have dared to take part in the Last Supper? That Peter, of all men, would deny his Lord, sounded also especially incredible. Was not Peter the truest of the apostles, and had he not on that very account been selected to be the foundation of the Church? Did he not assert, in view of the prediction of Jesus, that he was ready to die with his Master? Yet the Saviour, in spite of this, positively asserts that Peter that same night, before the cock-crowing, will three times deny him. That could be known only by one who reads with no difficulty whatever both the future and the hearts of men.

Immediately connected with the announcement of Christ's death is his prophecy of his resurrection. Both these are inseparably united in the tradition of the Gospels. We can, therefore, spare ourselves the trouble of proving in advance the genuineness and accuracy of the prophecies concerning the resurrection. Our opponents also spare us this necessity willingly, and say: "With the historicity of the predictions of his death, that of the prophecies of the resurrection is conceded."[1] "All the arguments which have been brought forward by critics against the genuineness of the prophecy

[1] H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentl. Theologie,* i, 305.

of the resurrection are untenable."[1] It is merely an act of rationalistic amateurishness "to regard these prophecies as less definite than their expression in our Gospel sounds."[2]

Radical theology is scandalized at the assertion that Jesus, according to the Gospels, predicted not only his resurrection in general, but even the particular circumstance of the third day. But this statement of a precise time forms undeniably part of the whole prediction of the resurrection and cannot be separated from it.

As often as the Saviour spoke to his disciples of his approaching death, he was accustomed to add immediately that he must rise again on the third day (Matt. xvi, 21). "The Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of men, and they shall kill him, and the third day he shall rise again" (Matt. xvii, 21, 22 and parallels). "The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the ancients, and of the high priests and the scribes, and be killed; and after three days rise again" (Mark viii, 31). "The Son of Man shall be betrayed to the chief priests and the scribes, and they shall condemn him to death, and shall deliver him to the Gentiles to be mocked and scourged and crucified; and the third day he shall rise again" (Matt. xx, 18, 19 and parallel passages).[3]

Jesus had repeatedly informed even the Pharisees of this. When they demanded from him a miraculous sign from heaven, he said: "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh a sign; and a sign shall not be given it, but the sign of Jonas the prophet. For as Jonas was in the whale's belly three days and three nights, so shall the Son of Man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights" (Matt. xii, 39, etc.). On the occasion of his driving the traders from the Temple, the Jews said to him: "What sign dost thou show to us, seeing that thou dost these things? Jesus answered and said to them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews then said, Six and forty years was this

[1] Theodor Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie*, p. 234 (1908). See also the complete refutation of these arguments in Korff's *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt unseres Herrn Jesu Christi*, 89-101 (1897).

[2] Friedrich Looss, *Die Auferstehungsgeschichte und ihr Wert*, in *Hefte zur christlichen Welt*, No. 33, 13 (1908).

[3] The following assertion of Wendt is of no value: "If Jesus, anticipating his death, expressed the firm conviction that he would rise again, he meant that God would raise him from Sheol to heaven. . . . In making that assertion, Jesus did not think of meeting his disciples again on earth. The disciples should have remained satisfied with his words about his gaining life in spite of his loss of life, without seeing him again on earth" (*Die Lehre Jesu*, p. 525, 2nd ed.). This contradicts, however, the clearest words of Jesus himself: "After I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee" (Matt. xxvi, 32); "Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, there they shall see me" (Matt. xxviii, 10).

temple in building, and wilt thou raise it up in three days? But he spoke of the temple of his body" (John ii, 18-21). That the Jews kept this prophecy in mind is proved by their accusation against him in the tribunal: "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another not made with hands" (Mark xiv, 58). That they had understood the prophecy correctly is shown also by their blasphemies at the foot of the cross: "Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself" (Mark xv, 29). This becomes still more evident from the fact that they presented to Pilate the request: "Command therefore the sepulchre to be guarded until the third day, lest perhaps his disciples come and steal him away, and say to the people, He is risen from the dead" (Matt. xxvii, 64).

From all this it is clear that Jesus often, and in the most precise manner, predicted to both friends and foes that he would, on the third day, rise from the dead. If the Pharisees mocked at these prophecies, and if even the disciples themselves remained sceptical until the appearances of the Lord at Easter, this proves only that the prophecy of the resurrection lay outside all human calculation.

According to all natural experience and prospects, Jesus must have foreseen with perfect clearness that he would moulder in the grave. Decay is the fate of all flesh, so that an exception to this law was a most unlooked for miracle.

From the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament also Jesus could not by any natural process have concluded that God on the third day would work this miracle on him. In the first place, the resurrection of the Messiah was not clearly enough predicted (Ps. xv, 10). Jewish theology found this prediction nowhere among the prophets, and the disciples themselves discovered it only after it had been fulfilled (John ii, 22; xx, 9; Acts ii, 25-31). The "modern" critics still maintain unanimously that the Old Testament nowhere speaks of the resurrection of the Messiah. By the very fact that Jesus alone discovered that prophecy in the writings of the prophets, he showed unique knowledge[1] (Luke xxiv, 46). Only he added to the Old Testament prediction of the resurrection an entirely new circumstance—the rising from the dead on the third day. This circumstance is nowhere even dimly hinted at in the Old Testament. Thus considered, the future resurrection of the Saviour was known to God alone. But since Jesus announced it clearly and in express terms, and, on the third day, fulfilling his prediction literally, rose

[1] Schmid, in his *Christus als Prophet,* p. 24, remarks appositely: "It is to be noted that for the correct interpretation of prophecies which are awaiting their fulfilment, a power of knowledge is often needed which is equivalent to prophetic vision."

gloriously from the grave, he proved incontestably that he shared not only God's knowledge of the future, but was acquainted beforehand with even the most wonderful mysteries of divine omnipotence.

But if the resurrection constitutes one sign which Jesus revealed to Jewish unbelievers, he prophesied still another to them, which became the most frightful punishment for their unbelief—the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.

At various times the Saviour pointed out the dreadful fate of the Holy City (Matt. xvi, 28 and parallels). But the most impressive words concerning the downfall of Jerusalem and of the national sanctuary were spoken by him a few days before his Passion. As Jesus, on the occasion of his entry into Jerusalem, came in sight of the city, he wept over it, and said: "If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day, the things that are to thy peace; but now they are hidden from thy eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and straiten thee on every side, and beat thee flat to the ground, and thy children who are in thee; and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou hast not known the time of thy visitation" (Luke xix, 41-44).

Standing before the splendid buildings of the Temple, he then added: "These things which you see, the days will come in which there shall not be left a stone upon stone that shall not be thrown down" (Luke xxi, 5). Then the disciples asked: "Master, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign when they shall begin to come to pass? And he said, Take heed that ye be not seduced; for many will come in my name, saying, I am he, and the time is at hand; go ye not therefore after them. And when you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified; these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet presently. Then he said to them, Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; and there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilences and famines, and terrors from heaven, and there shall be great signs. But before all these things they will lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, dragging you before kings and governors for my name's sake. . . . And when you shall see Jerusalem compassed with an army, then know that the desolation thereof is at hand. Then let them who are in Judea flee to the mountains; and let those who are in the midst thereof depart out; and those who are in the country not enter into it. For these are the days of vengeance, that all things may be fulfilled that are written. But woe to them that are with child and give suck in those days; for there shall be great distress in the land and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away

captives into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. . . . Amen, I say to you, This generation shall not pass away till all things be fulfilled" (Luke xxi, 7-13; 20-24 and parallels).

This prophecy exceeds all natural prevision. Even the chief event prophesied did not lie within the limits of human knowledge.

The clever Romans were accustomed, when it was possible, to preserve captured cities, and owing to their religious syncretism and their political shrewdness, were especially careful to preserve the holy places of those tribes which they subjugated. Why should they, therefore, destroy Jerusalem and its famous Temple so completely that not one stone of it should remain upon another?[1] As a matter of fact, the conqueror Titus repeatedly offered mercy to the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, provided they would capitulate. Once more, before the final assault, he said to the Jewish peace negotiators: "Only because forced to do so have I brought up my machines against your city walls, and I have been always anxious to restrain the soldiers, enflamed with a desire to slay you. After every one of my victories I, as conqueror, have proposed to you peace negotiations. Even when I had penetrated as far as the Temple, I still did not wish to make use of the right of war, but, on the contrary, adjured you to show mercy to your own sanctuary, and to preserve for yourselves the house of God. . . . I do this, as a prudent householder, who, after he has removed the ruined portions of his house, seeks to preserve the rest."[2] Only after the Jews had rejected this attempt also, did the Roman,

[1] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* i, p. 67: "The expansion of Judaism in the world, the secularization and degeneracy of the priestly caste, the desecration of the Temple, the building of the temple at Leontopolis, the perception—brought about by the spiritualization of religion in the empires of Alexander the Great—that the blood of beasts cannot be a means of appeasing God—all these circumstances must have been dangerous and fatal to the local centralization of the cult, as well as to the statutory system of sacrifices in general. So the announcement of Jesus concerning the destruction of the Temple was nothing new. . . . This change had rather been prepared by inward development." Indeed! Even if all the circumstances brought forward by Harnack had been present, we could have concluded from them only that the Temple at Jerusalem would lose its importance for the Jews more and more, but not that the Romans would destroy it totally and not leave one stone upon another.

[2] Flavius Josephus, *De bello judaico,* Book VI, c. 6, n. 2; translation of Philipp Kohout (Linz 1901). That Titus was willing, even at the last moment, to spare the Temple we are fully informed by Flavius Josephus (vi, 4, 3-7). The historian has perhaps alleged here, however, an incorrect motive in trying to save the honour of his Flavian patron. The Gallic rhetorician, Sulpicius Severus (*Chron.*, lib. II, c. 30), quotes a passage from Tacitus, according to which Titus finally proposed in the council of war to destroy the Temple first of all, in order to break the nation's heart and compel the surrender of the city.

enflamed with rage, exclaim: "Hope no more for mercy! Now the sword shall speak." Thereupon he commanded the soldiers to set the city on fire and plunder it.[1]

The attendant circumstances of this work of destruction, announced by Jesus, were also, from a human standpoint, not to be foreseen. That "before all these things"[2] the disciples would be persecuted, dragged into synagogues and prisons, and brought before kings and rulers, on account of the name of Jesus; that then a great number of wars and commotions would precede the final conflict of destruction; that first great earthquakes, pestilence and famines would rage in divers places; that fearful sights and extraordinary signs from heaven would appear; that the Jews would either fall by the sword or be led away captive to the Gentiles; and that Jerusalem would remain for an indefinite period of time trodden under foot—all this no one could then have anticipated from existing causes and conditions.

In a still higher degree is this true of the date given by the Saviour. Although the prophecy speaks at the same time of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the end of the world, it cannot be doubted that Jesus leaves the date of the latter indefinite, while the former is to occur within the lifetime of some of his disciples. In fact, he warns the disciples to take to flight, as soon as they see Jerusalem encompassed by armies, and he adds: "This generation shall not pass away until all is fulfilled."

That was, however, evidently a secret of God. It is true, it was to be expected with more or less certainty that the Jews would, at a favourable opportunity, revolt against the Roman yoke. But then no signs of this were visible. "We have no king but Cæsar" was then the confession of the most fanatical nationalists (John xix, 15). Moreover, the Jews at that time were, from a military point of view, so powerless, and internally so disunited and divided into parties, that it would have been thought madness to wish to begin a war with the mighty and invincible legions of Rome. To foresee the outbreak, course and final catastrophe of such a war within the lifetime of that generation was given to no man.

History proves, however, how correctly Jesus foresaw all this. There remains not the slightest doubt that the prophecy of Jesus about the city of Jerusalem and its Temple was exactly fulfilled. Hardly were the days of the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus over before the unrepentant Jews laid hands on the disciples, dragged them to the tribunals and persecuted them from city to city. The Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St Paul prove this. At

[1] Flavius Josephus, *l.c.*, vi, 6, 3.
[2] *Ante haec omnia!* (Luke xxi, 12).

the same time, the Roman empire was convulsed to its very foundations with internal and external wars, which were closely followed by pestilences and famines.

Tacitus (about A.D. 54-120) says of these in his incomparably laconic style: "Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum. Quattuor principes ferro interempti. Trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta."[1] More than all other provinces, Palestine was a constant focus of revolution against the Romans, and a theatre of continual civil wars. Flavius Josephus describes this exhaustively.[2] From the death of King Agrippa (A.D. 44) to the Emperor Vespasian (end of A.D. 69), one insurrection followed another. Uncounted thousands of Jews fell, partly by the sword of their enemies, partly as victims of their own factions.

The chief instigators of all this misery were always false prophets and pretended Messiahs, of whom Josephus says: "It was these seducers and betrayers who, under the mask of prophetic gifts, worked only for innovations and revolutionary changes, and by their words incited the people to mad fanaticism. They led them out into the desert with the promise that God would show them there various miraculous signs as a pledge of their liberation."[3] "Altogether there were at that time many such prophets, who were incited by the tyrants, and sent among the people. . . . In such ways the unfortunate people let themselves then be led about by their seducers and those who pretended to be ambassadors of God."[4]

In such circumstances, in April, A.D. 70, Titus, the son of the Emperor Vespasian, began the final attack upon Jerusalem. He surrounded the city with a blockading wall in order to cut off its supply of provisions.[5] Soon hunger and disease raged among the inhabitants to such a degree that every day several thousands of corpses were either thrown over the walls or heaped up in the houses.[6] Presently there remained to the Jews only the fortification on Mount Sion and the hill on which the Temple stood. Their destruction was inevitable. Even the pagan Tacitus informs us that this was presaged by extraordinary signs from heaven: "In the sky there appeared contending armies and glittering weapons, and suddenly the Temple became illuminated with fiery clouds. Then, all at once, the doors of the Temple flew open, and a voice of superhuman power was heard saying, 'The gods are departing,' and simultaneously there was a loud tumult of those taking their leave."[7] Flavius Josephus states the same

[1] *Historiae,* lib. I, c. 2.
[2] *De bello judaico,* lib. II, c. 12 *sqq.*
[3] *De bello judaico,* II, xiii, 3; *Antiquit.* XX, 10.
[4] *De bello judaico,* lib. VI, v, 2, 3.
[5] *id.,* V, xii.
[6] *id.,* V, xiii, 7.
[7] *Historiae,* V, xii.

thing with more ample details, and appeals to the reports of eyewitnesses.[1]

On August 19, A.D. 70, the Temple was destroyed by fire, and twenty-two days after, "on the eighth of Gospiäus, the sun rose upon the conflagration of Jerusalem—a city which, during the siege alone, had undergone so much suffering that the same amount of happiness apportioned to it during the entire period of its existence would have assuredly made it an object of envy for ever in the eyes of men."[2] According to Josephus, during the siege 1,100,000 people perished.[3]

What still remained of the population, which had streamed thither from the whole country, was either cut down or led away to Rome and into the remotest provinces of the empire to become slaves.[4] Then Titus "caused the entire city to be levelled to the ground, and destroyed the encircling walls."[5] On the site where once the City of God, Jerusalem, had stood, rose later Aelia Capitolina,[6] an absolutely pagan city, the central point of which was the Temple of Jupiter, into which no Jew was allowed to enter. Thus terribly was fulfilled the prophecy of Jesus, even to the last detail: "They shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive among all the Gentiles, and Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled."

In this connection Eusebius of Cæsarea justly remarks: "Whoever compares the words of our Redeemer with the description which the historian [Flavius Josephus] gives of the whole war cannot but be astonished at the foreknowledge and prediction of our Saviour, and recognize this as something divine and in the highest degree wonderful."[7]

Immediately connected with, and in part even combined with, the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem is that of the destruction of the world and of the second coming of Christ at the Last Day. Into this we must enter at some length, especially since it is alleged to form a limitation to the perfect knowledge of Jesus.

2. *His Prophecies concerning his Second Coming—His Infallibility.*

Non-catholic investigators almost unanimously maintain the opinion that Jesus was mistaken about the time which he appointed for his return. It is claimed that he believed and promised that he would come again immediately after his death, or certainly during the lifetime of some of his con-

[1] *De bello judaico*, VI, v, 3.
[2] *id.*, VI, viii, 5.
[3] *id.*, VI, ix, 3.
[4] *id.*, VI, ix, 2, 3.
[5] *id.*, VI, ix, 1.
[6] Dio Cassius (born about A.D. 150), *Hist.*, 69, 12.
[7] *Historia Eccl.*, III, 7.

temporaries.[1] The decades and centuries which have elapsed since then are said to have proved his words to have been false. Not only have the former rationalists asserted this, but the radicals, liberals, ultra-modern critics, and even many "moderate" and "positive" Protestant theologians of the present day are of this opinion.[2]

At most, in regard to this alleged mistake of Jesus, something like the following is propitiatingly added: "This solitary limitation of his discernment, regarding his second coming, is not worthy of any consideration beside so many proofs of his perfect knowledge."[3] Or it is supposed, for the justification of Jesus, that his second advent, which the Saviour announced only conditionally for the immediate future, was subsequently, in accordance with divine wisdom, postponed to a remote date in order to allow unrepentant heathen to come into the Church.[4] Now and then they seek to weaken the reproach of his having made a mistake by the supposition that the second coming was identical with his resurrection,[5] and that, in any case, he predicted only his spiritual return, which was realized by the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and by the presence of the Saviour in our midst by means of grace.[6]

[1] The word *Parousia,* properly *Advent,* is faithfully and substantially correctly represented in Christian tradition by "coming again" or "second coming." See Fritz Tillmann, *Die Wiederkunft Christi nach den paulinischen Briefen* (1909), preface.

[2] *Cf.* Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* i, 120; Renan, *Vie de Jésus, p.* 289, 49th ed.; Paul Schwartzkopf, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi,* 161-194 (1895); *Die Irrtumslosigkeit Jesu Christi,* 64-94 (1897); A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth,* II, 306 (1897); Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu,* 212, 530, 2nd ed.; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu,* 358-360, and *Christus,* 117, and *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 133; Stapfer, *La mort et la résurrection de Jésus Christ,* 65 (1898); Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion,* 34, 2nd ed.; Furrer, *Das Leben Jesu Christi,* 202-222, 2nd ed.; Immanuel Heyn, *Jesus im Lichte moderner Theologie,* 94-102 (1907); Bousset, *Jesus,* 35, 3rd ed., and *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 30, 2nd ed.; Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesus-Kultus,* 36; A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 356 ff.; Loisy, *L'Evangile et l' Eglise,* 5, 26, 111, and *Autour d'un petit livre,* 141, and *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 165, 191, 236; Ernst Horneffer, *Jesus im Lichte der Gegenwart,* 9 (1910); L. Coulange, *Jésus prédicateur du royaume,* in *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuse,* Nouv. Série, i, 313-342.

[3] Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* p. 97.

[4] Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* pp. 178-187, 3rd ed.; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* ii, 285, 4th ed.; R. H. Charles, article on *Eschatology* in the *Encyclop. Biblica,* Cheyne, col. 1373; also Wendt, *id.,* 581.

[5] Wilhelm Weiffenbach, *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu,* 373-424, (1873), and *Die Frage der Wiederkunft Jesu* (1901); Konstantin Wieland, *Hat Jesus geirrt? Ein Lösungsversuch zur Parusiefrage* (1910).

[6] Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu,* i, 376-390; Erich Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien,* 116 (1895); Ward, *The Parable of the Parousia,* in *Interpreter,* iii, 186-194; L. Lemme, *Jesu Irrtumslosigkeit,* 30 ff. (1907).

Plainly, neither faith nor scepticism can be content with this sort of explanation. The resurrection, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the constant presence of Jesus in the Church by means of grace may, it is true, in a certain sense be called a second coming of the Lord; but it is not the real Parousia. Jesus promised that he would return with great power and glory to judge the world. This prophecy of his second coming has not yet been fulfilled. So the question must be put clearly and frankly: Did Jesus definitely prophesy that he would come again before his contemporaneous generation had died out; or did he not rather leave the time of his reappearance indefinite?

If the latter is the case, then Jesus cannot be said to have erred; if the former, then Jesus would have erred, and erred, too, in a point of supreme importance. Here no weakening or distortion of the meaning of words is of any use.

The decisive portion of the Gospels, which treats of the second coming of Christ, is the great eschatological discourse which Jesus uttered in the circle of his disciples shortly before his Passion.[1] It treats in one part of the destruction of Jerusalem, and in the other of the end of the world. The fact of this twofold treatment corresponds to and explains the twofold question of the disciples: "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming and of the consummation of the world?"[2] To this Jesus answers by predicting both catastrophes in two parts, one following the other. He announces the destruction of Jerusalem in the way familiar to us (Matt. xxiv, 4-20; Mark xiii, 1-18; Luke xxi, 5-24), and then adds: "And there shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity, by reason

[1] That the eschatological discourse was really uttered by Jesus, and did not originate in any primitive Christian or Jewish source, is conceded to-day by critics of all schools. Even Friedrich Spitta, *Die grosse eschatologische Rede Jesu*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, pp. 348-401 (1909), gives up his former theory of the interpolation of this speech concerning the Parousia. See also Barth's *Die Hauptprobleme*, 174-178; Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, 281 ff. The only question is whether the eschatological discourse of Jesus was uttered all at one time, or whether the synoptists interwove various utterances of Jesus, which referred in part to the destruction of Jerusalem, and partly to the end of the world, with the great discourse about the Parousia, which we are now considering. There is a large number of investigators of this subject, among whom are some Catholics—Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu*, 399 (1906); Batiffol, *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique*, p. 59 (1904); E. Hugueny, *Le grand Discours eschatologique des Evangiles synoptiques*, in *Revue du Clergé français*, xlix, 366-386 (1907)—who incline to the latter hypothesis. If it should be correct, the exegetical difficulties, of which we shall subsequently speak, would for the most part disappear.

[2] Matt. xxiv, 3. In Mark xiii, 4 and Luke xxi, 7 the disciples ask only for the signs of the destruction of Jerusalem.

of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves, men withering away for fear, and expectation of what shall come upon the whole world. For the powers of heaven shall be moved; and then they shall see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and majesty. But when these things begin to come to pass, then look up and lift up your heads, because your redemption is at hand" (Luke xxi, 25-28; see Matt. xxiv, 21-31; Mark xiii, 19-27).

After the two catastrophes are thus described by our Lord, two explanatory parables are added. One is the parable of the budding fig-tree, with the remark: "So you also, when you shall see all these things, know ye that it is nigh, even at the doors. Amen, I say to you, that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done" (Matt. xxiv, 32-35; Mark xiii, 28-31; Luke xxi, 29-33). The other is the parable of the reckless contemporaries of the flood, and of the watchful servants, respectively, with the additional words: "But of that day or hour no man knoweth; neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father. Take ye heed, watch and pray; for ye know not when the time is. . . . Watch ye, therefore, for you know not when the lord of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning, lest coming on a sudden he find you sleeping. And what I say to you I say to all, Watch" (Matt. xiii, 32-37; see Matt. xxiv, 36-42; Luke xxi, 34-36).

At the first glance, the prophecy in this eschatological discourse relating to the destruction of Jerusalem appears to be inextricably interwoven with that of the second coming and the end of the world. We might at once suppose that both events must occur at the same time, or in immediate succession.

But, on closer examination, insurmountable difficulties oppose themselves to this supposition. Beyond a doubt, as we have shown, the *terminus post quem* and *ad quem* of the destruction of Jerusalem is exactly given. A number of easily recognized signs will precede it, and it will finally take place within the lifetime of many of the contemporaries of Jesus standing then before him. But in connection with this, another event is also announced in this eschatological discourse, which can of course be only the final catastrophe of the world, but which, in point of time, is very uncertain. Of this no one knows the day or the hour when it will occur, not even the angels, no, not even Jesus himself,[1] but the Father only. It cannot be calculated previously from any signs appearing long in advance. Only some short days of distress, and then immediately, at a moment's notice (Matt. xxiv, 29), the earth will be shaken to its foundations, the sea moved to its depths, the firmament thrown into disorder

[1] For the manner in which this is to be understood, see vol. i of this work, p. 249.

with its heavenly bodies, and simultaneously will appear the Son of Man. We are, therefore, never certain of the time of the second coming, and we must all, on this account, be continually watchful and ready.

From this amalgamation of the two prophecies—that of the end of Jerusalem and that of the end of the world—one certain result is obtained: "Between the historical events, in which a part of the contemporary generation was to participate, and the final moment of the human race, there is no necessary connection. In this the three synoptists are agreed, and that must also represent the thought of Jesus."[1] "It is certain that Jesus prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem in clear words, and, indeed, for the generation then living; . . . but just as unequivocally and positively does he refuse to give any such definite date for his Parousia."[2]

If we first consider the prophetic style, which characterizes this eschatological discourse, this result will become for us still more evident, and the so-called "inextricable" intermingling of the two prophecies will also disappear. Modern scholarship has recognized that the train of thought found in the prophets follows a "kind of rhythm. One stanza stands in contrast to another stanza, and then a third stanza takes up again the thought of the first, while the fourth is connected with the second."[3] Now, if we read the eschatological discourse of Jesus with this in view, we understand it fully. In the first part he speaks prophetically of the destruction of Jerusalem, while the second deals exclusively with his own reappearance at the end of the world. In the third part, by means of a parable, the end of Jerusalem is again illustrated and chronologically fixed for the generation then living; while the fourth division returns to the thought of the second, and categorically excludes any more definite specification of the time of Christ's Parousia.[4]

By the prophetic character of the eschatological discourse is also explained its peculiar perspective, which is insufficient for us, and which produces the impression that the final Parousia must follow almost immediately the destruction of Jerusalem. At the foundation of all prophetic insight into the future lies, to a certain extent, the law of perspective, according to which, at a distance, the interval of time vanishes, and events, in reality widely separated, converge into one line. What stands on the furthest limit of the prophetic horizon

[1] Lagrange, *L'Avènement du Fils de l'Homme,* in *La Revue biblique,* Nouvelle Série, iii, 411 (1906).

[2] Heinrich Dieckmann, *Die Parusie Christi,* 57 (1898).

[3] Lagrange, *id.,* 393.

[4] Lagrange also furnishes detailed proof that the eschatological discourse follows this prophetic parallelism in all the synoptic Gospels, *id.,* pp. 392-411. See also Lepin, *Jésus, Messie et Fils de Dieu,* 399 (1906).

can no longer be exactly distinguished from things which lie nearer and even close at hand, and loses itself in the eternity of God, of which it is said: "A thousand years in thy sight are as yesterday" (Ps. lxxxix, 4).

The first part of the eschatological discourse is, therefore, uttered in view of the near future, which the disciples were still to see; while the second is spoken in view of the distant end of the world, which is still for us also a future event, and of which Jesus says: "No man knoweth the hour." It is, therefore, no wonder that the prophecy concerning Jerusalem emerges, chronologically, clearly from the perspective, while that of the end of the world remains in its delineation obscure, and blends almost entirely with that of the Jewish catastrophe.

We may go still further. The prophets are accustomed simply to place in close connection those future events which logically and practically concern each other, without paying any attention to the earlier or later date of their chronological happenings. Now, the destruction of Jerusalem has an intimate relationship with the end of the world. The former is the symbol and prelude of the latter. The destruction of Jerusalem is God's punishment upon the Jewish nation, and, at the same time, the decisive event by which the era of the Old Testament was concluded and the kingdom of God on earth became freed from the bonds of the synagogue. The end of the world will bring God's judgement upon all nations, and will conduct the kingdom of God to final victory and endless triumph. Both catastrophes, therefore, stand beside each other in the discourse of the second coming not merely by chance. Rather is the Parousia at the end of the world most closely connected through Christ with the Jewish cataclysm, because this itself was a preliminary return of the Son of Man and a coming of his kingdom with power.

We must at present hold this view also in view of some other expressions of our Lord, which seem at first to announce the immediate return of Jesus to judge the world, but which, in reality, merely state that his coming for the judgement of Jerusalem is practically in sight.

At the termination of his Galilean activity, Jesus said one day to his disciples: "Amen, I say to you, There are some of them that stand here that shall not taste death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."[1] Evidently it is a question here of the coming of Christ to the judgement of Jerusalem and to the accompanying establishment of his

[1] Matt. xvi, 28. Mark viii, 39 has it: "till they see the kingdom of God coming in power." Luke ix, 27 has it: "till they see the kingdom of God."

kingdom upon earth.[1] The Saviour cannot be speaking here of his Parousia at the end of time, for he soon after expressly assures them in regard to this that: "Of that day and of that hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father."

Before sending out the Twelve for the first time, Jesus gives them the exhortation: "When they shall persecute you in this city, flee into another. Amen, I say to you, you shall not finish all the cities of Israel till the Son of Man come" (Matt. x, 23). This declaration of the Lord stands at the conclusion of the description which Jesus gives of the coming persecutions of the disciples. But this description is also found substantially in the great discourse of the Parousia, and even in that part of it which certainly refers only to the destruction of Jerusalem. The latter alone is, therefore, the *terminus ad quem* of the words: "Ye shall not finish all the cities of Israel till the Son of Man come."

The same is true of the prophecy of Jesus concerning the beloved disciple, John. Jesus had just announced to the prince of the Apostles, Peter, a martyr's death (John xxi, 18). Upon the strength of this, Peter takes occasion to ask what fate awaits John. The Lord answers the somewhat bold question by saying: "So I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?" (John xxi, 22). According to our opponents, this can mean only that John would be a witness of the coming of Jesus to the Last Judgement of the world, a judgement which was immediately to follow the destruction of Jerusalem. But this is absolutely unthinkable. When John introduced into his Gospel this utterance of the Lord referring to himself, already nearly thirty years had passed away since the destruction of Jerusalem. A full generation would, therefore, have been witness to the fact that Jesus had spoken falsely concerning John. And would John, in spite of this, have now expressly written this erroneous prediction? Impossible. It might have seemed uncertain to John whether the prophecy of Jesus in regard to him had been fulfilled already with the destruction of Jerusalem, or whether it would be fulfilled with the longed-for coming of Jesus at the end of the world; but, in any case, he is our

[1] It is true, immediately preceding this are the words: "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of Man also will be ashamed of him when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" (Mark viii, 38). The connection between this and the immediately following discourse is, however, so slight that we need not suppose that the Lord uttered both on the same occasion, and in connection with each other. Mark (viii, 39) even separates them expressly by the intervening words: "And he said to them." It was precisely because of the close relationship of the catastrophe of Jerusalem with that of the world that the Evangelists prefer to place in proximity the words of Jesus which refer to both. See also Lepin, *id.*, p. 407, and Lagrange, *id.*, p. 563.

authority for the fact that the Saviour did not make the time of his final Parousia coincide with the destruction of Jerusalem.

If, then, in conclusion we ask ourselves the direct question what Jesus taught and prophesied concerning the date of his own Parousia and his coming for the Last Judgement and the end of the world, we can with equal directness answer, "Nothing"; for Jesus specifies no definite time for his Parousia, and leaves the date of it completely uncertain.[1]

It is true, Jesus does not exclude the possibility, nay, even the probability, that his Parousia may be delayed longer than his disciples may suppose. In several parables he even implies that the Son of Man will perhaps return only after a long time. The wicked servant thinks, "My lord is long a-coming," and on that account becomes arrogant, ill-treats his fellow-servants, and leads a luxurious life (Matt. xxiv, 48). In the parable of the ten virgins also the bridegroom delays to come, and on account of long waiting they fall asleep, when suddenly he appears at midnight and finds half of them unprepared (Matt. xxv, 1-13). In the parable of the rich man who travels into a far country and gives over his money to his servants that they may put it out at interest, it is expressly said: "After a long time the lord of those servants came and reckoned with them" (Matt. xxv, 14-19). In the eschatological discourse also it is said that Jerusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles until the times of the nations are fulfilled (Luke xxi, 24). This presupposes that the end of the world will occur a long time after the destruction of the Holy City. Jesus also in many places declared that the kingdom of God must first extend over the whole world with a slow, organic development before it would reach final and eternal perfection at the second coming of Christ. The Parousia can, therefore, be postponed during a long period of time.

Yet it can also occur soon. Had not Jesus repeatedly said that it would come unexpectedly and suddenly? Had he not warned men precisely on that account to be always watchful and ready? "Be you then also ready, for at what hour you think not the Son of Man will come" (Luke xii, 40). "For as the lightning that lighteneth from under heaven shineth unto the parts that are under heaven, so shall the Son of Man

[1] See Knabenbauer, *Jesus und die Erwartung des Weltendes*, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, lxxiv, 487-497 (1908); Mangenot, *Fin du Monde*, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ii, cols. 2262-2278; Batiffol, *L'Enseignement de Jésus*, 251-296 (1905); G. Ballerini, *La Questione biblica escatologica*, in *Scuola cattolica*, 4 Ser., x, 108-120, 553-571 (1906); Hoennicke, *Die neutestamentliche Weissagung vom Ende* (1907); Seitz, *Christi "Irrtum" hinsichtlich seiner "nahen" Wiederkunft zum Gericht*, in *Monatsblätter für Religionsunterricht*, ix, pp. 330-339, 352-362, 383-390 (1908).

be in his day. . . . And as it came to pass in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man. They did eat and drink, they married wives and were given in marriage until the day that Noe entered into the ark; and the flood came and destroyed them all. . . . Even thus shall it be in the day when the Son of Man shall be revealed" (Luke xvii, 24, 26-30). "Blessed are those servants whom the lord, when he cometh, shall find watching. Amen, I say to you, that he will gird himself, and make them to sit down to meat, and passing will minister unto them. And if he shall come in the second watch, or if he shall come in the third watch, and find them so, blessed are those servants" (Luke xii, 37, 38). "Watch ye therefore; for ye know not when the lord of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cock-crowing, or in the morning; lest coming on a sudden he find you sleeping. And what I say to you, I say to all, Watch" (Mark xiii, 35-37). "Watch ye therefore; because you know not at what hour your Lord will come" (Matt. xxiv, 42). "Watch ye therefore, because you know not the day nor the hour" (Matt. xxv, 13).

In view of these facts, we understand now why the disciples and early Christians lived continually in the hope and fear of the speedy Parousia of Christ.[1]

Whether this would occur sooner or later, they did not know. Paul indeed wished, without tasting death, to be clothed upon with glory (2 Cor. v, 1-5), and desired to be among those who, without previously dying, would be changed at the last trump at the resurrection of the dead, and would hasten through the air to meet Christ (1 Cor. xv, 51; 1 Thess. iv, 14-16). But he warns his readers against the false prophet who had excited the Thessalonians, as if the day of the Lord were immediately at hand (2 Thess. ii, 3-6). Instead of indulging in useless discussions about the time of the second coming, the believers should be clad with the breastplate of faith and love, and have for a helmet the hope of salvation, "that whether we wake or sleep, we may live together with him" (1 Thess. v, 10).

A state of continual watchfulness and constant preparedness is the practical conclusion which the Apostle to the Gentiles draws from this uncertainty concerning the second coming of Christ. He admonishes the Philippians: "He who hath begun a good work in you will perfect it unto the day of Christ Jesus . . . that you may be sincere and without offence unto the day of Christ" (Phil. i, 6, 10). Timothy is called upon to "keep the commandment without spot, blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Tim.

[1] Knopf, *Die Zukunftshoffnungen des Urchristentums* (1907); Tillmann, *Die Wiederkunft Christi nach den paulinischen Briefen* (1909).

vi, 14). In the Epistle to Titus we read: "The grace of God our Saviour hath appeared to all men . . . that we should live soberly and justly and godly in this world, looking for the blessed hope and coming of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" (Titus ii, 11-13). To the Thessalonians Paul expresses the wish: "May the Lord multiply you and make you abound in charity towards one another . . . to confirm your hearts without blame in holiness before God and our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints" (1 Thess. iii, 12). All the early Christian writers agree with Paul in this regard.[1]

This was, however, exactly what Christ intended, since he prophesied his second coming without any time-limit or definite date. The looking for the reappearance of the Son of Man was to remain continually active for every Christian generation. The fear that the Last Judgement might come with unexpected suddenness and the hope of the realization of the blessed kingdom of God were to be for Christianity a never-failing source of spiritual feeling and moral force—a treasure of consolation and confidence in times of suffering and persecution and a mighty stimulus to good and to zealous labour in the vineyard of God.

Even if the day of the final coming of Christ be delayed for all men, it is certain that for every individual death and a special judgement are appreciably near. If we are always prepared for these, then we experience already in a real sense that other blessed Parousia which the Lord promised to his apostles: "And if I shall go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you to myself: that where I am, there you also may be" (John xiv, 3).[2]

It was, therefore, eminently wise in Jesus that, while predicting his Parousia with certainty, he nevertheless left the time of it indefinite.

Thus sceptical criticism breaks down also in regard to the problem of the Parousia, which it is wont to bring forward confidently as evidence against the infallibility of Jesus.

Jesus is without error and is incapable of error—that is the sign-manual of his intellectual greatness; and both his wisdom and his prophecies combine to form a unique and overpowering revelation of his infallibility.

No man has ever lived upon this earth without committing errors, and the proverb "To err is human" is as old as the

[1] See, for example, James v, 8; 1 Pet. iv, 5; 2 Pet. iii, 4; 1 John ii, 18; Apoc. xxii, 6.

[2] When John wrote down these words of the Lord, all the other Apostles had preceded him to death, but the final coming of the Lord had not yet occurred. The Apostle of love could not, therefore, interpret that expression of the Saviour as referring to his appearance for the final judgement, but only to his coming at death to the individual Apostles. Apoc. iii, 3 gives the same meaning.

world. The writers of antiquity repeat this as a self-evident axiom.[1] The history of education and all efforts to impart it in every age have been based upon this simple truth. Nothing, therefore, is more superhuman and divine than infallibility. It is given even to the mightiest geniuses and greatest sages to make progress only through night to light, through error to pure truth. Rückert expresses this simply and profoundly when he says: "Those who persevere in their errors are foolish. The wise are those who through their errors ripen into truth."

It is only Jesus who does not thus proceed from error into truth. He *is* the truth, and he himself declares: "I am the truth" (John xiv, 6). With this one utterance he characterized his whole intellectual life. In vain do we seek in him not only for an error, but even for any striving after truth or any struggle to attain intellectual greatness. He neither studies, nor reflects, nor grows in intellectuality. He never meditates profoundly, never hesitates, is never in doubt, and never fears to go wrong. Nowhere does he create the impression of being a learned man or professional student. His sublimest thoughts burst forth with absolute spontaneity, like fountains issuing from profoundest depths, or stars appearing in a cloudless sky. His wisdom emanates precisely from that divine source of truth within him, which flows into eternal life (John iv, 14), and his prophecies are only a partial unveiling of his divine wisdom, in which both everlasting truths and temporal events shine forth in inextinguishable splendour, like constellations in the firmament of heaven.

[1] *Cujusvis est hominis errare* (Cicero, *Philipp.* xii, 2, 5). *Suus cuique attributus est error* (Catullus, *Carm.* xxii, 20). *Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit* (Pliny, *Histor.* vii, 40).

CHAPTER III

THE MORAL PERFECTION OF CHRIST

HERE, finally, is an end of controversy! So, at least, the student of Christ is inclined to exclaim after a cursory inspection of his opponents' contributions to the literature about Jesus; for sceptical critics wellnigh surpass believing Christendom in their praises of the moral perfection of the "Man of Nazareth."

Rousseau, in his *Emile,* asks: "Can the person whose history is recorded in the Gospels himself be a mere man? What gentleness, what purity in his morals! What a touching charm in his teachings! What sublimity in his principles! What profound wisdom in his discourses! What presence of mind, what readiness, and what apt frankness in his replies! What control over the passions! . . . Yes, if the life and death of Socrates are those of a philosopher, the life and death of Jesus Christ are those of a God."[1]

In harmony with this French encyclopædist, Goethe also declares: "The sublimity which emanated from the person of Christ is as divine as any appearance on earth of the divine has ever been."[2]

The leaders of theological criticism to-day resemble the *beaux esprits* of former times. Pfleiderer considers the great and abiding merit of this criticism to be that it has brought nearer to the world the figure of the Founder of our religion, "freed from its mythical vestments, in its purely human greatness, as the venerable portrait of a sublime religious and ethical hero."[3] Accordingly, Pfleiderer himself also praises the Saviour as an "heroic personality" which "in triumphant majesty passed over the earth, and is still to-day the redeeming and formative power, which lends to human life, both in its details and its essential character, a merit and value that outlast the temporal."[4] In a similar way most of the other critics extol the incomparably exalted virtue, the unsurpassable holiness and the typical perfection of the hero Jesus.

If, however, we examine more carefully these forcible utterances about the perfection of Jesus, they prove to be for the most part rhetorical phrases. On the lips of the modernists

[1] *Œuvres,* ii, 280 (Paris 1905).
[2] *Gespräche mit Eckermann,* viii, 148 (Leipzig 1890).
[3] *Das Christusbild des urchristl. Glaubens in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung,* 3 (Berlin 1903).
[4] *Entstehung des Christentums,* ii, 11, 108 (München 1905).

they seem, at the very outset and on principle, to give notice that everything supernatural and divine is to be excluded from our thought of the person of Jesus. That is precisely the "mythical vestment" of which Pfleiderer speaks. In no respect must Jesus rise above the standard of the merely human. A humanly perfect hero—that is the characteristic expression for the "historical Jesus" of our opponents. We need waste no more words on that point.

But scarcely had the Son of God given place in the literature of our adversaries to this just mentioned hero—the ideal man Jesus—when he was also still further degraded to a quite ordinary human being. In reality, the representation of Jesus given by modern infidelity lacks every ideally human perfection. The Jesus of the liberals moves on the plane of a worthy, virtuous, everyday sort of man.

Eduard von Hartmann remarks with truth that in Harnack's writings "the person of Jesus becomes a mild, amiable, popular Rabbi, whom every Reform-Jew can heartily claim as a representative of his views." And Harnack's portraiture of Jesus is distinctly characteristic of that of his whole school. Even Jülicher has to confess that in this modern scientific school the prevailing attempt is "to lower Jesus to the level of an average Jew of that time.[1] The classical example of this is the romance of Frenssen, *Hilligenlei,* in which the principal character is Jesus; Kai Jans, the Jesus in *Hilligenlei,* is expressly recognized by the liberal-reform theology as being its ideal of Christ. The *Christliche Welt* resolutely adopted him as its champion. "Frenssen belongs to our group," writes Niebergall;[2] "his portraiture of Jesus is the very incarnation of modern theology. . . . Upon the whole, modern theology must give its adherence to his Jesus." Schweitzer, the liberal historian of the later researches in regard to Jesus, is even able to assert that "Frenssen has betrayed the secret of his teachers. . . . The degree to which he depends upon them is really alarming. We can tell in almost every passage whether, in writing it, Kai Jans has looked into the works of Oskar Holtzmann, P. W. Schmidt, or von Soden."[3]

What shall we say, then, of this Jesus of Frenssen? It is "the mawkish story of a dear, good, worthy, visionary, and withal shadowy sort of man," something "of which the modern Philistine can say, 'You must have imagined that. . . .' Is it not a beautiful idea to say to yourself: 'Jesus was a human being just like you and me, like Uncle Otto and Aunt Malchen?'"[4] In fact, according to Frenssen's own

[1] *Die Religion Jesu* in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart,* I, iv, 53 (Berlin 1906).
[2] *Hilligenlei und moderne Theologie,* p. 22 (Tübingen 1906).
[3] A. Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 306 (1906).
[4] Leo Berg in *Literarisches Echo,* Jahrg. 8, Heft 2, 761.

words, Jesus was "a poor, lonely man, tormented by frightful doubts and in dire poverty . . . a good countryman leading a modest, upright life";[1] a man precisely like the rest of us, "just as in a German forest, from time immemorial, numberless trees have stood and are standing, all of which have been always essentially alike, with not a single wonderful specimen among them; for the statement that one of them has had golden leaves would be considered a fable."[2]

If, however, Jesus was a man like the rest of us, he must also have been subject to human imperfections! According to Arnold Meyer, "Jesus is not perfect, satisfactory in all the higher relations of life, but only in his special vocation."[3]

Frenssen does not even allow this. His Jesus becomes "a modern shipwrecked theological candidate,"[4] of whom Bernoulli exclaims: "No; after such a life and such a death, he certainly is no longer the most beautiful of the sons of men. That a hero! 'C'est un raté,' as the French say. He has lost his chance of success; he has mistaken his vocation."[5]

They go still further. Frenssen even dares to assert that "His nature was not wholly free from evil,"[6] and the majority of liberal investigators agree with him. It is true, they try to bring forward some grounds for excusing and justifying the moral weaknesses and mistakes of Jesus, although the more radical elements, especially Eduard von Hartmann,[7] drag the moral grandeur of Jesus absolutely into the dust.

We ask ourselves how these modern sceptics are able, after all, to erase from the portrait of Jesus, first its supernatural features, then its sublime human lineaments, and, finally, to make of him a personality which fully deserves the verdict "human, all too human"? The answer is easy. Such criticism simply transfers to the picture of Jesus its own modern, subjective view of life and civilization. What agrees with this is looked upon as a genuine historical ingredient; what does not harmonize with it is denominated credulous overcolouring, a fanciful framework, or the luxuriant overgrowth of a later age. We have already frequently become acquainted with this sort of transformation to which the Protestant portraiture of Christ is subjected. Even our opponents have to acknowledge that it lies, consciously or unconsciously, at the basis of their characterization of Jesus.

Rudolf Eucken affirms that, "after men had rejected the believers' picture of Christ, they saw in Jesus only what was favourable to their own assertions; and so it was the changing need of the moment which formed the historic portrait,

[1] *Hilligenlei*, 130th thousand, 509, 581 (1908). [2] *id.*, 585.
[3] *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, 47 (1907).
[4] Schweitzer, *id.*, 309.
[5] Bernoulli, *Christus in Hilligenlei*, 29 (1906). [6] *id.*, 584.
[7] *Christentum des Neuen Testaments*, 49-55, 63-72 (1905).

now in this way, now in that. From the time of the old rationalism down to the present day the result has been a mode of representing him which was too modern, too scientific and too much imbued with our present civilization. Not only has the colouring of contemporaneous history been thereby obscured, but also everything distinctive and imposing in Christ's character."[1] It is precisely of Schleiermacher and Ritschl—the forerunners and pioneers of the present liberal-radical school—that A. Meyer remarks that they have outlined the figure of Jesus "plainly after the model of modern self-complacent Protestantism."[2]

Pfleiderer, a leader of the older liberal school, reproaches modern theology, and particularly that of Renan and Harnack, with "selecting from the New Testament faith in Christ only what is agreeable to the present mode of thought, instead of investigating its substance thoroughly and unprejudicedly, in order to make out of it a portrait of Christ to suit the modern taste, ignoring everything else, and also seeing much that originates only with itself."[3]

"Through a lack of anything like historic definiteness, therefore, the name of Jesus," according to the radical Kalthoff, "has become for Protestant theology an empty vessel into which every theologian pours his own ideas. Thus one makes of this Jesus a modern follower of Spinoza; another paints him as a socialist; while the official theology of the pulpit naturally considers him in the religious light approved of by the modern state, and, indeed, represents him latterly, always more transparently, as the religious representative of all those efforts which to-day claim a leading role in the state theology of greater Prussia."[4] Thus "We put ourselves into the portrait of Jesus, and look at it so long that finally the Galilean itinerant preacher of the time of the Emperor Tiberius is transformed into a freethinking member of a Protestant society of our twentieth century"—Kalthoff.

This is the fearful Nemesis that overtakes one who retouches the portrait of Jesus, and especially the ethical personality of the Saviour, with an irreverent hand to suit his own caprice.

How entirely different is the result if we consider the moral figure of Jesus in the light of the Gospels and also in the sunlight of actual history! Even the Evangelists themselves cannot conjure up before us the sublime figure of their Master in a completely finished portrait. In fact, they do not even attempt to accomplish anything so impossible. They design only simple woodcuts, which certainly are drawn

[1] Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*, 152 (1905).
[2] Meyer, *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, 17 (1907).
[3] Pfleiderer, *Das Christusbild*, 6.
[4] Kalthoff, *Das Christusproblem*, 23 (1903).

from actual life, without, however, in the least exhausting the infinitely profound and wonderfully beautiful life of Jesus. In this sense, Renan affirms with reason that "The Evangelists, who have left to us the portrait of Jesus, are still so far behind him whom they portray that they usually diminish his figure, and are far from attaining to his greatness."[1] In every stroke, in every line which they draw they seem, as it were, to say: "How much more wonderfully did he reveal himself to those who heard him with their ears and saw him with their eyes and who lived with him as man to man!"

How much the less can we, who are separated from him by two thousand years, and can rely only on the reports of the Evangelists, furnish a sufficiently satisfactory characterization of Jesus. As soon and as often as we, posthumous and insignificant beings, dare to assume this task, we feel with overwhelming certainty that we are incapable of it, and the perception of our incapacity increases the longer and the more profoundly we occupy ourselves with it.

Yet, in spite of everything, there pertains even to this imperfect copy of the Gospel's picture of Jesus an ideally human, yes, a superhuman, perfection and moral beauty. We shall here investigate, on the one hand, the faultlessness of Jesus, and, on the other hand, the rich store of his virtues, and finally epitomize in a brief survey the principal features of the entire character of Christ.

I.—His Absolute Sinlessness.

The absolute moral faultlessness of Jesus is contradicted by all who hold that Christ was merely human. In radical critics this is at once comprehensible, yet they intentionally degrade the personality of our Saviour to such a low level that it in no respect rises above that of the average man. But the liberal students of Jesus also, those who are always going into ecstasies over the pure, ideal humanity of Jesus, cannot bring themselves to the recognition of his absolute sinlessness. Either they assert positively that real blemishes are discoverable in his character, or they at least imagine faults in it, although they cannot prove them, and perhaps because they cannot prove them.

We can readily understand that those who deny the divinity of Christ should also be mistaken about his sinlessness. Whoever considers Jesus to have been an ordinary man must of necessity refuse to think of him as sinless. A sinless man would truly be not only a wonderful, but also a unique phenomenon in human history. History knows of no man

[1] *Vie de Jesus*, 49th ed., 466.

before Christ, or after Christ, of whom it dares to utter anything so unheard-of.

The greatest and most virtuous men of classical antiquity have over and over again expressed their conviction that it is not given to man to be faultless. "Can it be possible to be without sin?" asks Epictetus,[1] and he answers: "It is not possible. The only thing possible is that we should continually strive not to sin. It already denotes some progress towards goodness if we, by means of these unremitting efforts, refrain at least from some sins."

"We all have sinned," remarks Seneca, "some more, some less grievously, and we have not only committed faults in the past, but we shall go on committing faults to the end of time."[2]

Crates declared: "It is impossible to find a human being who has not fallen. Rather is it true that in every man, as in every pomegranate, there is hidden a foul core."[3]

Philo praises Epicharmus, because he had pronounced the verdict: "The best man is he who has committed the fewest faults, for no one is guiltless, none is without some blemish."[4]

Libanius declares: "Not to sin is divine and peculiar to God alone."[5]

Of Socrates, certainly "the best and happiest man possible,[6] the best, most sensible and justest man of his age,"[7] his pupil Xenophon writes eulogistically: "No one ever either saw Socrates commit or heard him speak anything impious or unholy."[8] But this assertion proves only that Xenophon, like the Greeks in general, had not a high idea of moral perfection. The portrait of his teacher which Xenophon paints in his *Memorabilia* and his *Symposium* includes, nevertheless, much that is "unholy." Socrates with all his famous moderation and temperance could indulge in sensual pleasures to excess. He was proud of outdrinking all his companions without himself becoming intoxicated; his intercourse with the youth of Athens has entirely the erotic character of Grecian pederasty; he advises his pupils to consort with courtesans, and instructs the latter how they can most easily entice men.[9] How great, therefore, is the distance between Socrates and perfect moral conceptions; and how far would he have had to go to arrive at an actual and universal realization of them.

[1] *Epicteti Dissertationes,* iv, 12, 19, ed. Dübner, Paris, p. 218 (1878).
[2] Seneca, *De Clementia,* lib. I, 6, 3, ed. Hase, vol. I, 282 (1862).
[3] Crates, *apud Diogen, Laertium,* lib. IV, c. 5, ed. Cobet, 154 (Paris 1862).
[4] Philonis, *Quaest. in Genesim,* lib. IV, n. 407, § 203, ed. Hase, *Opera,* vol. VIII, 188 (1830).
[5] Libanius, *Epist.,* 154.
[6] Xenophon, *Memorabilia,* I, 1, 11; IV, 8, 11.
[7] Plato, *Phaedo,* Schluss.
[8] *Memorab.,* I, 1, 11.
[9] *id.,* I, 2, 29; I, 3, 11, 14, etc.

The Old Testament ideal of morality rose as far above the classical ideal as it now stands below the Christian standard. Throughout the whole Old Testament, however, runs the conviction that no man can reach, in sinless perfection, the ideal which he conceives and recognizes.

"There is no man who sinneth not" (3 Kings viii, 46; 2 Paral. vi, 36); "Who can say, My heart is clean, I am pure from sin?" (Prov. xx. 9); "A just man shall fall seven times" (Prov. xxiv, 16); "There is no just man upon earth that doth good and sinneth not" (Eccles. vii, 21); "Who can make him clean that is conceived of unclean seed" (Job xiv, 4); "I was conceived in iniquities, and in sins did my mother conceive me" (Ps. l, 7); "They are corrupt, and are become abominable in their ways; there is none that doth good, no, not one" (Ps. xiii, 1). In these and similar passages the revelation of the Old Testament precludes the sinlessness of man.

That is the state of things before Christ. The Apostle Paul summarizes it significantly in the words: "We have charged both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin" (Rom. iii, 9). Not once before the coming of Christ do we find the wholly complete idea of sinless holiness, and even where this conception begins to dawn it is clouded by the conviction of the impossibility of its being realized.

If, therefore, Christ is a sinless man, and if he has by the development of his own strength kept himself free from every fault, then he stands apart from all other men in history, a solitary giant, who towers immeasurably above them all, so that it is an immense mistake to try to measure him by ordinary human standards.

Still more; Christ is not only not an ordinary man, but no mere man at all. Not as if human nature as such necessarily excludes sinlessness. Rather is it true that human nature in itself is capable of a thoroughly pure and sinless development.

"How comes it, then, that we know from experience of only one sinless person? Why have not other human personalities also arisen from time to time who have laid claim to the same superiority and proved the claim valid? Why does there not stand near Jesus even one who had the same faith in himself and was able to awaken it in others? This cannot be the result of chance. The reason for it can lie only in the fact that sinlessness, although not unattainable by human nature in itself, is nevertheless unattained—and is also unattainable by it in its present state—because sin in the whole human race has gained a supremacy, on account of which it is not possible for man, merely by his own efforts, to keep himself perfectly free from it. If, however, this is not possible for man by his own strength, it can become possible for him only through a power which, though standing above

the sphere of the sinful one, yet enters into this sphere without contamination. That is precisely the divine.

"If, therefore, we find a man who really keeps himself without sin, we conclude with reason that some divine power, in the full sense of the word, has worked in him, and that here is indeed a real man, but not merely a man."[1] Either divinity has itself essentially entered his soul and united itself personally with him; or God has, by a miracle of grace, raised him to himself and placed him outside of the evolutionary series of the genus *Homo*.

The evolutionary view of the world, which mocks at both these alternatives and regards all perfection, including that of Jesus, as merely an unfolding of natural force and aptitude, will have for that very reason nothing to do with the figure of a sinless Jesus.

A sinless Jesus remains for it enigmatical, incomprehensible, in fact, absolutely impossible, "something as monstrous as would be a flying lion or a never-fading rose." Thus the question of the sinlessness of Jesus becomes a test of sceptical criticism. If Christ is a sinner like ourselves, the school of liberal-radical criticism is right; if, however, he is sinless, it is wrong. What shall we say, therefore, of the proofs for or against the sinlessness of Jesus?[2]

1. *The Testimony of his Life.*

So far as the Evangelists make known to us the external features and the inward spirit of the words and deeds of Jesus, there can be no question of the existence of any sin in him. We have examined the portraiture of virtue given us in the Gospels in every way in which the perfect Man must be tested, and everywhere we have met a cloudless sky, untarnished purity and unexampled holiness. Perfection in his own character, perfection in his love of mankind, perfection in his piety—these are the unqualified impressions given us by his life. That life has only one aim and one supreme rule of conduct—to do the will of his Father. In this alone already lies the evidence of sinlessness. The shadow which our

[1] Ullmann, *Sündlosigkeit Jesu,* p. 182, 7th ed. (1863).

[2] For older literature concerning the sinlessness of Jesus, see Ullmann, 232-240, and Dorner, *Jesu sündlose Vollkommenheit*, 1862. Later monographs by Atzberger, *Die Unsündlichkeit Christi* (München 1883); Karl Hennemann, *Die Heiligkeit Jesu als Beweis seiner Gottheit,* (Würzburg 1898); Max Meyer. *Jesu Sündlosigkeit* (1906); Grau, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu,* p. 50 (Nördling 1887); Schlatter, *Jesu Demut,* p. 40; R. F. Nösgen, *Der einzige Reine unter den Unreinen—Eine Darlegung der Sündlosigkeit Jesu Christi* (1907); Ludwig Schulze, *Die Irrtumslosigkeit Jesu* (1908); Schell, *Jahwe und Christus,* pp. 361-404 (1908); Joh. Steinbeck, *Das göttliche Bewusstsein Jesu,* pp. 24-40 (1908).

opponents imagine they can discover even in this sun, the clouds by which they see the heavenly portrait of the Saviour darkened, are nothing else than the dust raised by their own sinfulness, imperfection and prejudice.

We pass over here the misapprehension, elsewhere rectified, which imputes to the Saviour hatred of kith and kin, and anger and harshness towards his disciples and the Pharisees. We deal elsewhere also with the objections brought against the position of Jesus towards social life, companionship and culture. There remains only the so-called "sex problem" in his life. Pardon us for making use of this detestable expression and for treating the questions connected with it. Men were sure to drag the Most Holy One into this also. The "eternal feminine" has come to hold so large a space in modern literature, and the "modern" public demands, with such sickly sentimentality, prurience and persistence, the introduction of the sexual theme, that the literature concerning Jesus could not escape it. And the more this literature has made of God Incarnate a man like other men, the less could the excessively human element be kept apart from him. Hence the ever-recurring, partly serious, partly curious, partly absolutely sensually inspired question—What was the attitude of Jesus towards the female sex?

After the Reformers had prohibited priestly celibacy in the Church, Protestant theology soon no longer comprehended it also in the case of Jesus Christ. Especially during the rationalistic period the celibacy of the Saviour scandalized many. Karl Hase, among others, racked his brains over the question why our blessed Lord and Saviour did not marry.[1] Although this question, according to Hase's own confession, "easily excites a feeling of amusement," it nevertheless has "a very serious side to it. . . ." As Schleiermacher expressed it: "That Christ did not round out his single life by marriage appears to be derogatory to him as a perfect model, and forms on the whole a difficult question to clear up."[2] According to Luther's teaching, the duty of Jesus to marry was indubitable. He declares: "If God does not work a miracle, and make a man an angel, I cannot see how he can, without incurring God's anger and disfavour, remain alone and without a wife. It is fearful that he should die without a wife, and at least he should have the firm intention and determination to enter the matrimonial state."[3] And then the blessing that would have resulted from the marriage of Jesus: "Monasticism, celibate priesthood and all these human victims would then have been impossible."[4]

Thus Hase tortures his brain to find out why, in spite of everything, Christ did not take a wife. "Narrow-minded,

[1] *Geschichte Jesu*, 385 (1876).
[2] Hase, *id.*
[3] *id.*, 386.
[4] *id.*, 387.

idealistic, ascetic motives—none of these furnishes a sound reason for the celibacy of the Saviour. There remains for us nothing but to imagine some casual, peculiar occurrence in his youth as a reason why God did not create a wife for him. We may suppose perhaps that his betrothed had died, or may adopt the theory that he, out of whose religion had come the ideal conception of marriage, so foreign to antiquity, met in his day no heart which was worthy of such a union, and that no woman seemed to him his equal."[1] In other words, Jesus did not marry because he did not find any suitable opportunity to do so. Truly such a brilliant idea, issuing from a Protestant pastor, " easily creates a feeling of amusement."

Yet, in contrast to this, Hase had already read Schleiermacher's perfectly natural explanation : " If we think of his [Christ's] peculiar dignity, we see easily that it could not possibly have been otherwise, and that the Redeemer could be the father only of a spiritual, not a physical, progeny."[2] Indeed, whatever one may think of marriage and celibacy in general, the world-embracing, world-redeeming and world-surpassing vocation of Jesus was not compatible with matrimony. Fancy only the contrary—a Saviour bound to a wife and child, fettered by all the ties of flesh and blood, and entangled in all the thousand cares pertaining to house and hearth. Remember, too, that this Saviour had to be entirely absorbed in the endeavour to belong to all men, to proclaim to all the transcendental and supernatural blessings of grace and truth, to offer up his blood and life for all, and so to become to all in the highest sense a brother and father and mother. Whoever has in the least an open mind must see that such a vocation could not harmonize with marriage. On the contrary, his Messianic aim demanded the renunciation of intimate family ties and carnal relations for the benefit of the spiritual welfare of all mankind.

Jesus more than once clearly enunciated this view of life. One day a woman of the people cried out to him rapturously : " Blessed is the womb that bore thee and the paps that gave thee suck." He, however, turned this praise from his mother in the flesh to his spiritual kindred, and said : " Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God and keep it." (Luke xi, 27, 28). On another occasion he was told that his mother and his brethren stood without and waited to speak with him. But he answered : " Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretching forth his hand towards his disciples, he said, Behold my mother and my brethren, for whosoever shall do the will of my Father that is in heaven, he is my brother and sister and mother " (Matt. xii, 48-50).

Now it is certainly true that Jesus, in addition to the general

[1] *id.*, 387. [2] *id.*, 385.

vocational duties which require celibacy, had also in particular the work of sanctifying marriage, the family, and the relation of the sexes, and thereby of promoting the profoundest and most difficult task in the moral and social order. But he could satisfy these requirements perfectly only by elevating, by means of his words and precepts, marriage and the family to the highest degree of purity and honour,[1] while yet remaining himself unmarried. For the propagation of the species, Nature has made sufficient provision, and paternal and domestic duties are also easily recognizable and realizable, if one is so disposed, without any absolute need in this respect of an example on the part of Jesus. For these Nature herself instructs the husband and wife, father and mother.

Much more important was it that husband and wife should, by a supernatural example of virtue, be stimulated to those duties which can be fulfilled only in opposition to man's sensual nature, yet which, on the other hand, must not be neglected, or the ruin of marriage and the family will be the result. All married happiness and the whole individual welfare of parents and children are conditioned on the fact that husband and wife are not the slaves of a blind eroticism, but possess perfect self-control and moderation. Otherwise it is impossible to preserve the fidelity and sanctity of the marriage tie against outward and inward temptations and dangers. In the long run, all family and wedded life degenerates if husband and wife are not aware that the physical part of existence forms neither its only, nor its highest, blessing, but that there are loftier aims in life, which, together with the method of attaining them, are prescribed to the individual.

All these aims and duties, however, necessitate a continual conflict of man's higher, spiritual nature against his lower, animal instincts, as well as against a merely pleasure-loving, material conception of existence. Hence, since Jesus stands before us as an illustrious model, through the example of his absolutely pure life, devoted to spiritual values only, he evidently becomes to those who are married a more powerful incentive to virtue than if he had led an only partially ascetic, self-restrained life in a state of matrimony.

Then (and here we come to the chief consideration) we must not lose sight of the fact that all people, for many natural causes, do not attain to the married state. A very large percentage of our race is compelled permanently to remain unmarried. Indeed, celibacy is, for a time, automatically prescribed for everyone; as, for instance, during the years between coming to maturity and actual marriage. It was, therefore, fitting that Jesus should give powerful support

[1] *Cf.* Förster, *Sexualethik und Sexualpädagogik*, 23-182 (1910).

to this celibate state, surrounded as it is by much greater dangers and struggles than that of wedlock. It was fitting also that he should show that this state is not to be regarded as a calamity, or as an abnormal form of existence; and, lastly, it was essential to confer on this unmarried state both dignity and meaning, and from lofty motives to impart to it that vital energy and joy in life which are unquestionably and naturally inherent in the married state.

But all this could be attained only through the renunciation of marriage on the part of the Saviour and through his leading a life of purest virginity.

The question why Jesus did not marry is, moreover, to-day no longer popular with the hostile critics. Since Hase, no investigator of importance has, to my knowledge, touched upon it at all. No; instead of wishing to make of Jesus a perfect husband, the degenerate fiction and theology of our age of free love prefer a Saviour fashioned after their own views of life. They have, therefore, modelled Jesus little by little into a modern sentimentalist, who is even thought not to have been wholly insensible to sensual love.

The frivolous Renan had already ascribed to the women who appear in the life of Jesus, especially to Mary Magdalen, an hysterical attachment to the "pure, sweet beauty of Jesus."[1] That hater of Christ, Eduard von Hartmann, was not ashamed to repeat this suspicion and even to impute it to Jesus. "Jesus," he says, "allowed the women, who revered him, to follow him, accepted their homage, and was pleased with their often impassioned adulations. He also uttered such words as, 'Many sins are forgiven her because she has loved much'"—words which it is doubtful whether his astonished hearers were able to understand in a purely spiritual and ethical sense, since even to-day attempts are still continually made by educated people to make a wrong use of them for the palliation of sins.[2]

Gustav Frenssen "misuses" them truly and in such a monstrous way that he makes Jesus say flippantly to the sinful woman: "God in heaven is also thy Father, and loves thee. He loves thee just as thou art. Love him then also. Love him even though thou canst not free thyself from thy sins."[3] Frenssen, in fact, makes of Jesus the counterpart of the mawkishly sensual Kai Jans, the hero of the romance, *Hilligenlei*, and at the close of his book he writes the unspeakably inconsiderate words: "The nature of Jesus was not wholly free from evil."[4]

This degenerate school of fiction reached, however, its most

[1] *Vie de Jésus*, 158, 449, 49th ed.
[2] Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testaments*, p. 52 (1905).
[3] *Hilligenlei*, p. 130. [4] *id.*, 585.

morbid depths in Paul Heyse, Johann Schlaf and Richard Dehmel. These most up-to-date of the moderns are so misguided as to imagine an actual love affair between Jesus and Mary Magdalen. Dehmel even makes the Saviour beg for the blessing and the love of Mary, and paints in glowing colours the marriage of the divine Man Jesus with the divine soul of the woman.[1]

We stand in dumb amazement before such fantastic notions and such unheard-of cynicism. As if the history of Jesus offered even the smallest foundation for such a representation! As if Jesus, by a single word, to say nothing of a single act, had given occasion for it! As if his whole personality were not enveloped in an atmosphere of modesty and model purity, such as the world had never dreamt of! As if even his fanatical enemies had not confessed: "The whole attitude of Jesus towards women was not at all that of men in general. . . . He treated them as sisters, just as they too considered him as a brother, whom one can approach and follow without fear."[2] Indeed, it is precisely in consequence of this incomparable modesty of Jesus that pathological criticism in regard to his mental soundness has fallen into error.

The latest decadent literature on the moral perfection of Jesus errs thus, not because this perfection is assailable, but because for these moderns it is inconceivable. They cannot imagine such superhuman moral purity in a man whom liberal-radical theologians have lowered to merely an ordinary human being. Hence the prurient little poetasters picture to themselves the Saviour after their own impure and unbridled imaginations. They think Jesus must have been like the heroes of their novels and like their own moral baseness. That is really all that the latest indecent romancing about Jesus amounts to. The actual life of the Saviour is as far above them as the sun is above the foul vapours of a pestilential swamp.

A modern sceptical critic rightly remarks: "As a matter of fact, the reproach of immorality and a loose life was never made against Jesus by his own people, by whom he was slandered so bitterly, and whom otherwise the world so willingly extols or . . . so pitilessly puts to death. No insinuation was ever made and no word of mistrust was ever spoken by his contemporaries in regard to his female followers. It was reserved for our age only to invent fantastic theories about the 'love affairs' of Jesus, to weave immoral romances about his radiant personality, and to drag him, who was so scrupulously immaculate, down to the filth of theatres known for their dramas of adultery."[3]

[1] Dehmel, *Jesus bettelt* and *Jesus und Psyche:* Röttger, *Moderne Jesusdichtung* (München) 49, 53-60.
[2] Binet-Sanglé, *La Folie de Jésus,* i, 269.
[3] Rinck, *Jesus als Charakter*, p. 81, 2nd ed. (Leipzig).

It may, it is true, be replied to this that, although the revelations of the life of Jesus reported in the Gospel are unclouded by a breath of sin, yet that the records of the Evangelists contain only a part, and, indeed, the smallest part, of our Saviour's words and deeds, and that this fact justifies us only in concluding that the picture of the Saviour is free from faults in those traits of character which have been handed down to us, his posthumous followers. His contemporaries, however, who stood nearest to him, must have looked into his life much more profoundly and searchingly. Do we know their verdict? Is it possible to determine exactly what they thought of him in their most intimate association and in the clearest possible light of actuality? Do we know positively what the friends and enemies of Jesus testified of him? Let us see.

2. *The Testimony of his Friends and Foes.*

The scribes and Pharisees—the official representatives of the Jewish Church—continually dogged his footsteps and spied out every act and word of his in order to obtain some ground for the condemnation of the hated Nazarene. Nor did they hesitate to use the basest means to accomplish this—cunning, artifice, dissimulation, deception, incitement of the people to violence, an appeal to the state, false witnesses, and even the seduction of an apostle. Jesus submits quietly to everything. He does not avoid his accusers and tempters; he even enters into conversation and argument with them, and thus is able to appeal to the fact that his life and words lie open to everyone in order to submit them to the judgement of his deadly foes. He has not spoken a word in secret, but, on the contrary, has uttered everything before the people, in the marketplaces, in the synagogues, and in the Temple, where everyone appears (John xviii, 20). Relying on this publicity of his acts and words, he even challenges the Jews to answer the question: "Which of you shall convince me of sin?" (John viii, 46). Yet no one could do this, despite the many accusations brought against him.

We know the "offences" with which he was charged: "This man receiveth and eateth with publicans and sinners" (Matt. ix, 11); "He blasphemeth God, in that he forgiveth sins" (Matt. ix, 4-8); "He casts out devils by Beelzebub" (Matt. xii, 24); "He desecrates the Sabbath, since he heals the sick and permits his disciples, when hungry, to pluck ears of corn on the Lord's day" (Luke vi, 7; Matt. xii, 1); "He eats bread without having previously washed his hands" (Matt. xv, 2); "He threatens to destroy the temple" (Matt. xxvi, 61); "He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place" (Luke xxiii,

5); "He asserts that he is Christ, the Son of God" (Matt. xxvi, 64).

That is all; in reality the accusation, made in various forms, and certainly well grounded, is that Jesus was the enemy of carping, hypocritical pharisaism, together with the known and transparently false pretext that he disobeyed the laws of the state and fomented political intrigues; and, finally, the charge of his miraculous deeds and of his Messianic and divine consciousness, and his voluntary confession of the same. But it was not possible to point out one dark spot in his life, even during his trial before the Sanhedrim.

"The chief priests and the whole council sought false witness against Jesus . . . and they found not, whereas many false witnesses had come in" (Matt. xxvi, 59, etc.). How spotless must the innocence of Jesus have been if it could thus remain intact before such a band of haters and calumniators!

Pilate resumes his examination, and with Argus eyes searches for some pretext, however minute, in order at least to be able to give some kind of an excuse for the sentence of Jesus, if once decided on. The same lack of success! After the most thorough and painstaking investigation, he is obliged to confess: "I find no fault in him" (Luke xxiii, 4). Moreover, the wife of the Governor, Claudia Procula, adjures her husband not to stain himself with the blood of this just man in order not to draw down upon himself the wrath of heaven (Matt. xxvii, 19). The malefactor who was crucified with him is so moved by the innocence of Jesus that he is converted, and exclaims: "This man hath done no evil" (Luke xxiii, 41).

This, then, is the unqualified judgement which the enemies of the Saviour pronounce upon his whole life. They must all confess that it bore nothing worthy of blame; nothing that, even under such a strict observation, had cast upon it a shadow of sin. It can, it is true, be objected that the enemies of Jesus had not been admitted into a confidential intercourse with Christ, and that their criticism must, therefore, pause precisely before those most important (because most intimate) expressions of the life of Jesus which were known only to the innermost and trusted circle of his acquaintances in which alone a man displays his real and entire character.

But this at least does not apply to the man whom the Jewish leaders had selected as their instrument to betray Jesus and deliver him up to death. Judas Iscariot had, in his years of friendly association with the Master, been able to observe him closely and to be aware of every word that he uttered, and to know, as it were, every pulsation of his heart. It must also have been all-important for him to justify his despicable treachery and to quiet his conscience by pointing out some faults in his Lord.

How he must have tormented himself, how he must have raked up all the memories of his years of discipleship in order to find at least one stain in the whole conduct of Jesus! In vain! Pierced with the remorse of despair, he cries out: "I have sinned in that I have betrayed innocent blood." Then he throws at the feet of the high priests the price of his treachery and hangs himself (Matt. xxvii, 4). What an overpowering testimony to the perfect holiness of Jesus!

The other disciples also enjoyed the same intimate acquaintance and friendship with their Master. They had the opportunity, day after day, to compare the Pharisees' attacks on the Saviour with his real life. They were even deemed worthy to enter into all the mysteries of his sublime personality from the first moment of their discipleship to that of the Last Supper, when Jesus poured out before them all the tenderness of his soul. It would be absurd to assert that they had not learned to know the outer and the inner life of Jesus essentially and in its true light. Still less can we suppose that they have represented it in an idealized form, for in support of their representation and convictions they go to persecution and death. Thus they are and remain the real leading witnesses of the conduct of Jesus, of his actions, words and most secret intentions and motives. And what do they tell us of these?

It would be useless to try to give a detailed and thorough answer to this question. The apostles believed in Jesus as the Saviour and Redeemer who, endowed with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost, has redeemed the world from sin. They saw in him the true, the only, and the eternal Son of God. How should there be, then, any question with them as to his "sinfulness"? Jesus, therefore, appears in the writings and utterances of the apostles in the most glorious and radiant vesture of absolute sinlessness.

It is significant that it is precisely Peter, James and John, the disciples of the first and last hour, and those who stood nearest to the Lord, who speak with the greatest enthusiasm of his holiness. They come before the Jewish authorities and the people, acknowledge Jesus as "the holy child" of God (Acts iv, 27) and make to them the reproach: "You have condemned and put to death the just one" (James v, 6); "You denied the Holy One and the Just" (Acts iii, 14).

They call upon the faithful to imitate the exalted example of him "who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth" (1 Pet. ii, 22); who his own self bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being dead to sins, should live to justice" (1 Pet. ii, 24). They point triumphantly to the fact that in the blood and death of the most Holy One the complete ransom for our sins has been paid: "Knowing that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, as gold or silver . . . but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled. . . . Christ died, the just for

the unjust" (1 Pet. iii, 18). Above all the misery of the world and of sin, they are supported by the hope and the invincible confidence that mercy and forgiveness will be ours for evermore through the sinless holiness of Jesus: "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just" (1 John ii, 1), who hath taken away our sins and in whom is no sin (1 John iii, 5).

And as the first disciples thought, so thought also the whole Apostolic Church, based upon their teaching; and, above all, so thought their greatest teacher, Paul. In Christ's sinless holiness they saw the foundation for his high priesthood, for his entire work of redemption, and for the Christian religion as a whole. "Him, that knew no sin, for us he hath made sin: that we might be made the justice of God in him" (2 Cor. v, 21). "For we have not a high priest, who cannot have compassion on our infirmities, but one tempted in all things like as we are, without sin . . . whereby he is able also to save for ever them that come to God by him, always living to make intercession for us. For it was fitting that we should have such a high priest, holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens" (Heb. iv, 15; vii, 25, 26).

3. *His Testimony to himself.*

The testimony of Jesus to himself completes and intensifies all that has been thus far said of his sinlessness. Even the last doubt must disappear when the Saviour himself asserts his absolute innocence.

It should not be objected to this testimony that a statement in favour of oneself is of no value. The exact opposite is true. When we have to do with a truthful and intelligent man, his own declaration as to his character is evidently superior to any judgement from an outsider and stranger. Whoever objects to the personal testimony of Jesus to his own sinlessness, inconsiderately carries over into the realm of morals a principle which is applicable only to the practice of law, and which, as K. Hase rightly observes,[1] applies to him—who called himself a king of truth, and in whose mouth was found no falsehood—a presumption derived from most unpleasant practical experience, and which "among men of honour in ordinary social intercourse is counted as an insult."

The truthfulness of Jesus is so heroic, and his humility so infinitely profound, that we cannot suppose that he either overrated himself, or has deceived us. The most humble and truthful of men could not assert of himself that he possessed precisely the highest quality of all, absolute sinlessness, unless that assertion were based upon a certainty superior to any

[1] *Theol. Streitschriften*, iii, 109 ff. (1837).

other certainty. His subjective testimony to himself becomes thereby the objectively tested proof of truth.

And to this is added a twofold verification from another side. As we have seen, his own testimony to his sinlessness is confirmed by all the words and actions of his life, as well as by the testimony of his friends and enemies, based on their own experience. Hence his personal moral estimate of himself is strengthened, even according to the principle otherwise applicable only to legal matters: "In the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand" (Matt. xviii, 16).

It is true, many critics maintain that it cannot be proved that Jesus did know and proclaim himself to be sinless. Eduard von Hartmann ventures to assert categorically that "it never occurred to Jesus himself to set himself up as an ideal of goodness, or to assume himself to be an ethical model for his disciples. By submitting to baptism he made a practical confession of his sinfulness and of his need of the forgiveness of sins; and, later, he expressly protested[1] against assuming any other ideal of goodness than God himself."[2] Otto Pfleiderer tempers this assertion with a saving clause by saying: "Yes, Jesus in noble humility declined to claim for himself even moral perfection, and answered the salutation 'Good Master' with the words, 'Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, that is God.' He thus placed himself on a level with other men."[3] Otto Schmiedel is of exactly the same opinion: "Jesus denies his absolute sinlessness, since he says to the rich young man, 'Why callest thou me good? No one is good but God.'"[4] W. Bousset, it is true, confesses that "what Jesus reveals of his soul bears no trace of conflict with evil." Nevertheless, he asserts: "We have indeed an impression that in the depths of his soul there have taken place storms and struggles of which men in the usual course of life know nothing. . . . He said that no one is good, save God alone, and placed himself thus on the side of humanity striving for the good."[5]

Whilst the consciousness of sinlessness in Jesus is absolutely denied by the above-mentioned critics, by others it is only doubted. Oskar Holtzmann is of the opinion that at his baptism the deep conscientiousness of Jesus caused him at least to doubt his perfect sinlessness, without, however, being conscious of any actual condemnatory facts.[6] "Who can say positively," asks Johann Ninck, "whether Jesus knew himself to be always without sin? Who can know whether the

[1] Hartmann refers here to Matthew xix, 17: "One is good, God."
[2] Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testaments*, 54.
[3] *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 94 (1905).
[4] *Die Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 47, 27 (1906). Similarly Weinel, *Jesus im XIX Jahrhundert*, 320 (1907).
[5] *Jesus*, 47, 92 (1907); Bousset, *Das Wesen der Religion*, 201 (1903); and H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, i, 268.
[6] *Leben Jesu*, 100 (1901).

delicate needle of the compass which guided his divine course never wavered or trembled slightly? Certain it is that he had to the last to struggle with strong impulses and passions. He himself tells of his temptations, and thanks his companions that they have held out with him in his conflicts. . . . Jesus appears in humility before John at the Jordan to be baptized for the forgiveness of sins."[1] "How strongly the inclination of Jesus to evil was felt," says Ninck in another passage, "we can perhaps conjecture from the decisiveness of his rejection of it."[2]

Karl Thieme acknowledges that it is "a fantastic idea, quite unjustified by our sources of information," to suppose that Christ's consciousness of guilt is a proven fact; yet he sees "nothing unwarrantably unhistorical in supposing the diffidence of his religious consciousness to have been conditioned by the fact that he was subject to uncertainty about his sinlessness."[3]

Still other investigators assume that Jesus was conscious of no fault whatever, yet that the anxiety lest he might unknowingly have committed some sins, or might commit such in the future, did not leave him. Arnold Meyer comments thus upon a passage in the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews in regard to the baptism: "Even if Jesus was conscious of no sin, and also had really done nothing wrong, nevertheless it was permissible and even suitable to his humility to say, 'If I am conscious of no sin, it may be because of ignorance; therefore I will not decline this opportunity of having my sins forgiven.'"[4] In fact, the much more conservative theologian of Königsberg, Ernst Kühl, is of the opinion that "Jesus has always had to accommodate his own will to the divine will; and even if the result of this was always that he had no personal experience of a decision on his part contrary to God's will—that is, of sin—yet he could not at any moment of his earthly life claim for himself sinless perfection in the sense that he had not been subject to temptation. Hence in the interview with the rich young man he has declined to receive the appellation 'good,' because this belongs to God alone."[5]

It has been necessary to let the hostile christologists speak out freely and from every point of view their opinions about the matter here in question. Yet nothing better illustrates the pitiable instability of modern criticism than the selected passages, explanatory of their views and processes of reason-

[1] Ninck, *Jesus als Character*, 244 (1910).
[2] *id.*, 328.
[3] *Die christliche Demut*, 114 (1906).
[4] A. Meyer, *Hebräerevangelium*, in *Henneckes Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, 26 (1904). Cf. *Was uns Jesus heute ist*, 38.
[5] *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 13 (1907).

ing which we have given. The arguments brought forward in this controversy against Christ's consciousness of absolute sinlessness are always the same—namely, the baptism and temptation of Jesus and his words to the rich youth, "No one is good, but God" (Matt. xix, 17). In the whole of rationalistic literature about Jesus we may seek in vain for other arguments.

It is, nevertheless, most remarkable to see what different conclusions the various critics are able to deduce from these three episodes. According to some, they prove that Jesus certainly acknowledged himself to be a sinner; according to others, this is only probable, or barely possible; while according to others still, it is absolutely untenable, although there remains the question whether Jesus did not live in fear and uncertainty in regard to possible sins, past or future. Again, if we observe more carefully how all these views are brought into connection with the three above-mentioned episodes, we meet with the same incoherence. According to some they are undoubtedly derived from them directly. Others put an interrogation point to this indubitable deduction, and designate it as an "unhistorical presumption and a fantastic idea quite unjustified by our sources of information." Still others admit that there lies neither in the episodes alluded to, nor in "what Jesus reveals of his soul," any trace whatever of a consciousness of guilt or of a conflict with sin. Only on the ground of "surmises" and "suppositions" do they have the audacity to take it for granted boldly that he had such a consciousness.

Now, where surmises begin, scientific scholarship has evidently already come to an end. One critic attacks another, until the last one falls upon his own sword. Thus any more words about the modern objections to the Saviour's consciousness of sinlessness are really superfluous, especially as we have already elsewhere refuted all three objections. Instead of coming to his baptism as a penitent in need of forgiveness, Jesus actually appears there as a sinless and sin-forgiving Messiah.[1] Instead of continuing in a spiritual conflict with sin, as the moderns assume, Jesus is tempted only from without, and he meets this temptation as an invulnerable conqueror.[2] Finally, the words of Jesus to the rich young man have nothing whatever to do with his consciousness, and are very far from proclaiming his consciousness of guilt.[3]

[1] Felder, *Jesus Christ*, i, 220-224. [2] *id.*, i, 207-211.

[3] *id.*, i, 248. See also Ullman, *id.*, p. 138; Schell, 401-407; Steinbeck, 38-40; A. Hoffmann, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu nach den drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 6 (1904); Karl Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*, 295 (1901); Thieme, 106-109. All these prove that the words of Jesus to the rich young man "have nothing to do with the consciousness of Jesus, but are simply a criticism of the rabbinical title."

If, accordingly, the assertion that Jesus classed himself with sinners is unproven and unprovable, we have only to examine whether, on the contrary, he attributed to himself absolute sinlessness.

In the first place, it is a most striking fact that we find in him no acknowledgement of sin. His whole life is devoted to the cleansing of mankind from sin. He follows up sin everywhere, even into its most secret lurking places. With a hitherto unheard-of severity he condemns even the most hidden sins of thought. He values the confession of sins and the conversion from sin so highly that even the angels in heaven rejoice over them (Luke xv, 7, 10). His moral earnestness discovers something sinful in all men. However mild his judgement, and however amiable his whole nature is, he nevertheless presupposes that all men are evil by nature (Matt. vii, 11), and that no one can absolve himself of sin (John viii, 7). He requires from all contrition and works of repentance (Mark i, 15), and declares that incalculable debts of guilt will be forgiven to all (Matt. xviii, 24, 35). Only he himself nowhere lets a thought of his own guilt arise. He never humbles himself before God the Father on account of sin. Nowhere is there a trace of a confession of wrongdoing.

This is evidently comprehensible only from the standpoint of his absolute sinlessness. "If he had formed a perfect spiritual harmony between himself and God, with nevertheless actual cause for spiritual disunion; if he had, as his Sermon on the Mount shows, followed up sin in others into the innermost recesses of the heart and accused even hidden anger of being a wish to murder, and secret lust as the committal of adultery, and yet, with this eagle eye in regard to morals, had never once scrutinized himself and never applied this absolute moral standard to sins of his own, then he would, in his ideas, by no means be the most beautiful of the children of men, as Strauss feels himself compelled to designate him, but would be, on the contrary, a morally contradictory and most unpleasant phenomenon, since he himself would have out-phariseed the pharisaism which he had justly held up to execration, with its self-justification and its sitting in judgement upon others."[1]

Moreover, we nowhere find in Jesus a request for the forgiveness of sin.

He teaches all others to pray: "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors" (Matt. vi, 12); "Forgive us our sins, for we also forgive everyone that is indebted to us" (Luke xi, 4). Only he himself does not pray thus. He prescribes this petition for his disciples, but he does not pray the "Our Father" with them. The disciples had, indeed, expressly asked, "Lord, teach us to pray" (Luke xi, 1), and

[1] Beyschlag, *Das Leben Jesu*, i, 3rd ed., p. 194 (1893).

Jesus answers just as definitely, "Thus therefore shall you pray" (Matt. vi, 9), "When you pray, say" (Luke xi, 2). It is, therefore, contradictory to his own definite words to assert that the "Our Father" is the expression "of the humble spirit of his own prayer."[1] He particularly excludes himself from the request for the forgiveness of sins in the "Our Father" through the following sentence: "For if you will forgive men their offences, your heavenly Father will forgive you also your offences" (Matt. vi, 14).[2]

Moreover, nowhere else in the whole abundant, humble life of prayer so characteristic of Jesus do we come upon a request for the forgiveness of sins. He falls in adoration before his Father; he addresses to him prayers of gratitude and praise; he prays for the apostles; for the sick, for all believers; he prays for his own glorification, and implores the Father for aid in his own terrible agony upon the Mount of Olives;[3] but we seek in vain in all his supplications for one passage which would even distantly imply a request for the forgiveness of his own sin. We should expect from him such a prayer, if ever, in any moment of his life at least in the hour of his death upon the cross. Had he not spoken most emphatically of the account of his life which every man must render to God (Matt. x, 26-28)? Had he not said that even every idle word shall one day be weighed in the balance of him who searcheth the heart and the reins (Matt. xii, 36)? But in that hour he has nothing to repent of and shows no need of forgiveness.

On the threshold of eternity he begs only for forgiveness for the sins of his enemies (Luke xxiii, 34), and is perfectly certain of his own eternal blessedness; so certain, indeed, that he is able to promise it also to the malefactor crucified with him—"To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke xxiii, 43).

Moreover, the absence of any remorse whatever is an additional indication of Christ's consciousness of sinlessness. We shall, in another place, show how extraordinarily tender and sharply sensitive his conscience was wherever there was a question of fulfilling the will of his heavenly Father. In fact, anxiety to fulfil the will of God to the minutest detail and up to the last moment dominates all his thought, speech and action—in a word, his whole life.

So much the more remarkable, therefore, is it that, in view

[1] Deissmann, *Evangelium und Urchristentum* in *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion*, 101 (1905). Also H. J. Holtzmann dares not assert, however much he would like to suppose it, that Jesus "not only taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer, but prayed it with them" (*Neutestament. Theologie*, i, 268).

[2] *Cf.* Theodor Zahn, *Evan. des Matt.*, 205, 280, note 185.

[3] See the admirable compilation of the texts referring to prayer in the words of Jesus in Margreth's *Das Gebetsleben Jesu Christi*, pp. 11-21 (1902).

of this unique fear of God, not a trace of remorse ever reveals itself, never the least apprehension that he has possibly deviated from the will of the Father as the only standard of his life. Had even a shadow of sin come between him and his Father, even a tiny cloud "as large as a man's hand," it would, by reason of his immensely elevated moral sentiment and his childlike love of God, have thrown on him a gigantic shadow which would have clouded his frank, trustful gaze into the face of the Father. But there is no mention of this. Unvarying sunshine rests upon his soul. The whole life of Jesus, as we know it, gives us the impression of an unruffled intimacy with God.

We have grounds for believing also that in that part of his earthly pilgrimage which is not known to us there was nothing which he had to repent of. If any period had preceded the time of his public activity, during which he had not been united to God in complete sinlessness, some traces and evil after-effects of that previous condition must have been found in his later consciousness of communion with God. The more perfect the later portion of his life was, the more deeply would he necessarily have regretted and repented of that former portion. Even David Strauss acknowledges this, and says: "In all those natures which have become purified only through conflicts and a violent conversion, the scars of these remain for ever, and something hard, severe and gloomy adheres to them their whole life long. There is in Jesus no trace of this. He appears like a beautiful nature from his very birth, which needed only to develop its own innate qualities to become always more clearly conscious of itself and more self-reliant, but not needing conversion and a renewed life."[1]

In exactly the same strain Adolf Harnack writes: "Show us the man who at thirty years of age can speak thus if he has had in his life fierce conflicts, conflicts of the soul in which he has finally burned what he once adored, and has adored what he once burned. Show us the man who has broken with his past in order then to call others to repentance, but who in doing so never speaks of his own repentance. This consideration excludes the possibility of his life having been passed in spiritual catastrophes."[2] The only man who can

[1] Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, 208 (Leipzig 1864).

[2] *Wesen des Christentums*, 21 ff. Strauss means, it is true, that this does not exclude some natural, special cases of vacillation and fault; and Harnack also adds that there may not have been wanting in him "deep, spiritual agitations, temptations and doubts." But do not these fine thinkers see into what a violent contradiction to their recently uttered convictions they thus bring themselves? So blind is the hypothetical way of looking at things, which always turns back before the final step—that is, before the acknowledgement of the sinlessness and divinity of Jesus.

be without a trace of remorse is one who is either conscienceless, godless, or—like Jesus—sinless.

In contrast to all other men, Christ expressly declares his own sinlessness. He has uttered the words: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children," etc. (Matt. vii, 11); "The Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Matt. xxvi, 45); "If I shall say that I know not the Father, I shall be like to you, a liar. But I do know him and do keep his word" (John viii, 55). Whoever speaks thus puts himself in striking contrast to sinners.

Jesus made, however, still plainer declarations on this point. He proclaims that "there is no injustice in him" (John vii, 18); that the fulfilment of the divine will has become for him so much the greatest necessity of his soul, that it is what food is for the life of the body (John iv, 34); that he does constantly and without exception what is pleasing to God (John viii, 29); that Satan, the prince of this world, hath nothing in him (John xiv, 30)—all literal and positive utterances in reference to his own personal faultlessness.

To these he adds the decisive challenge to the Pharisees: "Which of you shall convince me of sin?" (John viii, 46).

This cannot possibly be merely a claim to public blamelessness of life. To put such an unheard-of question presupposes a complete external and internal spotlessness. Even the most perfect man—yes, precisely he—feels that he cannot repeat these words without making himself guilty of the most horrible hypocrisy and unendurable arrogance, and without the very challenge turning to his own detriment. This is the more true in the light of the revelation of Christ, since this has raised to the highest degree both the objective moral law and subjective consciousness, so that the beloved disciple of Jesus writes: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us" (1 John i, 8). Only in the mouth of the infinitely Holy One is such an utterance admissible and true. He alone challenges his enemies with the thrilling demand: "Which of you shall convince me of sin?" And his enemies are dumb, while the prince of the apostles falls upon his knees and begs him: "Lord, depart from me, for I am a sinful man."

As the finest crystal appears dull beside a real diamond, so even the best of men feels, in the presence of Jesus, that his own virtue is imperfection. Richard Wagner observes no less profoundly than truly: "Since there have been so many martyrs and saints, we might wonder why the divine one among them should be precisely Jesus. But all those saintly men and women first became so through divine grace, an illumination, an experience, or an inward conversion, which caused them to be transformed from sinful men to exalted beings, who strike us as being almost supernatural. . . . In

Jesus, on the contrary, from the very commencement we find complete sinlessness without any appearance of passion—a nature of divine purity. Yet with all this there does not appear—as we might expect—anything 'interesting' or anything at all supernatural, but this absolutely pure divinity is wholly characterized by the purest humanity which must affect us through suffering and sympathy in a universally human way—a unique and incomparable phenomenon. All others have need of the Saviour. He *is* the Saviour."[1] This leads us to a further series of considerations.

We have thus far briefly brought forward the direct utterances of the sinless consciousness of Jesus. These, however, are not the principal thing. Much more important is the indication of an external and indirect testimony to his absolute sinlessness. This appears as the natural and therefore undeniable consequence of the vocation of the Saviour. His redemptive work reaches its climax in his opposition to sin. Forgiveness of sin, deliverance from sin, and judgement of sinners—these form the threefold aim of his activity. All this, however, excludes sinfulness in himself, as day excludes night and light excludes darkness.

Forgiveness of Sin.—Jesus remits sins as he thinks best.[2] He expressly ascribes to himself the right to forgive sins, and proves by means of miracles that he possesses this absolute power in his own person (Matt. ix, 2, etc). He even imparts the divine right to forgive sins in his name to his disciples (John xx, 23).

That is, however, evidently not the action of a man who is himself burdened with sin and guilt. No prophet had ever dared to do that. At most, the prophets announced forgiveness in the name of Jehovah (2 Kings xii, 13). The power to forgive sins of himself was not ascribed by Judaism even to the expected Messiah.[3]

The Pharisees of the time of Jesus thought no differently, and characterized the arrogance of a man daring to remit sins as downright blasphemy (Matt. ix, 3, etc.). Jesus silently confirms this view. God alone can forgive sins, because he alone is the absolutely Holy One who is offended by sin. But since the Saviour claims for himself the same power of pardoning sins, and makes use of it, he puts himself above the entire sinful race of mankind and recognizes himself as the All-holy God.

Deliverance from sin.—The power to forgive sins belongs,

[1] From Hans v. Wolzogen's *Erinnerungen an Richard Wagner*, in Gustav Pfannmüller, *Jesus im Urteil der Jahrhunderte*, p. 428 (Leipzig 1908).

[2] Matt. ix, 2; Mark ii, 3; Luke v, 18; vii, 47; xxiii, 43; John v, 14; viii, 11.

[3] Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 215 (1898).

moreover, directly to the Saviour, because he is the Redeemer from sin. Jesus has come to seek and to save that which was lost (Luke xix, 10). The saving consists in bringing man out from the condition of being eternally lost, in which he finds himself in consequence of the guilt resting on him.

This, however, is by no means accomplished merely by the fact that God promises forgiveness to the sinner and actually forgives him his sin. Rather is this remission and forgiveness of sin connected with the sacrifice of the life of Jesus. Jesus, indeed, expressly states that his life is a "redemption for many," and that his blood is shed "for the remission of sins" (Matt. xx, 28; xxvi, 28). Jesus, consequently, is fully aware that his life, blood and personality have such a value that their sacrifice forms an amply sufficient atonement for the insult done to the majesty of God, which is involved in sin. It would be madness and blasphemy if a sinful man, and, in any case, a mere creature, should wish to ascribe to himself such importance. Only the spotless, sacrificial Lamb, which has no share in human sin, can redeem man from sin. He alone who stands above humanity, and whose essence is absolute, divine holiness, can pay the full price of redemption for the whole human race.

Judgement of sinners.—This is closely connected with deliverance from sin. We can easily understand why Jesus, as Redeemer of the world, ascribes to himself also, as Judge of the world, the right to pass the final sentence upon the living and the dead. In humility and poverty he has appeared to redeem the world, but he will return at the end of the appointed time in divine majesty and "in the glory of himself, of the Father and of the angels" to judge mankind (Luke ix, 26 and parallels). He will judge them all; he alone will be judged by no one, not even by the Father. How would that be thinkable if anything sinful were hidden in his own heart?

The circumstances under which he discharges the duties of his office as Judge presuppose in him the most exalted and divine holiness. He conducts the judgement of the world not merely as the Representative of God, but by virtue of his own personal, absolute sovereignty (Matt. vii, 23 and parallels). Judgement and the final sentence are so exclusively his affair that the heavenly Father takes no share in them whatever: "Neither doth the Father judge any man, but hath given all judgement to the Son, that all men may honour the Son, as they honour the Father" (John v, 22).

Thoroughly divine also is his procedure at the Last Judgement. He will investigate and pass sentence upon all actions with omniscient precision (Matt. x, 26). He will judge men not alone by outward works, but by their most secret thoughts and feelings known to God alone (Matt. vii, 21-23); and he will, as an independent sovereign, award to everyone eternal

life or eternal punishment according to the measure of his merit or guilt (Matt. vii, 23).

In Jesus the sinlessness of God has lived among us and manifested itself.

Such is the result of the foregoing investigations. Not only does Jesus reveal himself as the only sinless one[1] among all sinful men, but he is sinless in such an absolute sense and to such a degree as no man could ever be or become even if God distinguished him with unusual gifts of grace. His sinlessness must be characterized as a personal "quality which according to its nature cannot be conferred and cannot be acquired, but must be an everlasting possession and betokens a divine being."[2]

This is a fact of history which cannot be denied by even the keenest criticism. Every attempt to overthrow it breaks down inevitably in view of certain well established facts: first, that Jesus has testified to himself as being the absolutely sinless Son of God and Redeemer of the world. Second, that he has proved this assertion by a sinless life before God and men. Were that testimony not true, his mode of life would not have been possible. If he had claimed divine holiness merely in blasphemous madness and unprecedented arrogance, he would have to be forthwith regarded as the most unholy of men.

History raises an emphatic protest against the latter supposition, logic and psychology against the former. The holiness of Jesus triumphs over both. We shall understand this still better if we scrutinize closely the more positive side of the character of Jesus—his absolute goodness.

II.—His Absolute Fulness of Virtue.

1. *His own Personal Virtues.*

We begin by demonstrating from the overflowing store of personal characteristics of Jesus some of the fundamental features which constitute his innermost individuality and have, therefore, been called his strictly personal virtues. To these will be added those superior qualities which distinguish the personal intercourse of Jesus with his fellow-men; and, finally, those sublime perfections in which is expressed, individually true to life, the most secret relation of the Son of God to his Father in heaven.

[1] The sinlessness of Mary, as it is enunciated by Catholic dogma, is no exception to this, for it is based only on the sinlessness of Jesus himself and is merged in it.

[2] Steinbeck, *Das göttliche Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 24.

(*a*) *His Truthfulness.*

The first and perhaps most striking trait in the strictly personal portrait of Jesus is truthfulness.

Jesus himself refers to truthfulness as a fundamental characteristic of his being. "I am the truth," he declares (John xiv, 6). His most confidential friends are thoroughly impressed by the incorruptible, inexhaustible fulness of truth which illumined his life, his deeds and his entire person. "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us (and we saw his glory, a glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth" (John i, 14). "The law was given by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John i, 17). "Neither was guile found in his mouth" (1 Pet. ii, 22). Such is the joyful testimony issuing from the hearts of the thankful first apostles. But even his enemies also, willingly or unwillingly, must pay him the acknowledgement: "Master, we know that thou art a true speaker and carest not for any man. For thou regardest not the person of men, but teachest the way of God in truth" (Matt. xxii, 16 and parallels).

In these words truly the teaching efficiency of Jesus is sharply and correctly described. Every word, every action, his conduct as a whole, and all his "tidings of great joy" are a unique and brilliant revelation of truthfulness—truthfulness even in the minutest details and the remotest consequences (Matt. xxiii, 25); truthfulness, without deception or intrigue, without perfidy or artifice—"Let your speech be, Yea, yea, and no, no" (Matt. v, 37); truthfulness towards everyone, incorruptible truthfulness; truthfulness at any price, whether or not the rabbinical professional casuists cry out and all the expounders of the Law in the synagogues are beside themselves with rage, whether or not even his dearest disciples threaten to lose faith in him, and his life-work seems on that account to be doomed to failure; truthfulness with uncompromising severity, with the sharpness of fire and the sword.

Against nothing does Jesus contend with such decisiveness and persistence as against hypocrisy, lying and misrepresentation in all their forms and consequences. Think only of his denunciations of the Pharisees, those typical representatives of external formalism, sanctimoniousness and carping criticism. A soul-stirring, manifold lamentation over their deceitful conduct breaks forth from the breast of this divine friend of truth: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites. Woe to you, foolish and blind. Woe to you, blind guides. Woe to you, who appear to men outwardly as righteous, but inwardly are full of hypocrisy and depravity. Woe to you, serpents and brood of vipers, how will you flee from the judgement of hell" (Matt. xxiii, 1-33).

It is this incisive truthfulness which draws upon him the hatred of the great and the persecution of the masses. He can appeal to this, even at the moment when they take up stones to kill him for his bold speaking: "I have told you the truth which I heard from God. . . . Because I tell you the truth, ye believe me not" (John viii, 40). But it is truthfulness also which forms the unqualified condition for becoming his disciples: "If you continue in my word you shall be my disciples indeed, and you shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (John viii, 31).

Jesus bequeaths to his disciples, whom he is leaving behind in the world, such a legacy as had never before been heard of or made by anyone—the Truth: "I will send you the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father. . . . When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth" (John xv, 26; xvi, 13). The burden of his last, high-priestly prayer is an imploring, urgent, touching petition for truth for his disciples and followers: "Father, sanctify them in truth. Thy word is truth" (John xvii, 17).

Before his judge, in view of eternity, he again sums up the aim and work of his life in the words: "For this was I born, and for this came I into the world, that I should give testimony to the truth. Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice" (John xviii, 37). And while Pilate puts to him the sneering question, "What is truth?" Jesus allows himself to be condemned to death in order not to become unfaithful to the truth. He gives his blood and life as a martyr to his love of truth.

The history of the world knows of no other man who was so consumed with a passion for truth, none who so hated falsehood. The passion for truth and right is the mark of every prophet and man of God. They all are indignant at duplicity, hypocrisy, lying, cheating, injustice and tyranny. But not one of them is in his whole being, conduct and speech, life and death, so heroically truthful as the prophet of Nazareth, who can laconically and incontrovertibly identify himself with the truth by saying: "I am the truth."

(*b*) *His Fortitude.*

This ardent love of truth already points us to another not less characteristic trait in Jesus, embodied in his determination, courage, self-sacrificing spirit and powerful energy, carried to the point of heroism—in a word, to his fortitude.

Since the coming of indifferentism, all imaginable efforts have been made to divest the figure of the Saviour of its energetic, strong and virile features. From Tiedge, the poet of the *Paths of Sighs,* and Voss, the most intolerant preacher of universal tolerance, down to the latest congresses of religion at Chicago and Berlin, the portrait of Christ has

been more and more fashioned into a shadowy figure, sentimental, weak, unmanly, impotent, and withal so indistinct, that it could easily become also the shibboleth of the most lachrymose and pitiable conception of religion ever formed.

Against this portraiture the ancient Christian writers make a flaming protest. They see in the personality of Jesus the embodiment of force, power, might and courage. Matthew declares: "The multitude seeing it, feared and glorified God that gave such power to men" (Matt. ix, 8). Mark testifies: "He was teaching as one having power" (Mark i, 22). Luke writes: "They were astonished at his doctrine, for his speech was with power" (Luke iv, 32). "He gave them power to be made the sons of God," writes John joyfully (John i, 12). The disciples on the way to Emmaus declare: "Jesus of Nazareth was a prophet mighty in work and word before God and all the people" (Luke xxiv, 19). "Jesus of Nazareth . . . God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power," add the Acts of the Apostles (Acts x, 38). Paul preaches "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1 Cor. i, 24); and Peter also boasts: "We made known to you the power and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and were eye-witnesses of his majesty" (2 Pet. i, 13).

His demands on the disciples reveal, in fact, most clearly this energetic, self-sacrificing, resolute personality.

Not without cause did he gather about him a circle of determined and courageous men, and christen Simon with the name of "Rock," while John and James were preferably called the "Sons of Thunder." They were to be heroes, leaders in combat, who should take the kingdom of God in the face of powerful opposition (Matt. xi, 12). It is no halfway action or mediocrity, but heroism, that he requires of them. "Let the dead bury their dead, but do thou follow me, and preach the kingdom of God" (Luke ix, 60). "Go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor and come, follow me" (Mark x, 21). "If any man come to me and hate not his father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple. . . . Every one of you that doth not renounce all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple" (Luke xiv, 26, 33). "No man putting his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke ix, 62). "Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth; I came not to send peace, but the sword" (Matt. x, 34). The sword, war, combat with Satan, with the world and oneself for God and his kingdom—these form the battlecry of Christ. And therefore come from him those trumpet-blasts of victory comprehensible only to heroic hearts: "Blessed are they that suffer persecution. . . . Blessed are ye when

they shall revile you and persecute you and speak all that is evil against you. . . . Be glad and rejoice, for your reward is very great in heaven" (Matt. v, 10-12).

The whole life of Jesus is a sublime development and fulfilment of this heroic programme. His claim to be the Messiah and the Son of God put him at once in the most decided and lasting opposition to the whole existing state of things. The mere announcement of the kingdom of God as he proclaimed it, in contrast to all the earthly, political and national hopes of the Jews, meant at once an act of supreme daring and an attempt to achieve the seemingly impossible. And how he conquered that kingdom of God which he proclaimed! He himself is that first and most courageous of mighty heroes, who from the days of John the Baptist take the kingdom of heaven by violence (Matt. xi, 12). He is the merchant of pearls and treasure-seeker, who sells all that he hath in order to secure the pearl and the treasure of the kingdom of heaven; he who can say of himself, "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Matt. viii, 20). From the first moment of his appearance till the beginning of the days of the final catastrophe, his prayers, thoughts, words and actions—in fact, his entire life—was only one immense conflict; the combat of a giant for the kingdom of God.

Thus only is it to be explained how he, in the short space of time of at most three years, could bring to completion a work immeasurable in its nature and world-compelling in its consequences.

And like the life of Jesus was its ending, the heroic drama of his suffering and death. Pain tests and proves the hero; and the sharpest test of bravery and fortitude is death. History tells us of men who, without evincing either pain or feeling, have thrown themselves into the arms of suffering and death with joy and callous eagerness, as enthusiasts, fanatics, madmen! Philosophy knows of others who thought their whole wisdom and virtue consisted in an assumed indifference to suffering and in a blasé coquetry with death, as stoical egoists, unnatural pessimists, proud representatives of self-deification.

How totally different is the suffering of Jesus Christ! He is neither callous to pain, nor does he trifle with it. He tastes the whole bitterness of the chalice of anguish even before the terrible reality arrives. The nameless tortures of his last days and the bloody baptism of crucifixion stood always clearly before his mental vision and shook to the very depths his sensitive organism. Even in the most joyous and most solemn hours of his life they float like dark shadows over the inspiration of his words and feelings. Even the transfiguration on Mount Thabor and the acknowledgement of Peter at Cæsarea close with the sorrowful prospect that he must go

up to Jerusalem and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes and be killed.

As, finally, the moment arrives which had been determined by the Father, his human nature shudders; an indescribable sadness overpowers him in the Garden of Gethsemani; his soul is sorrowful even unto death; he trembles, fears, and falls in agony, and bloody drops of sweat ooze from the pores of his body (Matt. xxvi, 37; Luke xxii, 44). One of his last utterances on the cross is the pathetic cry of distress of a sufferer dying in frightful agony of soul and body: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" That is truly human.

But with all this there is in his life and death not a moment in which he has not looked anguish in the face with exalted courage, and quietly and lovingly submitted to the will of the heavenly Father. To the traitor, Judas, who delivers him to the soldiers, he offers the kiss of peace and the word "Friend"; while Peter, who injudiciously, though out of love, wishes to divert him from the thought of the cross, is repelled by him with the sharp reproof: "Go behind me, Satan, because thou savourest not the things that are of God, but that are of men" (Mark viii, 33). He even longs for the hour, for out of love to the Father and to us he will go to death: "I have a baptism wherewith I am to be baptised, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished" (Luke xii, 50).

And now it is here. His human strength threatens to sink in view of the frightful torture that is beginning. He lies prostrate before God upon his face, and in fervent prayer fights his way to gigantic fortitude and heroic resignation: "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt" (Matt. xxvi, 39, 42). Then like a hero he treads the *via dolorosa,* drains to the dregs the divinely appointed chalice of that martyrdom of soul and body, and in holy, humble, childlike love to the Father, and with touching compassion and forgiveness for his executioners, holds out to the end and to the ever memorable words: "It is finished. Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke xxiii, 46). That is more than human—that is divine.

How far below Jesus stand those men who are so often and so confidently compared with Nazareth's "Man of Sorrows" —Buddha, Laocoon and Socrates. Buddha is wanting in precisely that which so incomparably distinguishes the Saviour, energy of will and power to endure suffering.[1] Christ

[1] Buddha mortifies and crucifies himself only from disgust of existence, from the resignation of despair and a cowardly negation of life; in his Nirvana, the dreamed-of return to annihilation, "only one of the many religious and philosophical opiates against the misery of life is attained." (W. Ph. Englert, *Christus und Buddha in ihrem himmlischen Vorleben,* Wien, 120 (1898).

announces, as even Schopenhauer concedes, the highest affirmation of will, and regards suffering and death simply as means of attaining the true and everlasting life.

Laocoon, the classical model of a man, suffering and dying in the prime of life, succumbs to inevitable fate. He fights with all his strength against pain, and in dying utters a horrible cry, like the bellowing of an ox which has broken away from the shambles (Virgil, *Aeneid* II, 222). Christ submits to suffering voluntarily, and is "led as a sheep to the slaughter, and opened not his mouth" (Acts viii, 32).

Socrates would perhaps have been able to escape the draught of hemlock through dishonourable flight, but he drinks it with great mental composure and elevated serenity, and closes a worthy life with a manly and estimable death. But with him there is wanting not only the incomparable scene of hours of agony heroically endured, but also the childlike feeling of nearness to God and love of God, and the submission to God's most holy will which we admire in the dying Redeemer. Moreover, instead of, like Jesus, praying for his enemies, Socrates mocks at his, and commands his pupil, Crito, to sacrifice a cock to the god of medicine, Aesculapius (*Phaedo,* 66).

Even Rousseau indignantly waives aside the comparison of the dying Socrates with the dying Christ. "What prejudices, what blindness are needed to induce one to compare the son of Sophroniscus with the Son of Mary! How far removed they are from one another! Socrates dies without pain and without obloquy. Self-conscious, he boasts of his own personality to the last, and had not this easy death done honour to his life, we should doubt—leaving out of consideration his high intelligence—whether he had been more than a Sophist. . . . The death of Socrates, which occurs in the midst of a quiet philosophical conversation with his friends, is the most agreeable that one could possibly desire. The death of Jesus, who dies in the agonies of crucifixion, mocked at, ridiculed and cursed by an entire nation, is the most terrible form of death that one can imagine. . . . Yes, the life and death of Socrates are those of a philosopher; but the life and death of Jesus are those of a God."[1]

(*c*) *His Humility.*

The foregoing impression becomes doubly strong through a consideration of the humility of Jesus. The highest degree of strength, united with the deepest humility, appeared also to Schiller to be a matchless characteristic of Christianity.[2]

[1] *Emile, Œuvres,* ii, p. 280 (Paris 1905).

[2] *The Knights of St John,* "Religion of the cross, thou alone unitest at the same time in one wreath the double palm of strength and humility."

It has inherited this from Jesus Christ. He first united greatness and littleness, "the double palm of strength and humility at the same time." He neither pulled down his strength by his humility nor his humility by his strength.

Friedrich Nietzsche, the prophet of "superman" morality, mocks at the humility of Christ and Christianity because it is equivalent to a denial of greatness. "It is," he says, "a revolt of all that creeps along the ground against that which is high; the gospel of the lowly makes people lowly."[1] What a flaming protest against this does the life of Jesus make! Jesus maintains and emphasizes steadfastly the consciousness of his superhuman Messianic dignity and his divine nature. But, in accordance with this, he also evolves a personality full of nobility of sentiment, forceful activity and majesty of suffering. Nothing higher, sublimer or more powerful exists than the life and person of our Saviour.

But Jesus treads this dizzy height with such condescension towards others and with such unfathomable and voluntary humility that one might imagine him to be the least and last of all.

The civilized peoples of antiquity would not have thought this possible. They knew indeed men of power and high rank at the head of society, and also humble men who lay at the feet of the others as their servants and slaves. But any mingling of that superior class of humanity with that inferior class—a union of the pride of personal or class distinction with a sentiment of condescension would have been for them an absurdity. The gulf between them was so great that the classical languages had not even a word for this sentiment of humility.

One may, indeed, translate the words "ταπεινός" and "humilis" by "humble," but they mean something entirely different. They contained in the idiom of the Greeks and Romans always the flavour of something base, objectionable and contemptible.[2] Only under the influence of Christianity did those words become so changed in significance that the poor, the abandoned by nature, and the "humble" were no more looked upon as outcasts in the eyes of people of rank and birth.

It was certainly better in Old Testament Judaism. The Old Testament had not only praised the combination of high rank and power with lowliness and humility, but had also in part realized it in its noblest representatives.[3] At the time

[1] *Der Antichrist,* n. 43, *Friedrich Nietzsche's Werke,* vol. X, p. 415 (1906).

[2] Epictetus, *Dissertationes,* iii, 24, 56; Cicero, *Quaest. Tuscul.,* v, 20; Josephus, *De bello judaico,* iv, 9, 2.

[3] See Karl Thieme, *Die christliche Demut,* i; Hälfte, *Wortgeschichte und die Demut bei Jesus,* 29-38 (1909).

of Christ, however, the theology of the Pharisees had long ceased to think of such a thing as practicable. The Mishna is a proof of it. However highly humility is recommended in the Mishna tract, "Sayings of the Fathers," just as forcibly is it said there that the rabbinical learned caste is justified in looking down haughtily upon the common herd.[1] Even Hillel uttered the arrogant expression: "An uneducated man is not afraid of sin, and a layman is not pious."[2] Still more clearly in the Gospels do we meet with the insolent bearing, the laughable vanity, and the inordinate desire for distinction of the scribes and Pharisees.

Jesus Christ, on the contrary, from the first moment of his earthly existence to his death on the cross, makes every effort to do away with the feeling of aloofness from the masses and in his person to set a perfect example of the most profound condescension and self-renunciation;[3] and he, just as characteristically, ascribes to Antichrist, as his special aim, the effort to establish such social divisions.[4]

With this in view, he comes into this world like a homeless foundling. Rejected by society, he is born in a stable, and borrows, as it were, from the cattle a little space of ground in order to be able to set foot upon the earth (Luke ii, 7). Not content with this, he lets himself be persecuted by Herod and to be brought, as a fugitive, into Egypt by Mary and Joseph. Having returned into the homeland, the Holy Family takes up its abode in a despised corner of the least desirable province of Palestine (John i, 46). Later, Jesus earns his livelihood as a mechanic (Mark vi, 3), and is looked upon askance, all his life, as the son of a carpenter of Nazareth (Matt. xiii, 55).

During the years of his public activity also he lives in such a humble renunciation of all earthly things that he himself confesses: "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head" (Matt. viii, 20).

Humble also is his way of teaching. Far removed from imitating the verbosity, cavilling and the whole professional style of the scribes and Pharisees, he clothes his profound truths in the simple idiom of the people, and speaks in such a charming, unassuming way that even the most uneducated can understand him, and every child can catch the meaning of his metaphors and parables.

Humble also is his way of working miracles. His mighty deeds are done without any flavour of professional obtrusiveness or charlatan-like ostentation. Whether he causes the

[1] Fiebig, *Pirque aboth. Der Mischnatraktat*, 7, 43, (1906).
[2] *Aboth*, 2, 5.
[3] *Der Antichrist*, n. 43, p. 415; *Der Wille zur Macht*, n. 886, p. 115.
[4] *Der Wille zur Macht*, n. 891, p. 131.

blind to see, the lame to walk, and the deaf to hear, or whether he calls the dead to life or commands the forces of nature, all proceeds as simply and unpretendingly as if it were a matter of the most ordinary affairs of this world. And the aim of it all is only the honour of the heavenly Father and the verification of his own ambassadorship from God. When men wish to force him to work a miracle to gratify their vanity or to satisfy curiosity, he repudiates indignantly those who ask for it (Matt. xii, 39); and when the people wish to confer honour upon him on account of his miracles, and even to make him a political, Messianic king, he flees into the solitude of the mountains, and in fervent prayer renders the honour to the Father (John vi, 15).

Humility characterizes every step of his life and dominates all his thoughts. Never did a word of self-exaltation pass his lips; never did a word of flattery find in him a willing hearer. Every title which is intended merely as a form of flattery and adulation he declines (Matt. xxiii, 7).

He chooses poor fishermen for his disciples, publicans and sinners and the outcasts from Jewish society for his friends and confidants (Matt. xi, 19), heedless of the reproach that he thus treats with contempt the position of the learned class to which he seemed nevertheless to belong (Mark ii, 16). Among his disciples also he prohibits striving after rank and honours, and repudiates "the pathos of distance" by the decisive, carefully considered words: "But it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be the greater among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your minister, even as the Son of Man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a redemption for many" (Matt. xx, 26-28). Accordingly, the Lord, on the evening before his suffering, washes the feet of his disciples (the usual work of slaves), and hence can really and truly utter the words: "I am among you as he that serveth."

But the greatest depth of his humility he reveals only in his Passion and death. To take upon oneself silently and voluntarily every sort of insult and injustice, unspeakable anguish and a most ignominious death is beyond question a mark of unsurpassable humility and moral sanctity.

Plato had already seen in such conduct the fiery ordeal of his ideal man. He conceives his ideally just hero as "an honest and great-hearted man, who wishes to be good rather than seem good. First the good opinion of others must be taken from him; for, if he is thought to be just, honours and gifts will be, on that account, bestowed upon him, and it will then remain doubtful whether he is just from a love of justice or rather from a desire for the presents and honours. Therefore he must be robbed of everything except his intrinsic

justice. . . . And although he has done nothing unjust, he is yet to be held by mankind to be the most unjust of men, but neither these calumnies nor all the afflictions which may result from them should bring him to abandon in any way a spirit of calm resignation. He must rather preserve his equanimity even unto death, and let himself be considered all his life as an unjust man, in spite of his actual justice. . . . Moreover, he is finally to be scourged, tortured, put in chains, have his eyes gouged out, and after he has endured all these agonies, to be crucified or hacked in pieces."[1] Only when he has willingly submitted to all this, is it certain that he has been a perfectly just man.

In reading this description of Plato's just man, who does not think of Jesus Christ? But while the "divine" philosopher of antiquity here only dreams of an ideal justice, without even thinking of its possible realization, Jesus has realized that ideal fully and absolutely, and even far surpassed it. He knows that he possesses the highest virtue and perfection, yet he lets himself be bound like a common criminal, accused of the worst offences and condemned to the cross. He has the absolute consciousness of his Messianic calling and divine being, yet he allows inhuman miscreants to inflict upon him the punishment of scourging usually reserved for slaves, to spit upon him, to mock him in a motley garb and to crown him with thorns. He can just as well summon to his aid twelve legions of angels (Matt. xxvi, 53) as he, with a single word, can cast his enemies to the earth and justify himself; yet he preserves his silence and rejects all help (Matt. xxvi, 63).

He is the Lord of life, and has often brilliantly proved his miraculous power on both the living and the dead; yet he lets himself be led like a lamb to the slaughter, to be trodden on like a worm, and to be nailed with highwaymen to the cross of martyrdom, and he breathes out his soul amidst unspeakable torments.

How overwhelmingly true and appropriate, therefore, is proved the characterization which Jesus gives to himself in the words: "Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart" (Matt. xi, 29). The teaching, life and death of Jesus are a sublime model, in high relief, of the profoundest humility and meekness.

2. *His Intercourse with Men.*

(*a*) *His Gentleness.*

Gentleness is nothing else than humility in social intercourse with one's neighbour. It does not consist in weakness or a lack of principle or in yielding to all the views and wishes of

[1] D. Platonis *De rebus publicis, sive de justo,* lib. II, ed. Johannes Sozomenus, p. 44 (Venetiis, 1626).

one's fellow-men, any more than humility consists in a renunciation of one's own personal force and greatness. Gentleness is the moderation of anger, hate and desire for revenge; it is the passionless serenity of one who has control of himself towards those who insult him. But it is not merely serenity and freedom from passion, and it is not at all insensibility.

The quietness of the gentle has its roots in an active love of one's neighbour, its limits in one's own duty, and its purpose in the honour of God. Where one of these three things is at stake, even the most delicate gentleness must, under certain circumstances, be united with fiery ardour and burning impatience. Moses became enraged with holy indignation at the sight of the stiff-necked, idolatrous people, and yet he was "exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth" (Num. xii, 3).

So was it with Jesus. His Gospel and his whole person exhale a spirit of infinite peacefulness, repose, patience and conciliation, not the gentleness of a life sequestered from the world which does not know the perils of impatience.

Jesus "hath dwelt among us," and lived in the world and in the most active intercourse with men. There was not in the whole country a man better known to the public, none whom the masses of the people so "pressed upon," "thronged" and "importuned" as Jesus of Nazareth (Mark iii, 10, etc.). Yet Jesus constantly preserves his tranquillity and gentleness. When the disciples, after the fatigues and burdens of the day, wish to send away the mothers with their children in order that he should not be entirely exhausted, he beckons to the little ones, and with a sweet smile exclaims: "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me, for the kingdom of heaven is for such" (Matt. xix, 14).

Ingratitude and insults towards him become at times so great and unbearable that the disciples urge: "Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them?" But he turns and rebukes them: "You know not of what spirit you are" (Luke ix, 55). The lack of understanding, the narrow-mindedness and "little faith" of the apostles put the gentleness of the Master to so hard and continual a test that he breaks out in the words: "O faithless and perverse generation, how long shall I be with you, how long shall I suffer you?" (Matt. xvii, 16). Nevertheless, he patiently endures his trials with them, and bears with their weakness and perverseness with inexhaustible patience.

Nothing seems to have exerted upon Jesus more attraction, and nothing apparently pleased him more, than things esentially mild, quiet and gentle. His eyes rest with delight continually on peaceful scenes and on the silent, noiseless miracles of God in nature. His heart is drawn to those of gentle

disposition, to children, to fishermen on the shore, and to the bitter anguish of patient sufferers.

His dearest and constant desire is a wish for peace and unity, and into every house which he enters peace always enters with him. His words, although so forceful and commanding, contain the joyful message of gentleness and peace: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for justice' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v, 4, 7, 9).

"His spirit moves always at a height, whereon the sun of divinity never sets, rising far above the gloomy mists and clouds of passionate excitement. He is agitated by no uncontrollable emotion, nor carried away by any ebullition of anger. So exalted is he that passion cannot stir even the outermost circle of his spiritual life."[1] His soul is like a fathomless and tranquil mountain lake, from which eternal sunshine is reflected, and the waves of which no storm can agitate to its depths.

And yet, with all this serenity and gentleness, Jesus can act very decidedly, reprove severely and display anger majestically.

To the crafty emissaries of the wily Herod, he gives the answer: "Go and tell that fox, Behold, I cast out devils and do cures to-day and to-morrow and the third day I am consummated" (Luke xiii, 32). To Peter he gives the unusually sharp reprimand: "Go behind me, Satan; thou art a scandal unto me, because thou savourest not the things that are of God, but the things that are of men" (Matt. xvi, 23). Upon the Pharisees his words fall like blows from a club: "Hypocrites, serpents, brood of vipers, whited sepulchres, mad and blind leaders" (Matt. xxiii, 1-33). Many woes are called down by him upon the cities of Corozain, Bethsaida, Capharnaum and Jerusalem (Matt. xi, 21-24). In his purification of the Temple he makes a whip of small cords and drives out the sellers of oxen and sheep, together with their animals, scatters the coin of the money-changers, overturns their tables and says in substance to those who sell doves: "Remove these things, and make not my Father's house a den of thieves" (Matt. xxi, 12, 13). These are certainly earnest, thrilling and even bitter words.

But they are all dictated by the purest altruism, by love of God and men, by his Messianic consciousness—not from personal irritation or excitement. Jesus is indignant at the evil which he sees, but not because that evil is done to him personally.

The well-meaning disciple who would save him from death

[1] Franz Hettinger, *Apologie des Christentums*, ii, 8th ed., p. 456.

receives just as sharp and even sharper a reproof than does the princely tyrant who seeks to intimidate him with threats of death and to restrain him from his redemptive work in Judea, for both are aiding the plans of his satanic adversary and are opposing the ways of God. He reprimands the Pharisees because they have falsified the divine law and kept the people back from the kingdom of God. He shows them all their wickedness and depravity in order to alarm and convert them, even though he may thereby expose himself to the bitterest persecution and death. His heart-moving lamentation resounds over the cities, not because they have despised and disappointed him, but because they have not repented and reformed, and because they "have not known the things that belong unto their peace."

And where his person does not even remotely come into question, he nevertheless executes his judgement upon the Temple desecrators simply out of zeal for the house of God. "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up," the Psalmist had prophesied concerning him (lxviii, 10). Zeal for the house and kingdom of God is indeed the only rule of conduct in the life of Jesus. And this is the wonderful thing about his conduct: even when he argues, is moved by anger and must punish, even in the moments of his highest moral indignation, there is never a trace of egoism, personal irritation or desire for vengeance.

Thus even the melancholy, bitter and apparently hard words and actions of Jesus to which injudicious or malevolent critics object,[1] become a confirmation of his essentially gentle disposition.

When it comes finally to the real, supreme test of his gentleness—namely, his personal behaviour towards his calumniators, enemies and captors—what astonishing and truly humanly divine gentleness confronts us. With what superhuman serenity does he bear the wounds of disappointed friendship! With untiring, heavenly patience Jesus had trained the twelve disciples, initiated them into the deepest secrets of his heart, and made them his most intimate friends. And now, at the Last Supper, while he is giving them the highest proof of his love, there comes from his gentle heart the overwhelming accusation that he has nourished a viper in his bosom: "One of you shall betray me" (Matt. xxvi, 21). Yet not a word of reproof is uttered to the traitor Judas, who is present; indeed, in order to protect him from injury, he does not say openly who the wretch is.[2] He allows him

[1] Albert Dulk, *Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu,* ii, p. 132 (Stuttgart, 1884); Ed. v. Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testaments,* 68, (1905); opposed, Karl Hennemann, *Die Heiligkeit Jesu,* 118 (1898); Herman Schell, *Apologie des Christentums,* ii. p. 201 (1908).

[2] John alone learns it from a silent sign (John xiii, 22).

to join in celebrating this feast of kindred souls, and only hints to him confidentially so that none of those at table can remark it, what he really means: "That which thou dost, do quickly" (John xiii, 27, 28).

Some hours later, Judas came at the head of an armed band, stepped up to the Master, and said: "Hail, Rabbi," and kissed him (Matt. xxvi, 47). Yet even for this satanic crime Jesus has no word of blame, only a cry of disappointed friendship: "Judas, dost thou betray the Son of Man with a kiss?" (Luke xxii, 48).

Peter, who is most excited by the act of treachery, and whom Jesus had to restrain from downright violence at the time of the arrest (John xviii, 10); Peter, whom Jesus had distinguished before all the other disciples, denies his Lord with oaths and curses shamefully soon after the scene in Gethsemani, declaring: "I know not the man of whom you speak" (Matt. xxvi, 29). "Then the Lord turned and looked upon Peter" with a glance of infinite sorrow, gentleness and forgiveness, which pierced the prince of the apostles to the depths of his soul, and moved him in a moment to repentant tears (Luke xxii, 61).

Jesus stands before his accusers and judges—the Lamb of God before ravening wolves. It is a thrilling spectacle, full of sublime beauty; his humble attitude, his quiet, suffering, patient face, his closed lips, his holy silence—all exhale the beauty of heavenly patience and gentleness. He speaks only when duty and truth compel him to do so; but for his self-defence, in the whole history of the Passion, he scarcely utters a word. Depraved and suborned scoundrels bring false witness against the innocent one, but he maintains his silence. The high priest, Caiphas, steps forth and cries: "Answerest thou nothing to the things that are laid to thy charge by these men? But Jesus held his peace and answered nothing" (Mark xiv, 60). The Roman Governor, Pilate, cannot understand why the man does not defend himself, of whom it had been nevertheless said that "he speaks powerfully." He asks the accused: "Dost thou not hear how great testimonies they allege against thee?" But "he answered him not to any word, so that the governor wondered exceedingly" (Matt. xxvii, 13). The Tetrarch Herod listens to the crimes which the priests and scribes attribute to Jesus: but Jesus is silent. Herod seeks by many questions to compel him to defend himself; but "he answered him nothing. . . . And Herod with his army set him at naught and mocked him" (Luke xxiii, 8-11).

The gentle, divine Saviour is then delivered over to his executioners, to a rough pagan band of soldiers. In order to satisfy their ungovernable hate for the condemned man they strip and scourge him. Every nerve of Christ's body quivers with horrible pain, every fibre bleeds, the skin of his

back hangs in strips under the lashes. Still he is silent and endures all—he, who with a breath could lay his torturers prostrate. Now they put upon him in mockery a robe, press down deep into his head a crown of thorns, thrust a reed, as a sceptre, into his right hand in order to ridicule him as a pretended king, then snatch the reed from him, beat his thorn-pierced head with it, mock him with genuflexions, and spit in his face (Matt. xxvii, 27-31). Their filthy spittle must have burned in his soul like a red-hot brand, and every word of mockery must have been to him a cruel stab; indeed, this shameful degradation and derision was the most awful insult that could be offered to the Messiah-king and Son of God. Yet with all this, no word of complaint fell from his divine lips, no syllable of self-defence and vindication of his honour, no utterance of vengeance against his tormentors.

And now he has hung for hours on the cross. The mockery still continues. "If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross. . . . He saved others, himself he cannot save. This man calleth Elias." So railed the soldiers, the priests and the scribes, as well as the coxcombs of the city, who looked on and passed by (Matt. xxvii, 39-50). Jesus, however, said: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Luke xxiii, 34).

This is simply overpowering—a gentleness and meekness which no human strength can attain to, no human mind can grasp, no human tongue express. This meekness made, indeed, such an impression upon those about him, that, many years later, Paul adjures the Corinthians by the "meekness and gentleness of Christ"; and Peter, full of admiration, reminds his readers that Jesus "when he was reviled, did not revile; when he suffered, he threatened not" (1 Pet. ii, 23).

The gentleness of Jesus becomes the more astonishing the more we consider his delicate sensibility. Ah, if only his heart had been filled with apathy and not so sensitive to mockery and derision, to suffering! If he had, like the Stoics, at least pretended to confront suffering and injustice coldly, without pain, interest or emotion.[1] But with him the contrary was the case. No tenderer heart, no more richly endowed and sensitive nature, ever existed than his. The suffering of pain and injustice brings all the fibres of his finely strung, lofty soul into vibration, and shows itself outwardly in a touchingly sincere, frank and affecting way. We have only to think of Gethsemani, of the meeting with the traitor Judas, and with Peter in his moment of weakness, and of his words on the cross. And in proportion as he feels in every nerve his own anguish, so is he also full of pity, sympathy and compassion for his suffering fellow-men.

[1] In regard to this Stoic virtue, see Cicero, *Quaest. Tuscul*, ii, 12, 29; iii, 10, 21; Seneca, *De constantia*, xiv, 123; Horace, *Ep.*, 1, 1.

(*b*) *His Compassion.*

Pity and compassion are just as much a fundamental characteristic of his nature as meekness and gentleness. In several passages of the Gospels it is said that he was filled with profound compassion either for the distress of all the people, or for that of individuals among them. "He had compassion on them" (Matt. xiv, 14; xv, 32, etc.). This was plainly seen in his appearance. His countenance changed. His words were full of tenderest sympathy. His eyes grew dim, or even filled with tears (Luke xix, 41; John xi, 33, 35). He forgot everything else and thought only of how he could alleviate and help. "He was moved with compassion."

He felt compassion for the afflicted and sorrowful. He could see no affliction of any kind without being moved, and without thinking of practical assistance, or at least of consolation. He pronounced blessed both those who mourn and those who assuage grief (Matt. v, 3; xxv, 35). His heart was most moved by the sorrow of those who stood by the coffin of their beloved dead. When he perceived the despair of the widow of Naim, whose only son was being borne to the grave, he was "moved with mercy toward her, and said to her, Weep not" (Luke vii, 13). Then he steps forward to the bier, by his omnipotent words awakes the young man to life, and delivers him to his mother. The chief of the synagogue, Jairus, falls at the feet of the Saviour in the open street and begs him to help his little daughter who is dying. Jesus immediately leaves the crowd which is waiting for him, and hastens to the deathbed, where, indeed, the grim messenger has already appeared. "Weep not," he says sympathetically to the relatives. Then he causes the professional mourning women and musicians to leave the room, and calls the maiden back to life (Mark v, 22).

Still more touching is his grief over his dead friend, Lazarus, in Bethania, and his compassion for the surviving sisters, Mary and Martha. When Jesus saw how they wept, he "groaned in the spirit and troubled himself. . . . Jesus wept. The Jews therefore said, Behold how he loved him. . . . Jesus therefore, again groaning in himself, cometh to the sepulchre," calls the dead to life and dries his own tears and those of the others (John xi, 35).

He had compassion on the sick and suffering. The witnesses of his almighty power cannot often enough repeat this: "Jesus had compassion on the blind and touched their eyes, and immediately they saw" (Matt. xx, 34); "And Jesus, having compassion on him, stretched forth his hand and touching him saith to him, I will; be thou made clean" (Mark i, 41); "Jesus had compassion on the multitude, and healed their sick" (Matt. xiv, 14); "And Jesus went about all the

cities and towns . . . healing every disease and every infirmity" among the people (Matt. ix, 35). He cannot eat till he has healed in the dining-hall the man afflicted with dropsy, despite the fact that it was the Sabbath day, and in spite of the anger of the Pharisees who were present (Luke xiv, 2-4). Even in the synagogue, in the midst of his discourse, he stops in order to heal the man with the withered hand and also the infirm woman.

Not once does he shrink back from lepers, nor does he regard leprosy, as the Jews did, as a sign and punishment of sin. He does not repel, as it was the custom and the law to do, even the poorest who are affected with this frightful malady. Rather does he heal them and think of them by preference, and he recommends them specially to the apostles (Matt. x, 8). Hence in the Middle Ages lepers came to be known as "God's sick." The Evangelists frequently remark, "And he healed them all," however numerous they might be who came or were brought to him—the sickly, the fever-stricken, the paralyzed, the suffering and the lepers.

In fact, such kindness did he show to the sick that the disciples saw fulfilled in the Saviour the prophetic words: "He took our infirmities and bore our diseases (Matt. viii, 17). In the parable of the good Samaritan, Jesus elevates the care of the sick to a genuine service of God and to a distinctive mark of perfect love for one's neighbour (Luke x, 30-37).

He was moved to pity also for the poor and needy. It is astonishing how open his eye, hand and heart were to all who were in want. "And seeing the multitudes, he had compassion on them, because they were distressed, and lying like sheep that have no shepherd" (Matt. ix, 36). All day long he preaches in the desert without food or rest, and without thinking that he needs refreshment more than his hearers. Yet he does not forget the hungry people: "I have compassion on the multitude . . . because they have not what to eat: and I will not send them away fasting, lest they faint in the way" (Matt. xv, 32).

He remembers too the debtors, and especially the hopeless prisoners for debt (Matt. xviii, 21-35). Their cry of distress and the cruel sentence of their judges ring in his ears and become for him an eloquent metaphor for sin itself and the misery of sin, and even furnish him with a pathetic petition in his prayer, "Our Father": "Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors" (Matt. vi, 12).

The poor in general are the special objects of his affection. He pronounces the poor blessed, and demands from the rich that they be at least poor in spirit and disposition (Matt. v, 3). He is come to preach the Gospel to the poor (Matt. xi, 5). He calls the poor before all others into the kingdom of heaven

(Luke vi, 20). The offering of the poor widow is to him of more value than the richest gifts (Luke xxi, 3). Whosoever giveth to the poor lays up treasure in heaven (Matt, xix, 21). He places the giving of alms above the fulfilling of the rules of the ritual. Indeed, he suspends the latter in order to promote the former.

He cannot bear to see wealth and poverty, luxury and misery side by side. He pities the rich, since many of them are lost, because they are hard-hearted and avaricious : " Woe to the rich. It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven " (Matt. xix, 24). On the hard-hearted rich man he pronounces the sentence of condemnation, while he promotes the beggar Lazarus to be an heir of heaven in compensation for his privations here (Luke xvi, 23).

Yes, the Saviour, himself poor, who had not where to lay his head, nevertheless gives alms from the little which is presented to him (John xii, 6, 8; xiii, 29).

Moreover, he is moved with compassion for the sinner, the spiritually poor, more than for the physically needy. In this is revealed the whole yawning gulf which separated the Saviour from the official teachers of the Law and the train of their legally righteous followers. The sinners, among whom in particular the fornicators and the publicans were indicated, were either formally excluded from the community or were regarded by public opinion as renegades. The strict Jew kept himself scrupulously aloof from them, because he looked upon them as unclean and regarded any intercourse with them as defiling. Exclusion, social outlawry, contempt, hostility, damnation for sinners—such were the fundamental principles of every " just " Pharisee and of every " just " manner of life.

Jesus, on the contrary, mingles with sinners and publicans, and summons these, as well as the rest of the people, to a change of heart and to enter into the kingdom of God.

He even proclaims, as the astounding leading principles of his work, that the divine, redemptive message of the Son of Man is addressed, first and above all, to sinners (Mark ii, 17); that he is not sent to quench the smoking flax, or to break completely the bruised reed, but to restore, to save and to redeem what was lost (Matt. xii, 20). " For God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but have life everlasting. For God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world may be saved by him " (John iii, 16, etc.). Indeed, his compassion for sinners and his kindness to them went so far, that it was soon currently remarked by all : " Behold, he is a friend of publicans and sinners " (Matt. xi, 19).

Nothing more was needed to make him a stumbling-stone to every partisan of the scribes and Pharisees. Christ's intercourse with and forgiving compassion for the publican Levi (Matt. ix, 9-13), and for the "prince of the publicans" and "chief of sinners," Zaccheus (Luke xix, 1-10), his eating with sinners and their coming in crowds to the discourses of the Master, called forth a veritable storm of pharisaical indignation; but Jesus admonishes them with a reference to the divine mercy: "Go then and learn what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice" (Matt. ix, 13).

The exercise of this divine mercy to the sinner is the aim of his life: "They that are whole need not the physician, but they that are sick. I came not to call the just, but sinners to penance (Luke v, 31, 32); "The Son of Man is come to save that which was lost" (Matt. xviii, 11). He expresses his compassion for sinners still more forcibly in the touching parables of the strayed sheep and the lost coin (Luke xv, 3-10). As the shepherd leaves the ninety and nine sheep in order, at the risk of his own life, to seek the hundredth in the desert, and bring it back on his shoulders to the sheepfold; and as the poor woman seeks all day long her lost piece of money, and finds it again with overflowing joy, so Jesus seeks and finds sinners: "I say to you, that even so there shall be joy in heaven upon one sinner that doth penance more than over ninety-nine just who need not penance. . . . So I say to you, there shall be joy before the angels of God upon one sinner doing penance" (Luke xv, 7-10).

Not even the sinners who have fallen most deeply are excluded from his mercy. On the contrary, they are the specially favoured objects of his kindness, sympathy and forgiving love. The sinful woman who, in the house of the Pharisee, anoints his feet and wipes them with her hair receives the comforting words: "Thy sins are forgiven thee. . . . Go in peace" (Luke vii, 36-50). The woman taken in adultery, also, who is to be led out to be stoned by the zealots, is saved by Jesus, and goes away converted as he says: "Go, and now sin no more" (John viii, 1-11). In the parable of the prodigal son (Luke xv, 11-32), Jesus finally describes the exuberant and almost measureless joy of a father who finds again his son who had fallen into sin and shame. So Jesus does not withdraw his compassion even from one who has thrown himself away and is repudiated and given up by all. In proportion to the degree of sinful degradation is also the boundless joy of the divine Friend of sinners, as often as a prodigal son returns to his heart.

He is moved with compassion for all who claim his benevolence or in any way need his help. The chosen ones of his heart are indeed the poor and the despised, yet he embraces in his goodwill also the rich and distinguished.

He instructs the illustrious councillor Nicodemus with especial care (John iii, 1, etc.); wealthy Pharisees, as well as publicans, are honoured by his presence; he gives his aid to the highly ranked Jairus and to the centurion of Capharnaum; and he was attracted to the rich man because he inquired after the way to eternal life (Mark x, 17-22).

He is sent first indeed to the children of the house of Israel, but he does not allow his benevolence to be limited by his racial origin. He interests himself also in the Samaritan woman with great compassion, and listens to the pagan Syro-Phœnician woman who begs him to perform a miracle (Matt. xv, 21-28). His sympathy goes out to his neighbour—in a word, to everyone he meets who needs assistance.

Jesus, it is true, also sometimes rejected petitions (Mark v, 19; Luke xii, 14); but he never refused anyone a request for mercy and help. The limit of his compassion is only the limit of the need of it. All the oppressed and those who sigh under some grievous yoke are invited by him to come to him to be refreshed, and to let their burden be taken from them or, at least, made lighter (Matt. xi, 28-30); and he shows this compassionate willingness to render assistance universally and as the characteristic function of his life: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me. Wherefore he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the contrite of heart, to preach deliverance to the captives and sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of reward" (Luke iv, 18, 19). For the realization of this merciful plan everything in his life is made of use—his entire strength, his meditations, his prayers and works, his words, his hands (Matt. viii, 3; xx, 34), even his saliva (John ix, 6), and the hem of his garment (Matt. ix, 20).

Moreover, he impresses the need of this sublime compassion on his disciples: "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful" (Luke vi, 36). Works of mercy will be, he says, decisive in the day of judgement. The merciful will hear from the lips of Jesus the verdict: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, possess you the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger, and you took me in; naked, and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison, and you came to me. . . . Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me" (Matt. xxv, 34, 36, 40).

The infinitely merciful, divine Saviour puts himself, therefore, in the position of suffering humanity, feels all their sufferings as if they were his own, and accepts mercy shown to the poorest of his brethren as if it had been shown to him:

"I was hungry, thirsty, a stranger, naked, sick and a prisoner; and ye have fed, given to drink, sheltered, clothed and visited me." Even the compassion of God could go no further. Such mercy as that of Jesus the world will never be able to acquire.

(c) *His Love of his Neighbour.*

We have, however, said too little in speaking only of the compassion of Jesus. The expression "compassion" is not sufficiently indicative of the heart. It does not point out with enough clearness the feeling with which the divine Saviour carried into effect his merciful benevolence. The Greek verb, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι, which the Evangelists almost always use in speaking of the compassion of Jesus, and which is not customary in this sense either in the classical Greek or in the Old Testament, means much more than "he was moved with compassion," or that he had pity. It signifies commiserating someone with one's whole heart and soul out of the purest goodness and the deepest sentiment of love. It should mean rather, "he was deeply grieved" over those who mourned and were sad, over the sick and suffering, the poor and needy, the sinful—in short, over the whole people.

Far from merely assisting them outwardly, his merciful benevolence proceeds much more from an inward feeling of love—from the power of love and from a need of love. The motive of love is the source from which his beneficent actions flow, and these bear everywhere the character of love put into practice, of active charity, of compassion in the noblest sense of the word.

Hence it is said of Jesus not merely that "he did good," or "he went about doing good" (Acts x, 38), but also "he was good" (John vii, 12). It was "the appearance of the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour" (Titus iii, 4) which made of his life a continual, wellnigh endless chain of good deeds. Wherever we come in touch with the mighty deeds of our Lord we hold in our grasp, as it were, this warm, living and life-creating love, and not a mere rendering of assistance in which we do not feel the pulsation of affection. Love is also the secret and the explanation of his humble patience and his compassionate activity. His life is nothing but the embodiment of love, an uninterrupted flashing up and glowing of that fire of love which consumed him. On a thousand occasions the rays from this hidden fire burst forth from his heart as from a sun. The whole Gospel becomes, to quote Paul, a unique "appearance of the love and kindness of God our Saviour" (Titus iii, 4).

On the occasion of the Last Supper, however, and in his last loving words, this sun breaks through the gathering

clouds and discloses its infinite warmth and beauty (John xv-xviii). Love at the end and love till the end—so does the Evangelist John superscribe his report of that feast of love: "Before the festival day of the Pasch, Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to the Father, having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them unto the end" (John xiii, 1).

"Into that one small but mighty word 'love' the Evangelist sums up all that the Lord said and did on that evening. In that word he gives us the key to the mysteries of that final meal. It all formed together the last and the highest proof of love, which the Lord had reserved for this evening, and which 'with desire he had desired' to give (Luke xxii, 15) when the approach of the sacrificial hour made his heart beat faster. Love moved him to the preparation of this quiet, sacred, intimate celebration. Love was the soul embodied in the humble act of washing his disciples' feet. Above all, love was the soul of that most holy institution which was introduced by this act—the institution of the feast of the New Covenant. . . . Love, too, is the only speaker on that evening. It takes leave of the disciples in the most touching manner; and after it has enjoined everything upon them, and has comforted, encouraged, and strengthened them in the faith, it folds its hands and addresses to the Father in heaven its evening death-prayer. Love draws back the curtain before the dark future in which the loving ones are to separate. Death is approaching, murder lurks in waiting, weakness denies and flees; but love points upwards to the heavenly glory with the Father, to a glory of renewed intercourse and an eternal reunion. In short, love is the fragrant sentiment which pervades all the acts and words and all the consolation, sorrow and anguish of this evening."[1]

The commandment to love one another, the continuance of that warmth of love which emanated from Jesus,[2] the Saviour himself finally points out as the aim of all that he has brought to and enjoined upon mankind: "This is my commandment . . . this I command you, that you love one another" (John xv, 12, 17); "A new commandment I give unto you: That you love one another as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for another" (John xiii, 34, 35).

The apostles are so convinced of this unique importance of love that they are never weary of impressing it upon the disciples and followers of Jesus: "And this commandment

[1] Paul Keppler, *Unseres Herrn Trost*, p. 1 (1887); Moritz Meschler, *Zum Charakterbild Jesu*, 77 (1908).

[2] See Wilhelm Lütgert, *Die Liebe im Neuen Testament*, 112-127, 160-164 (1905); K. Thieme, *Die Bedeutung der Nächstenliebe bei Jesus*, in *Christliche Welt*, pp. 771-779 (1909).

we have from God, that he who loveth God love also his brother" (1 John iv, 21); "This is his commandment, that we should love one another, as he hath given commandment unto us" (1 John iii, 23); "Love one another, for he that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law" (Rom. xiii, 8); "Love is the fulfilling of the law" (Rom. xiii, 10); "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should prophesy and should know all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing" (1 Cor. xiii, 1-3). With this soul-moving description, Paul interprets only that one word of the Master in the sense that for Christ and in Christ alone love includes everything: "That is his commandment."

Indeed, it is not difficult to adduce historical evidence for the fact that Christ and Christ only first made love the foundation of all religion and morality. Although the Old Testament does not overlook love for one's neighbour (Lev. xix, 18), it does not include in it the principal commandment. That enjoins only love to Jehovah. Christ, however, asserts that that is indeed the first commandment, "but the other is like unto it: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mark xii, 31). The rabbinical synagogue and the rabbinical tradition connected, it is true, the command to love one's neighbour with the commandment to love God,[1] but they understood the former only as an ethical ornament, and interpreted it, as will be shown directly, so narrow-mindedly, that it easily became compatible with the greatest uncharitableness.

Still less are the non-biblical religions and moral philosophies of the world founded on the law of love. Plato, indeed, praises love. Yet his sort of love for one's neighbour does not deserve the name. It tends to selfishness and sensuality. The Stoa boasted that it had renounced all sentiments and affections. The Stoic knows no pity nor anything of a loving sensibility for others. His friendliness and goodness towards everyone are nothing but apathy and callousness towards all, even towards wife and children, because all such things are only "loaned table-furnishings" (Seneca). Buddha brought it only to a blunt, passive sympathy, which never becomes productive of love and compassion. Schopenhauer and the Neo-Buddhists have remained true to their master. Friedrich Nietzsche actually wrote the horrible words: "The weak and the defective should perish; that is the first principle of *our* love for our fellow-men. And one should even assist

[1] See Lütgert, pp. 15, 24-32.

them to perish. What is more harmful than a vile degenerate of any kind? Christianity is equivalent to sympathy with all the defectives and weaklings."[1] To Christ alone is love the highest of all things.

And this means love in its highest perfection. Not in vain does the Apostle to the Gentiles long "to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, to know also the charity of Christ, which surpasseth all knowledge" (Eph. iii, 18). The love of Jesus Christ is, really, the most comprehensive, the most tender and the most unselfish of all love.

Jewish piety put as narrow limits as possible to love of one's neighbour;[2] out of love of God, but out of an absolute misconception of that love.

The theology of the Pharisees maintained that Jehovah loved the Jew only, and, for that matter, only the righteous Jew, while he hated everyone who in any way opposed, or was hostile to, the pious Israelite. On this horrible idea of God the law concerning love was based. One is to love those whom God loves, and hate those whom God hates. Religious duty is, therefore, hate for the Am-Haarez, or non-Israelite, and also for the unjust or sinner, even of Jewish origin; in the last analysis also for the just Israelite who trespasses against his Rabbi.[3]

In contrast to such teachings, Jesus practises and requires love to foreigners or non-Jews as well as for the "Children of Abraham." "If you love them that love you, what reward shall ye have? Do not even the publicans this? And if you salute your brethren only, what do you more? Do not also the heathens this?" (Matt. v, 46, 47). Thus does Jesus express himself in regard to the national narrow-mindedness. Then he shows in the parable of the Good Samaritan that not only the compatriot, but even the most despised foreigner is our brother and neighbour (Luke x, 30-37), and consequently possesses a claim to our love. Mankind had never before heard such a doctrine.

Moreover, the love of Jesus knows no difference between just and unjust, pious and sinners. The Saviour prohibits nothing more strenuously than the pharisaical exclusiveness towards sinners and publicans. Nothing angers him so much as the hypocritical scrupulosity, which "pays tithes of mint and anise, and cummin, and omits the weightier things of the law—mercy" (Matt. xxiii, 23); "Be children of your Father

[1] *Der Antichrist,* n. 2; p. 360 (1906).

[2] In contrast to the Mosaic Law, which prescribes love also for the stranger, calumniator and enemy. Exod. xxiii, 4; Lev. xix, 17, 33; Job xxxi, 29; 4 Kings vi, 21, 22; Prov. xxiv, 17; xxv, 21.

[3] For proofs of this, see Lütgert, *id.*, 28-32; also Erich Bischoff, *Jesus und die Rabbinen,* 63-66, 106 (1905).

who is in heaven, who maketh his sun to rise upon the good and bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust" (Matt. v, 45).

The love of Jesus, therefore, does not stop even at enemies and calumniators, but it is precisely in regard to them that it wins its greatest triumphs: "You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy. But I say to you, Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you. . . . Bless them that curse you and pray for them that calumniate you" (Matt. v, 43-45; Luke vi, 27-29). Forgive, forgive, however great the injustice suffered may be (Matt., xviii, 22), and as often as it may be repeated (Luke xvii, 3; Matt. xviii, 15, 21).

While the rabbinical theology was narrow and hard in its action and never pardoned unrequested,[1] because it imagined God to be equally hard and merciless, Jesus makes forgiving love to be the motive and the measure of the divine grace and mercy towards us: "If you will forgive men their offences, your heavenly Father will forgive you also your offences. But if you will not forgive men, neither will your Father forgive you your offences" (Matt. vi, 14).

Thus does the love of Jesus overcome all barriers between nations and religions, between the righteous and sinners, between friends and foes. He broadens brotherly love, or the love of one's neighbour, to an all-embracing love of humanity in the full sense of the word, as the Prince of the Apostles significantly expresses it: "Minister . . . in godliness, love of brotherhood: and in love of brotherhood, charity. . . . He that hath not these things with him is blind" (2 Pet. i, 7-9).

Still more astonishing is the warmth, heartiness and tenderness with which Jesus loves the whole human family. He includes friends and enemies, relatives and strangers in such a heartfelt, tender love as we hardly find elsewhere even among men who are united by the closest ties of spirit or of blood.

He condescends to the humblest, and seeks to make happy the least esteemed. He loves children, and presses them to his heart with such fondness that all crowd around him (Matt. xix, 14). He folds them in his arms, blesses them, and utters those wonderful words indicative of his love of children: "Whosover shall receive one such child as this in my name, receiveth me; and whosoever shall receive me, receiveth not me, but him that sent me" (Mark ix, 36).

The purest and heartiest friendly affection unites him to the brother and sisters—Martha, Mary and Lazarus—at Bethania

[1] Lütgert, *id.*, 31.

(John xi, 1, etc.), and also to his disciples (John xv, 15). He even receives the traitor with a friendly word and friendly kiss (Matt. xxvi, 50), and regards all who believe on him as his "brothers" (John xx, 17). He calls the unknown paralytic "son," and addresses the woman with the issue of blood as his "daughter" (Matt. ix, 2, 22). Over the ungrateful city of Jerusalem, which delivers him to death, he sheds tears of compassion, and with an aching heart laments its present blindness and future destruction. "If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day, the things that are to thy peace. . . . Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered together thy children as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldst not" (Luke xix, 41; Matt. xxiii, 37). Forgetful of his own frightful suffering, he says consolingly to the women who lament his fate on the way to Calvary: "Weep not over me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (Luke xxiii, 28).

The hours of martyrdom on the cross are a revelation of such tender love that we cannot but be deeply moved by it. He sees standing at his very feet in indescribable sorrow his own mother and the disciple John, whom he loved above all others, and he bequeathes to them the dearest and the last objects which remain at his disposal: "Behold thy son," he says to Mary, and to the disciple, "Behold thy mother" (John xix, 26). He also hears the last gasps of the malefactor crucified with him, and gives to him the comforting assurance: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise" (Luke xxiii, 43). He listens to those who, in a great circle about his cross, revile him, the same who a few hours before had cried, "Crucify him, crucify him," and who now seek to satisfy their devilish hate completely by their foolish mockery —and he uses his last moments for a word and a deed of the most tender love in a request for their pardon.

Yet with all this warmth and tenderness, the love of Jesus is never weak and sentimental, but, on the contrary, strong and forceful when necessary, even to the point of relentlessly demanding: "If any man . . . hate not his father and mother and wife and children and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke xiv, 26). The only consideration and motive for his love is the welfare, temporal and, above all, eternal, of those he loves. That, indeed, is what is highest and divinest in his love. He elevates and ennobles it to the purest sentiment of benevolence, to unselfish, self-renouncing devotion, to heroic self-sacrifice for humanity.

Natural love can never wholly free itself from self-interest and self-seeking. It loves because it finds pleasure and gratification in the object loved, or, at all events, because it hopes

for a return of love and gratitude. Jesus loves, however, only for the sake of loving and to do us good. He seeks to become eyes for the blind, ears for the deaf, and the cry for help on the lips of those whose tongues were bound. He seeks to diffuse love in cases where there is no prospect of either thanks or reward, for "If you do good to them who do good to you, what thanks are to you? for sinners also do this" (Luke vi, 33). He tries in a thousand ways and by numberless sacrifices to meet our wishes and to be serviceable to us (Matt. xx, 28), and to spend and deny himself for us.

Whoever reads the Gospels is filled with awe at the revelation of this most unselfish love in the life of the Saviour. Even the bitterest enemies of Jesus, the high priests and scribes, standing beside the cross, must, albeit unwillingly, acknowledge his complete self-resignation: "He saved others, himself he cannot save" (Matt. xxvii, 42). The beloved disciple and Evangelist stands overwhelmed by this scene of the martyrdom of the crucified on Calvary, and with tear-dimmed eyes repeats the words of the Master: "God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son" (John iii, 16).

He gave to us the great commandment that we should love our neighbour as ourselves, but he loved us more than he loved himself: "He loved us and gave himself for us" (Gal. ii, 20; i, 4). He demanded from us only that we should follow his precepts in order to be sure of his friendly love; yet he wished to gain our friendship at the price of his own heroic love: "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (John xv, 13). He admonishes us that we should all love one another as brothers (Matt. xxiii, 8), and compares his love for us to mother love, which no other human love surpasses, and which is itself a picture and example of the love of God for man (Isa. xlix, 15). Finally, Jesus declares that his love resembles that childlike love which he has for the Father and which the Father has for him: "As the Father hath loved me, I also have loved you; abide in my love" (John xv, 9, 12).

This alone makes the unexampled love of Jesus towards us comprehensible. The love of Jesus is the love of the Son of God; it flows out from the heart of the Father, pours itself into the heart of the Son, and overflows thence to humanity. Its origin and point of departure is the love of the Saviour for God the Father.

3. *His Relation to the Father.*

(*a*) *His Love of the Father.*

But the love of Jesus for humanity not only flows out from God; it also flows back to God again. Jesus loves men out of love for his Father in heaven. He loves them because God

loves them as his children (Matt. v, 45). He ministers unto them and works his miracles upon them, that the works of God might be made manifest in them, that God should be glorified through them (John xi, 4), and that they should give God the honour (Mark ii, 12). He loves them all and sacrifices himself for all, in order to gain them all for God and to bring them all to God (Matt. xx, 28; Mark x, 45). He loves men in God, and loves in men only what is godlike. Thus his love for men is entirely love for God.

Therein lies the sublimity and unique character of his love for mankind. Even Friedrich Nietzsche has felt this, and in his *Beyond Good and Evil,* says: "To love man for the sake of God has always been until now the noblest feeling, as well as the most difficult of attainment, which men have ever reached. Whosoever the man may have been who first felt and experienced the fact that love of man, without some sort of sanctifying purpose behind it, is one more act of stupidity and bestiality, and that the inclination toward this love to man has first to receive its measure, its refinement, its grain of salt, and its atom of amber from a still higher inclination, however badly his tongue may have stammered it when it attempted to express such a tender emotion—should remain for us sacred and venerable for all time."

Only through the fact that Christ raised love of man to this celestial height of love of God did it become possible to put the second commandment to love in immediate proximity to the first and to make them blend into one another. Only because he loves in a child of earth the heavenly Father can he say: "The first commandment of all is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and with thy whole soul, and with thy whole mind and with thy whole strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like to it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Mark xii, 29-32). Only because he does good to men for the sake of God can he declare: "All things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them; for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii, 12). Only because he makes service to men also a service to God can he put love for one's neighbour above the observance of the Sabbath (Matt. xii, 9-14), mercy above the sacrifice in the Temple (Matt. ix, 13) and almsgiving and readiness to render help above ritual prescriptions (Matt. xv, 2-11). Whatever else stands in connection with these is blended by Jesus into one thing—love of God and love of man. "These two poles of his nature are in truth his axis."[1] His infinite compassion towards humanity; his benevolence, which knows neither measure nor limit; his whole life, full of the most universal, tenderest and most unselfish charity;

[1] H. v. Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu,* p. 95 (1907).

his whole intercourse with mankind—all these constitute a sublime monument, visible to all men, of the love of Jesus for his Father in heaven.

His intercourse also with God's unconscious creation is pervaded and filled by the inspiration of the love of God. He cannot direct his gaze towards the wonders of nature without having his thoughts soar towards the Father in heaven and his heart vibrate with the sweetest harmonies of love. The smallest and commonest natural objects and phenomena evoke in him the tenderest feelings of admiration for the providence of the heavenly Father, and become eloquent advocates of trust in God and attachment to him.

He sees the sower cultivating his field, and the seed and the grain of mustard become for him symbols of the kingdom of God: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the earth. . . . It is as a grain of mustard seed, which groweth and shooteth out great branches, so that the birds of the air may dwell under the shadow thereof" (Mark iv, 26, 31). He observes the song-birds in the air, the flowers in the field, and his heart pours itself out, full of grateful love to the Father in heaven, who careth for them: "Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God? Fear not, therefore, you are of more value than many sparrows. Yea, the very hairs of your head are all numbered" (Luke xii, 6). "Consider the birds of the air; for they neither sow, nor do they reap, nor gather into barns, and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not you of much more value than they?" "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these. And if the grass of the field, which is to-day, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, God doth so clothe, how much more you, O ye of little faith?" (Matt. vi, 26-30).

Jesus admires the flood of sunlight which glorifies the world and the rain which refreshes the earth, and they become for him symbols of the perfection of God, eloquent witnesses to his goodness and love: "That you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise upon the good and bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust. . . . Be you therefore perfect as also your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. v, 45, 48). All creatures who serve God and love him are regarded by Jesus as his brothers and sisters. "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father that is in heaven, he is my brother and sister and mother" (Matt. xii, 50). All creatures are for him children of the fatherly love of God. He looks upon them all in the magical light of his love for God.

And, like his intercourse with Nature and his love for

mankind, so is his whole spiritual life nothing but love of God, joy in God, intimacy with God and blessedness in God. It is true, the commandment to love God with one's whole heart, soul and mind was not first inculcated by him. Even the name of God as "Father," by which this love is expressed in its greatest tenderness, was not new (2 Kings vii, 14; Ps. lxxxviii, 27). Yet in the Old Testament the fear of Jehovah is especially prominent, and in the synagogue the servile observance of the Law replaced love to such an extent that the Rabbi hardly dared to utter the name of the Most High. Jesus, on the contrary, knows, requires, and exercises only a childlike feeling towards God—the purest, most intimate and most heartfelt love for the Father in heaven.

The Father in heaven, his Father. No name is so often on his lips as that sweet appellation: "My Father, your Father, our Father." And never has this name been uttered so tenderly, so intimately, so reverentially and lovingly as by Jesus. It becomes for him always the collective name for the multiform and thousandfold revelation of God's love—the Father who loves us all (John xvi, 27); the Father who cares for us all (Matt. vi, 26, 32); the Father who listens to our most secret petition (Matt. vi, 6); the Father who knoweth our most hidden needs (Matt. vi, 8); the Father who rewards the most insignificant act of goodness (Matt. vi, 18); the Father who enlightens all, and reveals himself even to the smallest and humblest (Matt. xi, 25); the Father who gives for us his dearly beloved and only begotten Son, that we may not perish (John iii, 16); the Father who sends us the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Spirit of truth and love, that he may remain with us for ever (John xiv, 16). It is always infinite love which is bound up with the name of God as "Father."

Also wherever Jesus depicts God in a parable he invariably describes love. Wherever earthly paternal love is most effective, it is for him a symbol and a counterpart of the paternal love of God. The father who is owner of the vineyard, and from daybreak until the eleventh hour receives the unemployed into his service, and pays to the last the same wage as to the first out of pure kindness (Matt. xx, 1-15); the king who invites to the marriage feast of his son the blind, the lame, the cripples and the beggars from the street (Matt. xxii, 2-10); the creditor who forgives the servant who was his debtor the enormous sum of ten thousand talents (Matt. xviii, 23, etc.); the compassionate father who does not repudiate his unworthy son who has sunk into disgrace and vice, but presses him to his heart with touching love (Luke xv, 11-32)—all these are symbolic of God's fatherly love to us. Jesus, indeed, paints the greatness, goodness and love of his Father in heaven in such rich and glowing colours that the disciples long ardently and above all things to see

him: "Lord, show us the Father, and it is enough for us" (John xiv, 8).

Now Jesus could awaken such involuntary enthusiasm in his disciples only because his own heart and words were thoroughly imbued with love of the Father. He is drawn irresistibly to the Temple where the Father dwells and where his Father is spoken of: "I must be about my Father's business" (Luke ii, 49). He works, lives and breathes in essential unity and love with the Father: "I am in the Father, and the Father in me" (John xiv, 10). In joy and sorrow, in hours of devotion and of work, from his earliest youth to the days of his greatest success, his only consolation and delight is the thought of his Father in heaven. Having come to the evening before his death, all the fibres of his heart thrill with the blessed consciousness: "I go unto the Father. . . . Father, the hour is come. . . . Holy Father, I come to thee" (John xvi, 17; xvii, 1, 11, 13).

His last words on the cross are a cry of love for the Father: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke xxiii, 46). This means at the same time that the love of Jesus did not expend itself merely in emotions of joy and devotion. Rather, the sentiment of love was in him augmented by the act of love—the resolute, self-sacrificing surrender of self to the Father.

(*b*) *His Self-Surrender to the Father.*

There can be no doubt that this resignation to the divine will is the highest law of moral action and the infallible standard of holiness on the part of a creature. It brings the entire man into the service of the Most High, and makes the greatest demands on the heroic element in love. Just for this reason also it is the most difficult thing which falls to the duty of man to perform.

This difficulty was in no way diminished in the case of Jesus Christ. On the contrary, it increased for him in proportion to his superiority to humanity in general. The consciousness of his supernatural Messianic vocation, of his being the Son of God, and of his true divinity must have made that dependence and that zealous service, humanly speaking, immensely difficult for the Saviour. He was the divine Man and the divine Messiah, yet still with a creature's inferiority and humiliation under God. On the one hand, what exaltation; on the other, what an abysmal depth! Yet Jesus bridged over the chasm between these extremes, and united with his divine and Messianic consciousness such resignation to the will of the Father as has never been shown by any creature.

It was a surrender to the will of the Father of all his powers—an absolute, unwearied, zealous self-surrender. His

Father's will meant for Jesus the founding and furtherance of the kingdom of heaven. The life-task lay in the nature of Jesus, and had been directly laid upon him by the Father himself. That was sufficient to make it the fundamental thought and sole purpose of his entire life. Everything resolved itself into the fulfilment of the will of the Father in obedience and love.

And with what enthusiasm, with what fervent zeal, his words, his deeds, his prayers, his life—everything in him is aimed at the very highest ideal and that alone, to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven, to win souls for the kingdom of heaven, to increase the honour of his Father in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. ix, 8; xv, 31). He seeks also to fire them all with fervour to work with him in his Father's vineyard (Matt. ix, 37; x, 7). To all he gives the admonition: "Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. v, 16). Before them all he himself shines as a sun of truth and holiness, which has its origin in heaven and reveals the heavenly Father (John viii, 12; ix, 5). Indefatigable in his Messianic activity, he gives himself no relaxation and no recreation, nor does he occupy himself with subordinate matters: "I must work the works of him that sent me, whilst it is day; the night cometh when no man can work" (John ix, 4). In a word, the fulfilment of the divine will is the very essence and sole purpose of his life: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, that I may perfect his work" (John iv, 34).

His devotion to the Father is one of universal conformity. How inscrutable, nevertheless, were the ways of God with the Redeemer of the world! How often complicated and apparently ill-adapted to lead to the appointed aim! Why does he spend nearly all his life in isolated solitude at Nazareth when he is, nevertheless, to help the kingdom of God to attain world-supremacy? Why does he exert even his public activities for the most part in Galilee—small and despised Galilee? Why not in Jerusalem, in Athens and Rome, the foci of the Jewish and Roman civilized world? Why does he choose for his disciples and ambassadors fishermen and publicans—insignificant and socially worthless people? Why not the great, the educated, the princes and the leaders of the people and the synagogue, upon whose influence the success of his work appeared to depend? Why does he not, together with the apostles, make a conquest of the courts, the schools of the learned, the highest and most powerful social circles? Why do these and so many other problems find a place in his Messianic career?

Such problems, however, do not at all exist for Jesus. To all these questions he has only one answer—obedience and submission to the will of him who sent him. Again and again

he refers to the will of his Father as the only authoritative rule of conduct of his life (John iii, 17; iv, 34). The majestic justification of his conduct lies in his utterance: "I do always the things that please him" [the Father] (John viii, 29).

He chooses a little corner of the earth's surface for the scene of his preaching, because God has sent him only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv, 24; x, 6). Uneducated and insignificant men are called by him to be pillars of God's kingdom, because the Father has chosen them to be his instruments: "I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so hath it seemed good in thy sight" (Matt. xi, 25). He preferably interests himself in the least and lowliest, because their rescue constitutes the Father's special care and express command: "It is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish" (Matt. xviii, 14). He devotes himself to the most abandoned sinner and the most disreputable publican, because the Father sends them to him. "All that the Father giveth to me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will not cast out, because I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him that sent me" (John vi, 37).

Therefore, not one step in his life, not one word from his mouth, not one thought, not one heart-beat without the will of the Father. "I cannot of myself do anything . . . because I seek not my own will, but the will of him that sent me" (John v, 30). "I do nothing of myself, but as the Father hath taught me, these things I speak" (John viii, 28). His gaze is fixed steadily on what he sees the Father do (John v, 19). Nowhere in his whole life do we perceive any opposition to the Father or even a strained relation between his own and his Father's will. The harmony is so pure, the uniformity so perfect, that not an iota of all that the Father has laid upon him and has revealed to him about himself is to remain unfulfilled (Matt. iii, 15, etc.).

It is an instance, therefore, of absolute surrender and sacrifice of self to the Father. The voluntary acceptance of the Messianic vocation from the Father's hand meant for Jesus from the start a life of self-denial in poverty, lowliness, ignominy and pain, as well as the most agonizing death for the redemption of mankind. God had written in the documents of his revelation the destiny of the "Servant of God" with a pencil dipped in blood (see vol. i, p. 151). With clear vision and a sinking heart Jesus had read these decrees of the Father in regard to him. They lay continually, clear as the sun before his mind. They oppressed, like an incubus, the most solemn and most joyous moments of his life (Matt. xvi, 21). And as the frightful end draws near, what a humanly real and divinely grand conflict rages in his soul!

His pulse is rapid, his temples are hot with fever, in his anguish his blood oozes from the pores of his body, his soul is sorrowful even unto death, and his heart breaks out in the thrice-repeated, thrilling cry to his Father: "Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me" (Matt. xxvi, 39); "Father, if thou wilt, remove this chalice from me" (Luke xxii, 41).

But there was here no conflict between his own will and that of his Father. From the first he had willingly, and like a child, resigned himself to the Father's command to endure suffering (John x, 18). "Go behind me, Satan," he cried to the well-intentioned Peter as he wished to spare him that cup of anguish (Matt. xvi, 23). He made his journey to Jerusalem to meet his death with full consciousness of what awaited him, and yet with inward exaltation (Matt. xx, 18). The conflict on the Mount of Olives was fought only between his lower human nature, which naturally shrank from suffering, and his higher nature, which was ready to go to death with full consent and determined self-sacrifice. "The spirit indeed is willing," Jesus himself acknowledges, "but the flesh weak. . . . Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt. Not my will, but thine be done" (Matt. xxvi, 39). Then he drains the cup of suffering to the dregs.

No word of complaint escapes the sufferer on the cross. Only one thought oppresses him with an almost unbearable weight—the fact that he must renounce even the feeling of loving union with the Father: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt. xxvi, 46). Yet he overcomes even this worst and bitterest of his sorrows also, and puts the seal upon his servitude to God by the most perfect self-renunciation. Then only does he bow his head in death, after he has proved before heaven and earth that the Father's will is completely fulfilled and the sacrifice demanded of him wholly made (John xix, 28, 30).

Self-surrender can go no further. Jesus manifests such a unique moral union with God that everything indicates also his physical unity of essence with the Father.

Everything finally resolves itself into his own voluntary, divinely human affirmation: "I and the Father are one" (John x, 30).

(*c*) *His Intercourse with the Father in Prayer.*

A survey of the communion of Christ with the Father in prayer confirms and deepens this impression.[1]

We here obtain an insight into the most sacred part of the

[1] For Christ's life of prayer, see Werner, *Die Gebete Jesu und Jesu Lehre vom Gebet, nach den Evangelien, Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie,* 385-413 (7. Jahrgang, Leipzig 1881); König, *La Prière dans l'enseignement de Jésus* (Paris 1888); Deissmann, *Der Beter Jesus. Ein*

life of Jesus. The perfection of his own personal character, the perfection of Jesus in his intercourse with men, his love for the Father and his surrender of himself to him in all the situations of his life, receive their fitting conclusion, and first become entirely comprehensible in the light of that inward communion with God, which we best designate as his life of prayer. This was really a life not only of prayer, but a life in prayer, and a life originating from prayer. In fact, the whole life of the Saviour was a living prayer.

The Evangelists hardly dare to lift the veil from this most tender mystery, and they lay bare this root of the divinely human manifestation by only a span's breadth. Communion in prayer with one's God is in itself something so purely subjective that it naturally remains as far as possible between God and the petitioner alone. And yet from the little which we learn of the prayers of Jesus we receive an overpowering impression. Nowhere in the history of the world do we meet a man who has prayed so much and so perfectly as Jesus.

Jesus prayed much.

"And rising up very early, going out he went into a desert place; and there he prayed" (Mark i, 35). "And having dismissed the multitudes, he went up into a mountain alone to pray" (Matt. xiv, 23). "And he retired into the desert, and prayed" (Luke v, 16). "And it came to pass in those days that he went out into a mountain to pray, and he passed the whole night in the prayer of God" (Luke vi, 12). "And it came to pass, as he was alone praying" (Luke ix, 18). "And it came to pass that he took Peter and James and John, and went up into a mountain to pray" (Luke ix, 28). "And going out he went according to his custom to the Mount of Olives. . . . And when he was come to the place, he said to them [the disciples], Pray, lest ye enter into temptation. And he was withdrawn away from them a stone's cast, and kneeling down he prayed" (Luke xxii, 39-41).

These are only a few appropriate sidelights which the Gospels throw upon Jesus at prayer. Prayer to the Father in heaven is the soul of his Messianic activity. "It incorporates itself with this, as it were, like a spring, which, by its tension, brings continually into motion new impetus and force."[1] All his important acts of healing are set by Jesus in a framework of prayer. He prays at his entry into the world (Heb. x, 5), as a twelve-year-old boy in the Temple, at

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vergessenes Kapitel der neutestamentlichen Theologie, Christliche Welt, xiii, 701 (1899); *Evangelium und Urchristentum,* in *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion,* 95-103 (1905). Above all, however, see the thorough and admirable monograph by Jakob Margreth, *Das Gebetsleben Jesu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes* (Münster 1902).

[1] Grimm, *Leben Jesu,* ii, p. 589, 3rd ed. (1909).

his baptism (Luke iii, 21), before choosing the apostles (Luke vi, 12), before the promise of the primacy (Luke ix, 18), at the transfiguration (Luke ix, 29), before the announcement of the Eucharist (Matt. xiv, 23), and at its inauguration (Matt. xxvi, 26), after the Last Supper (Matt. xxvi, 31), in the mortal agony of Gethsemani (Matt. xxvi, 39-44), during his hours of anguish on the cross (Matt. xxvii, 46), and at his death (Matt. xxvii, 50), after his resurrection (Luke xxiv, 30), and at the ascension (Luke xxiv, 50).

He admonishes all whom he approaches to pray (Matt. vi, 6); he teaches all to pray (Luke xi, 1); and he himself prays for all—for children (Matt. xix, 13, 15), for the sick (Mark vii, 34), for Peter (Luke xxii, 31), for the disciples and believers everywhere and at all times (John xvii), and even for his crucifiers (Luke xxiii, 34).

All the results of his activity and all the proofs of divine love for him call forth ardent prayers to the Father (Matt. xi, 25). All his steps are marked by him with prayer. In Nazareth and Capharnaum, as well as in Jerusalem, he chooses for his prayers some favourite localities. In the quiet chamber (Matt. vi, 6), in the desert remote from the world, in the Temple, in retired gardens, on the mountains of Galilee and Judea we find him at prayer. The very earliest hour of the dawn (Mark i, 3) and the close of evening (Matt. xiv, 23) saw him praying, and after he had wearied himself excessively all day long for the people, he often passes the entire night without sleep in prayerful communion with the Father (Luke vi, 12).

He thus fulfils most perfectly and literally the commandment which he gave also to us: "We ought always to pray, and not to faint" (Luke xviii, 1). Nothing can draw him away from this secret communion with his Father. Nothing interrupts his intimate association with his God both in life and prayer. Rather does he compel everything, even the most distracting and mundane affairs, to come under the spell of this divine atmosphere. Everything is referred by him to God. Everything becomes God's service. This concentration of thought on the Most High is in Jesus uninterrupted, and encompasses him entirely and exclusively. His life is wholly absorbed by his piety, and is a continuous prayer and endless adoration of the Father.

Jesus prays perfectly.

His communion with God in prayer assumes the closest and most intimate form imaginable. Far from confining itself merely to a close relation with God, prayer becomes with him a childlike experimental knowledge of God as his Father, the touching conversation of a child on earth with the Father in heaven. Here we first become aware of the immense difference which exists between Jesus when at

prayer, and humanity as it had been accustomed to pray before his coming. Even if the name of God as "Father" was nothing new, nevertheless, men were neither fully conscious of their childlike relation to God, nor dared to pray to him as children. The Father in heaven was for them only the Most High God, who had created the world and is enthroned in a remote heaven above his creation. In the old, Indo-Germanic, Hamitic and Mongolian civilized peoples, as well as among the Semitic Assyrians, Babylonians, Arabs, Aramæans, Sabeans and Hebrews, the worship of God and prayer to him bore this character exclusively. Even the Old Testament (Deut. xxxii, 6) and the "Eighteen Prayers" of the Rabbis,[1] usual among the Jews in the time of Christ (*Shmone Esre*), give to God the name of "Father" only in this sense.

The Messiah was to be the first, according to prophecy, to address God as Father (Ps. lxxxix, 26). "In spite of the occasional use of the name of Father before the time of Christ, the fact remains that Jesus by this appellation first clearly expressed the real relation of his person and also that of his followers to God."[2] The prayers of Jesus to the Father made upon primitive Christendom such an overpowering impression that throughout many generations among Greek and Jewish Christians, in Jerusalem as well as in Asia Minor and Rome, the form of address used by Christ in prayer, "Abba, Father," was preserved in its original, Aramaic form (Mark xiv, 36; Rom. viii, 15). Paul, a pupil of the Pharisees, who reports this to us, gives us at the same time the reason why Christ first prayed to the Father, and why we also can pray to the Father only in Christ: "God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father" (Gal. iv, 6); "You have received the Spirit of adoption of sons [by God] whereby we cry, Abba, Father" (Rom. viii, 15). Jesus alone was the only begotten Son of God, and only through him have we become participants in God's adoption. Only he and his followers can pray thus, with him and through him, to the Father.

On this account, all the prayers of Jesus begin with the invocation of the Father. Even when he utters Old Testament prayers from the Psalms, he prefaces them with the name of "Father" (Luke xxiii, 46). He instructs us also to pray not otherwise than to the Father: "After this manner, therefore, pray ye: Our Father, who art in heaven." A child's cry to its Father—that is the keynote and fundamental senti-

[1] For the text itself, see Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, ii, 461 (1898). The final redaction of the *Shmone Esre*, in which God is twice called Father, is of post-christian origin; Schürer, *id.*, 462.

[2] Ed. v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, p. 12 (Leipzig 1901).

ment of Christ's prayers. And with what harmonious purity and fulness, with what depth and tenderness, with what confidence and reverence does this basic feeling run through his whole life of prayer. Whether his prayer is a hymn of rejoicing, a cry of exaltation and jubilation of the heart in God (Matt. xi, 25); or whether it rises to heaven in fervent gratitude and expressions of the highest trust (John xi, 41); whether it accompanies his mighty works as a supplication (Matt. xv, 36); or breaks forth from his soul as a cry of distress in the darkest night of spiritual anguish (Matt. xxvi, 39-44); whether it is a prayer for his own and the Father's glorification (John xii, 28); or his own prayer at the moment of death (Luke xxiii, 46)—it is always permeated with the most childlike sentiment towards the Father, full of attachment, love, humility and admiration.

Also when he teaches his disciples how to pray, everything is an admonition to have the same spirit of childlike simplicity, submission, intimacy and absolute confidence in their Father in heaven: "When ye pray, you shall not be as the hypocrites, that love to stand and pray in the synagogues and corners of the streets, that they may be seen by men. . . . But thou, when thou shalt pray, enter into thy chamber, and having shut the door, pray to thy Father in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret will repay thee. And when you are praying, speak not much, as the heathens; for they think that in their much speaking they shall be heard. Be you not therefore like to them. For your Father knoweth what is needful for you before you ask him" (Matt. vi, 6-8).

The "Lord's prayer," which is appended to these instructions, is the unsurpassed and unsurpassable model, by the use of which all communion which men can have in prayer with their heavenly Father will always reach the highest expression.

It is surpassed only by the high-priestly prayer (John xvii) which Jesus himself addressed to the Father, and which no one except himself could address to his Father. It initiates us into the most secret and holiest mysteries of such a sublime spirit of prayer that it is comprehensible only in one who calls to his heavenly Father not only as a human being, but also as the veritable Son of God. In this prayer the communion which his human nature has with the Father passes upward into the divine, essential relation that he bears to the Father: "Father, glorify thy Son that thy Son may glorify thee. . . . Glorify thou me with thyself, with the glory which I had before the world was with thee. . . . The men whom thou hast given me have known in very deed that I came out from thee. . . . All my things are thine, and thine are mine. . . . Holy Father, keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we also are. . . . That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me and I in thee. . . . Father, I will that with me where I am they also whom

thou hast given me may be; that they may see my glory, which thou hast given me, because thou hast loved me before the foundation of the world" (John xvii, 1, 5, 8, 10, 11, 21, 24).

In what has gone before we have sought to represent Jesus as a model of virtue by portraying separately his prominent characteristics. If we consider the Saviour in the perfection of his own personal character, if we observe him in his intercourse with his fellow-men, if we admire him in his relations with his Father in heaven, we everywhere meet with the same exalted holiness which always bears within itself the stamp of the supernatural. Not in the sense that the virtue of Jesus was not perfectly and genuinely human. On the contrary, our arguments, one after the other, demonstrate that the personality of the Saviour is wholly rooted and grounded in humanity, and everywhere presents the most flourishing and fruitful development of human greatness of character. But it cannot be explained entirely as being merely the evolution of a human individual. The summits of the separate virtues of Jesus tower always far above the creature-like and human element and reach the lofty heights where dwells divinity.

Such a passionate love of truth and truthfulness emanates from him that he is justified in saying: "I am the truth" itself—eternal, uncreated and unclouded. Such energy and fortitude ennoble him, that even Rousseau exclaims in admiration: "The life and death of Jesus are indeed those of a God." His humility and meekness surpass all human conception, and his mercy and charity are the reflection of that divine compassion and power of love which are inherent in the Creator of all creatures. His love for the Father, his self-surrender to him, his prayerful communion with him, absolutely compel us to confess with Peter: "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God."

III.—His Essential Character taken as a Whole.

1. *Portrayed as a Whole.*

The question of the human and personal character of Jesus has played of late an important part in the undogmatic literature about him.[1] No wonder! The more it is attempted to make Jesus intelligible as purely and simply a man, the more

[1] See the monographs of D. Schenkel, *Das Charakterbild Jesu* (1873); E. Zart, *Das menschlich Anziehende in der Person Jesu Christi* (1898); P. Rosegger, *Wie ich mir die Persönlichkeit Jesu denke, Christliche Welt*, xiii, p. 513 (1899); Francis E. Peabody, *Der Charakter Jesu Christi*, German trans. by E. Müllenhoff (1905); Peabody, *Jesus Christus und der christliche Charakter*, 30-87 (1906); E. Schütz, *Frenssen's Jesus, Ein Wort zu Hilligenlei* (1906); F. Daab, *Die Seele Jesu*, in *Das Suchen der Zeit*, ii, 78-130; Karl Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit* (1908); Johannes Rinck, *Jesus als Charakter* (1910).

must the inquirer be incited to study and to enter into the feelings of this man in his own way. But from the standpoint of an orthodox believer also the problem has not a smaller, but rather a greater importance. Although faith sees in Jesus Christ the true and actually existing Son of God, it perceives in him also the true and actually existing man. The divine and the human really united in the one person of the God-Man—that is the Christ of faith.

Neither in its historical reality nor in our consideration of it can the divinity of Jesus be separated from his humanity. Both are equally important and equally necessary. Indeed, in one sense the chief stress must be laid on the human rather than on the divine nature of the Saviour of the world. The divinity in him is for us recognizable only through his humanity and in his humanity; and his inner divine life is not directly evident, but rather shines forth from the superlatively rich and majestic development of his human character. The more correctly and surely we apprehend in him the human element, the more convincingly does his divinity reveal itself to us.

Even the outward appearance of Christ is not to be overlooked. It is, indeed, the mirror of his rich spiritual life. It is true, so far as his bodily form and physical features, in the proper sense of these words, are concerned, we are dependent merely on conjectures. This is shown by the changeable and varied faces found in the representations of Christ in painting and sculpture.[1] None of these can make any claim whatever to authenticity or originality. In fact, an authentic portrait of Christ has never existed. From the Jews who surrounded Jesus we could not expect such a likeness, because the law enjoined upon them: "Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath." (Exod. xx, 4). The pictures of Abgar, Veronica and Luke are deserving of no historical consideration. St Augustine already points out the extraordinarily numerous and fanciful pictures of Christ, and says that none of them is accurate and that perhaps our Lord looked very unlike what all the artists together have imagined.[2] Subsequent generations—relying on passages in the Old Testament—have represented the

[1] See F. W. Farrar, *Life of Christ, as represented in Art* (London, 1894); W. Bayliss, *Rex Regum—a Painter's Study of the Likeness of Christ* (London 1898); in particular, *Die Geschichte der Jesus-Porträts von v. Dobschütz*, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, herausgeb. von Gebhardt und Harnack, vol. XVIII (1899); Weis-Liebersdorf, *Christus und Apostelbilder* (Freiburg 1902); *Die Abbildungen in Hermann Schell's "Christus"* (Mainz, 1903).

[2] "Nam et ipsius Dominicae facies carnis, innumerabilium cogitationum diversitate variatur et fingitur . . . longe fortasse aliter quam res se habet"—St Augustine, *De Trinitate*, lib. VIII, c. 4, 7.

Saviour sometimes as a despicable, woebegone figure, sometimes with the expression of the highest manly beauty. Both were incorrect.

It is true, Isaias says prophetically: "There is no beauty in him nor comeliness, and we have seen him and there is no sightliness that we should be desirous of him. Despised and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with infirmity" (Isa. liii, 2, 3). But the prophetic seer of Christ's Passion speaks here of the servant of God, martyrized in infinite anguish on the cross. On the other hand, the Psalmist describes the beauty of the Messiah in glowing verse: "Thou art beautiful above the sons of men, grace is poured abroad in thy lips. Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty" (Ps. xliv, 3). Yet the psalm refers to the reigning Messiah-King, the glorified Son of Man.

What we learn directly about the physical, human outward appearance of Jesus from the sacred Scriptures does not exceed the words of the apostle: "He debased himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men" (Phil. ii, 7). The Gospels nowhere describe the physical appearance of Jesus. Their aim is neither the furnishing of æsthetic enjoyment, nor the satisfaction of idle curiosity. They are altogether so exclusively devoted to the preservation for all time of the words and works of the Master that they have no more interest left for his bodily frame.

If, accordingly, our sources of information leave us in complete ignorance in regard to the physical form of Jesus, so much the more fully do they reveal to us his psychical appearance. What beauty and grandeur of soul shone forth from him we can imagine from the impression which his advent made upon his contemporaries.

An indescribable amount of charm and gentleness, of benevolence and love, of power and superiority, of seriousness and dignity, of sympathy and regal distinction emanated from his personality. The first meeting with Jesus forced Philip to the conviction: "We have found him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write" (John i, 45). Moreover, this conviction was based not upon long instruction, but on the powerful influence of that first impression: "Come and see" (John i, 46). So spontaneous was the effect produced by the appearance of Jesus that it needed only the words, "Follow me," to cause him who was thus called to leave his handicraft, his profession, his boat and his kindred and to follow the unknown leader (John i, 43). And not only the simple and ingenuous, but scribes and representatives of the intellectual aristocracy, overwhelmingly impressed by the greatness of his personality, exclaim: "Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou shalt go" (Matt. viii, 19).

The effect of his person and his words on the masses was the same: "The people were in admiration at his doctrine, for he was teaching them as one having power" (Matt. vii, 28, 29). No age, sex, grade of profession or class distinction can resist the impression which Jesus makes upon them. Tender children free themselves from the arms of their mothers and nestle in his arms, attracted by his friendliness and charm (Matt. xix, 14). Public sinners, the offscouring of Jewish society, read in his countenance the language of compassion and forgiveness (Matt. ix, 9). The profaners of the Temple take to precipitate flight before the flaming zeal that flashes from his eyes and voices itself in his words (John ii, 15, 17). They who wish to cast him down from the edge of a precipice, disperse, repulsed by the mere power of his presence, while he quietly goes his way (Luke iv, 30). He stands before the representative of the Roman emperor and with impressive dignity declares that he himself is a king (John xviii, 37). Women and men, rich and poor, learned and unlearned—all are brought under the spell of his irresistible personality.

Manly vigour and motherly tenderness, authority and sympathy, grace and determination, the power to command and easy accessibility—all these must have been united in his aspect in a wonderful way. And all these features flowed forth from the sunlike radiance of his inner life, so that he outwardly reflected what was within his inmost soul in its wholly unique spiritual and moral qualities.

To portray this personality from its principal points of view and manifestations was the task which we put before us in the previous inquiries into the perfection of Jesus. With the answer to these inquiries this task has been fully completed. For all morality resolves itself into the exercise of virtue and the avoidance of faults, according to the words of Scripture: "Decline from evil and do good" (Ps. xxxvi, 27). While, therefore, we have proved the absolute virtues and faultlessness of Jesus, we have also sketched, feature by feature, the entire portrait of his moral character. It stands before us in its infinite purity and beauty, and reveals the complete humanity as well as the true divinity of the original. Here, then, we might close.

Yet it may be of no small importance to scrutinize once more calmly the finished picture, and let its principal characteristics and the impressions made by them exert their influence upon our souls.

2. *Portrayed in its Main Lines.*

In the first place, we naturally stand under the spell of that all-commanding quality which we have discovered everywhere in Christ, a quality unique in the history of mankind—we

mean the absolutism of his character. Every revelation of the divinely human life of Jesus, every one of its negative and positive perfections, and its abounding virtue and perfect sinlessness in their manifold manifestations are all marked by the stamp of unlimited perfection.

On this absolutism are based that harmony and universality of Christ which captivate us with a power that is as winning as it is majestic. All other characters are lacking in these qualities and have the disadvantage of possessing much narrow-mindedness and many incongruities. One-sided talents, one-sided development and one-sided activities are characteristic of everything human. Every man has his peculiar temperament, his personal distinction, his own individuality. The cause of this is the fact that in each separate individual certain qualities, forces, advantages and deficiencies are conspicuous, while others fall into the background or do not exist at all. Even the greatest and the best of men cannot free themselves from this iron pressure, limiting all human life and mundane existence. It is already much if they can manage by tireless self-training and discipline to divest themselves of their worst eccentricities and to repair the greatest flaws in their own characters. No one attains to a universally complete and perfectly harmonious personality, for the simple reason that no one possesses an absolute complement of virtue and faultlessness, and limitation makes one-sidedness.

In Jesus, on the contrary, harmony and universality emanate from his absolutism. Because all high qualities are to be found in him in their highest perfection, they all possess the most complete symmetry. Thus we find in him ardent zeal and inexhaustible patience, noble fervour and indulgent leniency, holy seriousness and sunny cheerfulness, an impulse to solitude and yet world publicity, majestic greatness and the deepest humility, inflexible determination and the sweetest gentleness, powerful energy and quiet self-possession, the warmest love for sinners and invincible hatred of sin, compassionate sympathy and strictest justice, irresistible attractiveness and fearless frankness, incorruptible truthfulness and extreme forbearance, mildness and force, resignation and resistance, adamantine strength and motherly tenderness, indefatigable outward activity and inward contemplation, childlike confidence in God and manly self-consciousness. In everything—in thinking, in willing, in speaking, in achieving, in precept and in practice, in doing and in suffering, in life and in death—he is equally great and perfect. In him combine in wonderful harmony all the higher and lower powers of his soul, his feelings and sentiments, understanding and will, idealism and realism, an intense sense of reality as regards the things of this world, and a ceaseless striving to promote the kingdom of heaven.

It has been repeatedly asserted that the character of Jesus

is not free from contrasts.[1] True, from a superficial and one-sided point of view. Whoever proceeds to estimate some one quality only of the character of Jesus finds it so highly developed that it seems to tower above, and dwarf to nothingness, all other characteristics. But as soon as this one feature is set in the framework of the whole, line after line adapts itself to the complete, harmonious picture, and all alleged contrasts and discords dissolve into a higher harmony.

From this point of view, those who assert that Jesus has no distinctly marked individuality are right, since every individuality is based upon a certain one-sidedness and lack of uniformity. Certainly this is true if we apply the idea of individuality to Jesus in the sense in which we find it realized in other men—namely, as a preponderance of certain definite characteristics, or as a lack of them. But in Jesus is found the most complete symmetry of all high qualities and perfections. No genuinely human characteristic is wanting in his exalted personality, and not one rises discordantly above the wonderful unity of his nature. This, indeed, is his individuality.

It is easily comprehensible that with such an individuality may be combined also the universality of Jesus, or, rather, that the latter is necessitated by the former. Just as Jesus is superior to the individual traits of narrowness common to all men, so he is also free from any limitations of time and nationality.

History can say this of no other man. It is absolutely impossible that the individual man, if he be only a man, can acquire a completely universal character. With the very air that surrounds him he inhales also to a certain extent the ideas and peculiarities of his age, his country and his race.

It was, indeed, said of Socrates that he overcame these limitations; and it is a fact that he "answered the question to what country he belonged with the proud words, 'My country is the world,' for he regarded himself as an inhabitant and citizen of the whole world." Surveyed closely, however, it is evident that Socrates applies this phrase only to that denationalized cosmopolitanism which subsequently became common both in Greece and Rome, as it is at present popular among socialists. Socrates, on the contrary, in his character, type of mentality and life is "through and through a Greek and an Athenian, a man of his nation to the core." His character is in every respect identical with that of the Grecian people.[2]

With Jesus it is entirely different. In his outward manner of life he is, it is true, also a child of his country and of his

[1] Weidel, *Jesu Persönlichkeit,* 10-12 (1908); Rinck, *Jesus als Charakter,* 327 (1910).

[2] Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen,* 4th ed., Part II, Section I, pp. 68-71.

age. He also is attached to the soil of his native land by all the fibres of his heart, and the weal or woe of his people affect him so deeply that he sheds tears at the thought of the destruction of Jerusalem. His preaching also and the miracles wrought by him are almost exclusively confined to his own country, which lies about him. He is sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. xv, 24). Nothing in him suggests unpatriotic cosmopolitanism. He was rather the most genuine and most perfect Israelite of all the sons of Abraham.

Yet, with all this, he holds to the national and the Jewish ideas only so far as these do not come into opposition to human nature in general, only so far as they do not cloud his worldwide range of vision. He prohibits pharisaic exclusiveness; he abhors the rabbinical Jewish chauvinism; he breaks the bonds of the narrow Talmudic nominalism; he opposes the political and national conception of the Messiah all his life long, and overcomes it finally by his death and in his Gospel. No; he was no mere Jew. His spirit cannot be confined by the narrow horizon of his own people, his own land and his own times.

When Renan[1] asserted that the personality of Jesus bears exclusively a Jewish stamp, it was easy for Strauss to prove that one can just as well point out in Christ the high qualities of the Hellenic character. "This cheerful serenity, this unyielding optimism, this acting from the pure delight and joy of a sunny disposition can be called the Hellenic element in Jesus."[2] Other critics, indeed, have in all seriousness advanced the senseless assertion that "Jesus may have been a cross between a purely Jewish and a Grecian or Greco-Asiatic stock."[3] Houston Stewart Chamberlain[4] has made him of Aryan or Indo-Germanic origin, while Frenssen and the latest home artists among German christologists seek to represent him in all particulars as genuinely Germanic.[5] In all these assertions there is the truth that Jesus belongs exclusively to no one people and to no particular time; that he possesses the superior qualities of all without sharing their weaknesses and faults; and that he, in a word, is not national but universal. In him not one nationality, but humanity, universal humanity in itself, has appeared and has entered personally into history.

As often as we turn our gaze away from his portrait to those of history, we are impressed with a further quality of Jesus—namely, his uniqueness.

[1] *Vie de Jésus*, 49th ed., 36 ff., 471.
[2] Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, p. 208 (1864).
[3] Loosten, *Jesus Christus vom Standpunkte des Psychiaters*, 21 (1905).
[4] *Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts*, i, 245-258 (1907).
[5] See refutation by Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 308 ff. (1906), and Rohr, *Ersatzversuche für das biblische Christusbild*, p. 39 (1908).

How often has the attempt been made to compare other great men to the Saviour and to substitute for his uniqueness a mere singularity! The rationalistic period exhausted itself in drawing numberless parallels between Jesus and the intellectual leaders of Jewish, Grecian and Roman classicism. It was then especially the fashion to place Socrates beside the Saviour for comparison. For an entire century German poets, philosophers and theological exegetes laboured over this problem. Hamann, Mendelssohn and Eberhard, Matthias Claudius, Wieland, Klopstock and many more prided themselves on having contributed their part towards making the world believe that Christ and Socrates are two stars of equal magnitude and brilliancy. To-day, serious scientists and even imaginative poets have at most a compassionate smile for all such clever little attempts in rationalistic thought.

In their place, the evolutionary school of criticism of to-day values the Saviour according to the standards of the "History of Religions." It lets him perhaps still rank as the greatest religious hero, but as a hero who has certainly had his equals in the founders of religions outside the limits of Christianity—in Moses, Gautama Buddha, Kongtse (Confucius), Zarathustra and many more. Each is said to bear some striking similarity to Jesus.

Search is made for parallels and illustrations in the outer, and especially in the pre-christian, world to serve as counterparts to all the features of the portrait of Jesus. But even if all these could be compiled, the wonder would still be that they are all concretely present in Jesus and in Jesus only. Moreover, the difference between these individuals and the founder of Christianity is in every respect immense. In regard to their character and their moral personality (and that is the only question before us here), to place those non-christian men on the same level with Christ is simply an absurdity. The more closely we compare them, the greater and more glorious appears the unique personality of Jesus, and the more those much-lauded heroes of virtue who had been palmed off as his counterparts, if not as actually his models, fade away and vanish. No; Jesus has not his equal, nor can there be found outside the history of Christianity either his counterpart or, still less, his model.

Even the saints and heroes of Christianity, however manifold their similarity to Jesus may be, not only stand immeasurably lower than the Saviour, but ought not in any way to be compared to him. Their virtue is not original, but a copy, an imitation, a likeness of Jesus. They owe everything to him. All of them have, through study and love of him, become absorbed in his example. With the expenditure of all their powers they have endeavoured to portray his life in theirs, yet even the first and best of them confess in shame and

humility that they have succeeded only in the smallest degree, and that the perfection of the Master is unattained and unattainable. Just as Jesus has had no model, so he has had no perfect copy.

Yet he is not inimitable. That is the most remarkable thing about the uniqueness of Jesus. Although his greatness has never been completely attained in any one point, or by any one man in the history of the world, and cannot be so attained, yet everyone feels, in contemplating the portrait of Christ, that everything in it is, as it were, created for imitation.

To all great and saintly men the expression "they are wonderful, but cannot be imitated," applies in more than one respect; but Christ, greater and holier than them all, has no characteristic which in itself would not be an example for us. Everything heroic and sublime in his fate, everything apparently alarming and extreme in the severity of his moral code, every virtue and every perfection in his character can adapt itself to the requirements of our weak nature. Children and adults, youths and maidens, the man in his creative industry, the mother in her quiet family cares, the poor, the rich, the educated, the uneducated, the sick, the well, servants, masters, princes—all can imitate him in all points and in all ways. He alone is the prototype and model for all natural traits of character and, at the same time, for all supernatural holiness.

Even the radical Rudolf Otto remarks of him: "The portrait of Jesus remains the most sublime that the artist 'World-History' has ever painted; so full of dramatic events and plastic individual scenes, that there is in it scarcely a pin-point's space which does not give, and has not given, as Lessing says, occasion for artistic representation; and, what is more, it is at the same time so rich in material for edification and inspiration, that the heart and conscience constantly come back to it without, however, exhausting the source."[1]

This unexampled influence on mankind is a final characteristic of the personality of Jesus. That a personality, after a lapse of two thousand years, should still exert upon millions a power controlling minds and hearts, and is still both living and life-giving, is a psychological phenomenon which surpasses comprehension. We have, indeed, plenty of men whom we honour as artists, scientists, politicians and warriors. Yet it is not so much their personality as their achievements which win our admiration. We admire their classical poems, the creations of their brushes and chisels, their attainments in scientific research, the exploits of their arms, the successful results of their diplomacy. Only as far as the great deeds of these celebrated men go does our enthusiasm for their personality extend.

[1] *Leben und Wirken Jesu*, p. 48, 4th ed. (1905).

In Jesus, on the contrary, our reverence and admiration are concerned first with his person, and only later with his teaching and achievements. His person is the central point of our interest in him; all the rest gains importance through that alone: "The historic importance of Jesus lies ultimately in his living, all-illuminating personality."[1] "In the Christian religion an importance is awarded to the person of Jesus Christ which is significant, even decisive, for the formation of its religious relation to him."[2] Accordingly, we bestow upon his person not merely a high esteem or enthusiastic admiration, as in the case of other historic personages, but the whole affection of our hearts, the warmest, intensest, highest and undying love.

Napoleon regarded this as precisely the most striking proof of the divinity of Jesus—namely, his power over men's hearts. The once wellnigh all-powerful Corsican, in the solitude of his last days, called up before his imagination all the heroic figures and master minds of the world, and measured them by his own gigantic greatness. But all of them combined, and he himself as well, vanished like empty shadows before the person of Jesus Christ. "What a conqueror!" he cried in amazement; "a conqueror who controls humanity at will, and wins to himself not only one nation, but the whole human race. What a marvel! He attaches to himself the human soul with all its energies. And how? By a miracle which surpasses all others. He claims the love of men—that is to say, the most difficult thing in the world to obtain; that which the wisest of men cannot force from his truest friend, that which no father can compel from his children, no wife from her husband, no brother from his brother—the heart. He claims it; he requires it absolutely and undividedly, and he obtains it instantly. Alexander, Cæsar, Hannibal, Louis XIV strove in vain to secure this. They conquered the world, yet they had not a single friend, or at all events, they have none any more. Christ speaks, however, and from that moment all generations belong to him; and they are joined to him much more closely than by any ties of blood and by a much more intimate, sacred and powerful communion. He kindles the flame of a love which causes one's self-love to die, and triumphs over every other love. Why should we not recognize in this miracle of love the eternal Word which created the world? The other founders of religions had not the least conception of this mystic love which forms the essence of Christianity. I have filled multitudes with such passionate devotion that they went to death for me. But God forbid that I should compare

[1] Ninck, *Jesus Christus als Charakter*, 2nd ed., p. 6.

[2] Wobbermin, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, in *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der christlichen Religion*, p. 351 (1905).

the enthusiasm of my soldiers with Christian love. They are as unlike as their causes. In my case, my presence was always necessary, the electric effect of my glance, my voice, my words, to kindle fire in their hearts. And I certainly possess personally the secret of that magic power of taking by storm the sentiments of men; but I was not able to communicate that power to anyone. None of my generals ever learned it from me or found it out. Moreover, I myself do not possess the secret of perpetuating my name and a love for me in their hearts for ever, and to work miracles in them without material means. Now that I languish here at St Helena, chained upon this rock, who fights, who conquers empires for me? Who still even thinks of me? Who interests himself for me in Europe? Who has remained true to me? That is the fate of all great men. It was the fate of Alexander and Cæsar, as it is my own. We are forgotten, and the names of the mightiest conquerors and most illustrious emperors are soon only the subject of a schoolboy's task. Our exploits come under the rod of a pedantic schoolmaster, who praises or condemns us as he likes. What an abyss exists between my profound misery and the eternal reign of Christ, who is preached, loved, and worshipped, and lives on throughout the entire world. Is this to die? Is it not rather to live eternally? The death of Christ! It is the death of a God."[1]

This certainly is true; and when we sum up all these characteristics contained in the portrait of Christ, the acknowledgement is forced from us that we have to do not merely with no ordinary man, but not with a mere man at all. The entire character of Jesus is that of the ideal man. Whoever, like him, possesses all perfections in the highest, absolute degree; whoever unites them all in a harmonious unity and universality; whoever is himself superior to all that is national, temporal and limited to the things of earth; whoever towers above all mankind as a unique pattern of virtue, and yet is so near and so accessible to humanity; and whoever, in spite of all external separation, centuries after his death still rules the hearts and wins the love of men by the mere power of his personality, cannot be just one out of the sum-total of human beings.

"Every man," truly and beautifully remarks Hettinger, "every man bears, of necessity, upon his brow the mark of the finite, the imperfect, the relative and the partial. It is stamped upon his soul; it appears in all his works and in his whole activity. He is only a fraction of the real, universal

[1] Migne, *Dictionnaire apologétique*, i, 1741-1746 (Paris 1855). From an utterance by Napoleon on religion to General Bertrand, pointed out by Chevalier de Beauterne, *Sentiment de Napoléon sur le Christianisme, conversations religieuses recueillies à Sainte-Hélène*, chap. vi.

human nature, and reveals only one tendency, one special talent, one peculiarity and one type of mind. The individual man is not humanity. This pours all its wealth of gifts and its entire substance only into all individuals, taken as a whole. Man can, it is true, strive for a universal moral development and perfection, but he will always exhibit this perfection in himself only approximately, will cultivate only one or another sphere of the spiritual world, and will see himself more or less perfect in only one direction. Just as his outward form and talents are peculiar to him, and different from those of another, so will also be his moral character. Humanity's ideal seems to be divided up and apportioned among separate individuals. . . . Everything great, noble and holy that has ever existed on this earth proves, precisely by the manifold beauty of its manifestation, this fundamental law of all merely human development. They are different rays of the one Light, but they are not the Light itself; they are the different colours of the Sun of all minds, broken into numberless manifestations, as they are reflected from their mirror, the free and conscious creature, but they are not the Sun itself; they are the various, divergent sounds from the Symphony of absolute holiness and perfection, but they are not the Symphony itself. The pure, undimmed ideal is present only where the idea presents itself in absolute completeness and reveals itself in man, not as one divine word or one divine thought, but as the Word, as God himself."[1]

This is the only possible explanation of the personality of Jesus. In vain do liberal critics try to lower the Saviour's character so far that the superhuman disappears from it entirely. Unless they utterly distort the portrait of Jesus, they cannot possibly succeed in making it comprehensible, as something purely human. It must be obvious to every intelligent man that, in attempting this, modern christology is seriously embarrassed.

Chamberlain concedes this cautiously, yet sufficiently clearly, when he says: "To the believer Jesus is the Son of God, not the son of a man. For the unbeliever it will be difficult to find a formula which will designate so concisely and expressively the undeniable fact of an incomparable and inexplicable personality."[2]

Eucken states this difficulty, or rather this impossibility, as follows: "The general impression is that Jesus is more transparently clear and more intimately known to us than any other hero in the world's history. But this nearness and intimacy last only so long as we continue to accept that general impression impartially in all respects. As soon, however, as we analyze it and try to understand and explain

[1] Hettinger, *Apologie des Christentums,* ii, p. 474 (1899).
[2] Chamberlain, *Die Grundlagen des XIX Jahrhunderts,* 211 (1900).

the facts of the case, that personality retires to a remote distance, and question after question and problem after problem rises before us till our sure possession of faith gives place to a troublesome investigation. . . . How many problems also remain when we concentrate our attention on the soul of that life? . . . How was it possible that an individuality of the most pronounced and incomparable type was active in this personality, yet that this individuality was wholly a receptacle of spiritual and divine life?"[1]

Hermann von Soden, also, in an attempt to explain the personality of Jesus from natural causes, encounters everywhere unsolved problems. "Not explained; inexplicable," he always answers when he investigates the most important features of the portrait of Jesus. And he sums up his final judgement in the following powerful words: "We encounter in Jesus uniquely and at every point the inexplicable. . . . This whole personality which shines forth upon us from the original Gospels—so genuine, so human, so self-contained, so incomprehensible, so free from any false stroke whatever in the delineation—is both an incontestable, integral fact of the world's history, and the miracle of miracles in this wonderful history."[2]

And this is said and acknowledged by people who deny every miracle and represent the personality of Jesus as a product of purely historical development! No; Jesus is and remains a riddle for everyone who wishes to enrol him absolutely in the ranks of humanity. On the other hand, the all-round, universal, unique and absolute perfection of the Man of Nazareth becomes at once comprehensible, if God became in him incarnate and appeared in human form. The human form of Jesus is like a veil through which the splendour of divinity partially reveals itself. Not face to face, for that is impossible, yet with a certain likeness, as the divine nature of the Saviour shines forth from his humanity as from a mirror.

With this final result of our investigations into the personality of Jesus we have accomplished much more than we promised. We did not need to show that Jesus proved himself in his life to be an ideal man. Our problem was a much simpler and less ambitious one. It was and is a matter of producing evidence from the personality of Jesus that his divinely Messianic and divinely human consciousness were based on truth. This proof would, however, be already furnished, even if the personality of Jesus, as the sceptics claim, in no way had exceeded the human standard. In any case, it is certain that he did claim to be the true Son of God and even God himself. That we have proved in the first volume

[1] Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der Grossen Denker*, 155 (1902).
[2] H. v. Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, 114 (1907).

of this work. But the claim to be truly and essentially God made by a man is something unheard-of in the history of the world. Whoever makes such a claim without a right to do so, must be an individual who is psychically and mentally inferior or morally depraved. If, therefore, Christ was not the true and consubstantial Son of God, as he professed to be, then he was —we cannot avoid the frightful words—either the worst of fools or the greatest of criminals. But even a superficial view of his psychical, intellectual and moral person convinces us that neither mental derangement nor moral degeneracy can be truthfully ascribed to him. He is, therefore, the incarnate Son of God.

PART II

THE WORKS OF CHRIST

INTRODUCTORY

THE miracles of Christ form, frankly and honourably be it said, the beginning and the end of all the differences between orthodox and sceptical christology, as well as, generally speaking, between the representatives of the Christian and non-christian views of the universe. We have had to recognize this fact everywhere in our previous investigations, already even in discussing the sources of authority in regard to the life of Jesus.

The Gospels, as vouchers for the life of Christ, would long since have been acknowledged by all critics as genuine and authentic if they had contained nothing supernatural and miraculous. Renan writes: "That the Gospels are partly legendary is evident, since they are full of miracles and the supernatural. . . . Not because it has been proved to me that the Gospels are not deserving of absolute faith, but because they relate miracles do I say, the Gospels are legends."[1] That is still to-day the line pursued by radical and liberal critics of the Gospels. However gladly we recognize that a juster and really historical judgement has begun to gain ground among the leading representatives of our opponents, it is equally undeniable that the dread of miracles still always forms the limit at which freedom from prejudice on the part of the critics makes a sudden halt. Their supreme principle is ever the purely naturalistic conception and practical criticism of the Gospel.[2] Every "absolutely miraculous and simply incomprehensible event . . . everything inscrutable" is regarded in advance by the modern theologian, "according to its import, as dogmatic legend," and is eliminated from the Gospels as a legendary growth.[3] If we could acquiesce in this rejection of everything miraculous, modern criticism would conclude a sincere and everlasting peace with the Gospels and orthodox Gospel investigation.

Exactly the same thing is true of the individual problems arising in the study of Jesus. It is the supernatural, the miraculous that divides us into two camps. If we should no longer make the consciousness, the personality of Christ and his spiritual life and teachings tower far above natural greatness and human standards, no discord would disturb the mutual harmony. The Son of Man with his unique, almost

[1] Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 49th ed., vi, ix, xlviii, xci.
[2] See Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, 111 f. (Leipzig 1906).
[3] Bousset, *Jesus*, 3rd ed., ii, 5.

superhuman consciousness of his Messiahship and divine sonship, the sublime figure of the Man of Nazareth in the radiant garb of an almost superhuman holiness and grandeur of character, the didactic wisdom and religious genius of Jesus Christ—all these are expressions very common to the critics. They allow them, without contradiction, to be stated even in the superlative degree. Only we must not explain the consciousness of Christ as plainly a superhuman consciousness of being the Messiah and the Son of God, or designate the wisdom and holiness of Jesus as an intellectual and moral miracle. Where the supernatural, superhuman and miraculous begins, there begins also the merciless contradiction of the modernists. This contradiction swells into a veritable war-cry of the whole unorthodox Christian world as soon as we point to the miracles of Jesus Christ recorded in the Gospel.

This is comprehensible. With the admission of the miracles of Jesus, sceptical christology and its view of the universe collapse. A miracle is, indeed, as will be immediately shown, in itself an essentially supernatural event, a living fact of revelation. How could that view of the world, which recognizes only the proceedings of nature and which makes even Christ evolve from purely natural factors, exist together with the belief in miracles? If even one single miracle is established as a fact, an irremediable rent is thereby made through the whole naturalistic view of the universe and the existence of a supernatural revelation is demonstrated. Not only that. If it can be shown that a miracle is performed for the reinforcement of a definite doctrine of salvation, or to attest its representative, then by that very fact the divine sanction of this doctrine of revelation and of its teacher is included. For a miracle is the voice of God, before which every human folly is struck dumb; it is the finger of God, which can frustrate every calculation of his creatures; it is the work of God, which surpasses all the force and power of the world; it is the seal of God, which he sets upon his word and upon his ambassadors in order to guarantee beyond a doubt their supernatural character. If, therefore, the Almighty confers upon the Saviour Jesus Christ the power to work miracles in verification of his Gospel and his divinely human consciousness, then he thereby proclaims him at once as the ambassador and Son of God. But still more, if Jesus shows that the power of working miracles is personally and essentially his own and that he performs miracles by his own power, he proves himself thereby directly to be the Lord of nature and the world and Almighty God.

Jesus himself at all times attributed this immense significance to his miracles. He proves his identity to the messengers of John by pointing to his miracles: "Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk,

the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again" (Matt. xi, 4-5). To Jewish unbelief he opposes again and again the practical answer of his miracles. "The works which the Father hath given me to perfect, the works themselves which I do, give testimony of me. . . . If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though you will not believe me, believe the works, that you may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in the Father. . . . The Father who abideth in me, he doth the works. Believe you not that I am in the Father and the Father in me? Otherwise, believe for the very works' sake" (John v, 36; x, 37, 38; xiv, 10-12). The miracles speak so incontestably for his person and his word that scepticism has no escape and no excuse: "If I had not done among them the works that no other man hath done, they [the unbelieving Jews] would not have sin; but now they have both seen [the miracles], and hated both me and my Father" (John xv, 24). For the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon it shall be more tolerable on the day of judgement than for those who, notwithstanding the miracles, have not believed (Matt. xi, 21; John x, 38).

The first disciples and the later generations of Christians were just as firmly convinced of the overwhelming argumentative importance of the miracles of Jesus.

The position which the Saviour's miracles take in the Gospels, in the oldest Christian confessional writings and in the consciousness of the whole Christian Church is defined as follows by Arnobius: "Nulla major est comprobatio quam gestarum ab eo [Jesu Christo] fides rerum, quam virtutum novitas."[1] Even liberal theologians confess: "The Christians, to whom we are indebted for the Gospels, furnish the proof of their doctrine together with the history of the miracles. . . . Thus it is really the case with Jesus, that he was regarded as God by the Gentile Christians on account of the miracles related of him. The theology of miracles assumes a higher position in the New Testament than we are usually willing to concede to it; without the belief in miracles, no divinity of Christ. . . . The difference between modern thinking and that of the early Christians is nowhere so plainly evident" as in the attitude of both in regard to miracles.[2]

That modern unbelievers also really set just the same value on the evidence of miracles is clear from the tenacity, and we might almost say the blind rage, with which they combat our Lord's miracles.[3]

Most fiercely of all rages the fight against the resurrection

[1] *Adversus Gentes*, i, 42 (Migne, *P.L.*, V, col. 772).

[2] Paul Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 2nd ed., 3 f. (1904).

[3] For the importance and evidential force of miracles, see J. Knabenbauer, *Das Wunder vor dem Forum der modernen Wissenschaft*, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, viii (1895), 241-248; P. Schanz, *Apologie*, II.

of Jesus, because that is the miracle of miracles, and would alone suffice to prove incontrovertibly the divinity of Christ and the divinity of Christianity. Then, however, the other miracles of the Gospel also are either relegated to the realm of legend, or, in any case, are so mutilated that they cannot be presented in any way except as purely natural occurrences. But because all critical "rectifications" and exegetical artifices nevertheless do not succeed in finally eliminating the miracles from the Gospel and the world, men take refuge in a radical and drastic measure, and assert bluntly that miracles are not at all compatible with a scientific view of the universe. This assertion has become the favourite commonplace of all the enemies of orthodox Christianity. They always come back again to this as often and as soon as the conflict against the miracles of the Gospel and especially against the miracle of the resurrection is made too hot for them. Hence it would be a purely useless undertaking to treat of the miracles and resurrection of Jesus without first settling things up with the deniers of miracles in general. "Wherever we put in the spade we always strike against the hard rock of a view of the universe that denies miracles."[1] Thus the classification and task of the following division of our work are given us at once. We have to treat of Science and Miracles, Science and Gospel Miracles, Science and the Miracle of the Resurrection.

2nd ed., ii, 469-477, 489-499, 704-710; J. Ottiger, *Theologia fundamentalis,* i, 252-273 (Freiburg 1897); J. H. Bernard, *The Evidential Value of Miracle,* in the *Expositor,* Series V., vol. X, 331-339 (1899); A. von Schmid, *Apologetik als spekulative Grundlegung der Theologie,* 323-339 (Freiburg 1900); E. Martin, *Force probante du miracle,* in *La Science Catholique,* xv, 248-264 (1900-1901); Johannes Kunze, *Die ewige Gottheit Jesu,* 51 ff. (Leipzig 1904); Gondel, *Le miracle,* 142-183 (Paris 1905); A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels,* 283-319, 354-388 (1906); L. C. Fillion, *Les miracles de N. S. Jésus-Christ,* i, 164-180 (Paris 1910).

[1] Tillmann, *Methodisches und Sachliches zur Darstellung der Gottheit Christi, Bibl. Zeitschrift,* viii, 160 (1910).

CHAPTER I
SCIENCE AND MIRACLES

I.—Opponents of Miracles and the Notion of Miracles.

1. *Opponents of Miracles.*

UNTIL modern times an opposition to miracles was never heard of within the limits of Christianity. Both the simple man and the greatest scholar were alike convinced that there are miracles, and especially that the miraculous deeds recorded in revelation can be doubted as little by science as by faith. It was only after the middle of the seventeenth century that criticism began to apply its gnawing tooth to the doctrine of a revelation and, in particular, to the doctrine of miracles.

The reason for this lies in the Reformation. As the theology of the reformers repudiated the authority of the Church, so philosophy also subsequently emancipated itself from revelation. A revolt against supernatural revelation and therewith, of course, against miracles also is the sign-manual of all "modern" philosophy. Humanity relying on itself alone and rejecting all direct divine teaching—that is the motto of the modernists.

When this principle was seriously adopted, man's knowledge was restricted to the testimony of the experiences of the senses and to the speculations of reason as the only sources of truth. Accordingly, in the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, two parallel philosophical systems were formed—one of which was based only on experience, while the other laid stress upon a one-sided autonomy of reason.

The empiricists derive all knowledge from experience. Thereby, however, all supernatural revelation is thrown overboard at the start. Thomas Hobbes, the founder of empiricism, becomes then also, significantly enough, the first known opponent of miracles.[1] He was joined by John Locke,[2] Thomas Woolston[3] and David Hume,[4] and also by all the

[1] In his work, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Authority of Government* (1651).

[2] *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690); and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695).

[3] *The Moderator between an Infidel and an Apostate* (1725); *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour* (1727-1729); *Defence of the Discourses* (1729).

[4] *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, Lecture 10 (1748).

English and French "freethinkers" until the outbreak of the period of the Revolution.[1]

In Holland and Germany, scepticism turned to apparently the very opposite of the empiricist view of the universe—to rationalism. The rationalists did not wish to banish scientific and religious knowledge to the experience of the senses, but to evolve it from the universal ideas of reason. Thinking from fixed ideas was proclaimed by philosophy to be the only source of truth, and accordingly, even in theology, all supernatural revelation was replaced by the religion of mere reason or nature.

On the ground of these views, the Dutch Jew, Baruch Spinoza, first rejected miracles. His principal work, which appeared in 1670, entitled *Tractatus theologico-politicus,* goes so far as to assert that miracles stand in contradiction to both the human mind and the thought of God. In Germany, soon after, Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) put themselves forward as standard-bearers of miracle-abhorring rationalism.[2]

The great mass of German freethinkers of the eighteenth century followed these "Pathfinders of Enlightenment."

The bond uniting the empirical and rationalistic schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was, therefore, their hostility to miracles and revelation. While both schools fought each other fiercely in the domain of philosophy, they rallied, so far as religion was concerned, around the one banner of Deism. They considered God as completely separated from the world, and accordingly explained every revealed religion as a fraud and an invention. Nemesis followed closely on this religio-philosophical error. The empiricists ended logically in scepticism and materialism, while the rationalists were wrecked on the floating ice of a fantastic idealism and Pantheism. The necessary consequence of the denial of revelation and miracles was the bankruptcy of science and religion at the same time.

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), the father of the most modern philosophy, sought to conjure this ruin by uniting empiricism and rationalism, and blending them in a peculiar kind of union. Stöckl says both concisely and correctly: "Kant retains the main principle of the empiricists that experience is the only source of knowledge, but he nevertheless accepts

[1] See especially Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Lettres de la montagne,* ii and iii; Voltaire, *Dictionnaire Philosophique,* article on *Miracles.*

[2] Reimarus, *Abhandlungen über die vornehmsten Wahrheiten der natürlichen Religion* (1754); *Apologie über die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes* (1767); published by Lessing, *Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten* (1774-1778). Lessing laid down his own rationalistic and deistic conceptions of religion in the drama *Nathan der Weise* (1779), and in the philosophical work, *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes* (1780).

the 'innate ideas' of the previous rationalistic and idealistic philosophy, yet reduces them to mere forms of thinking, which, in his opinion, are intended to have only the purpose of making the knowledge of experience possible, but are not to be referred to any real, transcendental being. Thereby he arrived at a philosophical view which on the one hand exhibits the sign-manual of a transcendental idealism, but on the other hand lets us perceive its empiricist character fully.[1]

This Kantianism forms, however, the foundation upon which all the Protestant philosophy and theology of late years is built up. Only with the difference that down to the middle of the nineteenth century the rationalistic side of Kant's system was emphasized, while Neo-Kantianism brings forward more forcibly the empirical element, and, for the most part, energetically protests against being called a rationalistic view of the universe.

That Kantianism in all its forms and varieties stands in sharpest contrast to revelation and miracles it is quite unnecessary to state. Kant himself sums up his religious doctrinal opinions in the book: "Religion within the limits of pure reason." Like the title so also the whole content of this work is equivalent to the most downright theological rationalism. Its highest principle is: "The true and only religion contains nothing but laws—that is, practical principles, of whose absolute necessity we can become conscious, and which we therefore recognize as revealed by pure reason."[2] Positive Christianity is robbed of its content, miracle and mystery are portrayed as "superstition,"[3] and the existence of God himself designated as only "possible."

Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the "regenerator of evangelical theology," has precisely the same ideas: "According to him, God is an impersonal, monistic Something which haunts the universe, but can never be known by us. He concedes a supernatural activity in God and Christ only in the sense that it is thoroughly natural—namely, an activity of our nature's indwelling power of development and representation in the sense that finally everything supernatural can be called natural, and everything natural can be called supernatural."[4] He sees in a miracle no antagonism between a natural and a supernatural event, but only an antagonism between the usual and the unusual.[5] "What, then, is a miracle?" he exclaims; "tell me, then, in what language does it mean

[1] Albert Stöckl, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie,* 2nd ed., 751 (Mainz 1875).
[2] *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernuft,* 201 (1793).
[3] *id.,* 236.
[4] Schleiermacher, *Glaubenslehre,* § 13, 1, in *Bibliothek der Gesamtliteratur,* 1027-1038.
[5] Schleiermacher, *Das Leben Jesu,* 206, 210 (Berlin 1864); *Glaubenslehre,* § 14 Appendix and §§ 46 and 47.

anything else than a sign, a suggestion? And so all these expressions denote nothing but the direct relation of a phenomenon to the Infinite and to the Universe. Does that, however, preclude the possibility also of just as direct a relation to the finite and to nature? Miracle is only the religious name for an occurrence. Every event, even the most natural, so soon as it is of such a nature as to make the religious view of it the dominant one, is a miracle."[1] For the miraculous facts in the history of Jesus, Schleiermacher, as a rationalist, has no faculty of perception. He works them over in the crucible of his idealistic and pietistic dialectic so long that finally no one is any longer clear as to what it is all about.[2]

The more modern rationalism, under the leadership of Gottlob Paulus, of Heidelberg, was much more honourable and logical. Dr. Paulus[3] and his fellow-thinkers proceed at once from the conviction that there have never been any miracles and that there can be none. Nothing supernatural. Nothing miraculous. Every event is a natural event, the biblical and Gospel events included. Only ignorance of nature could have caused the belief in miracles of former generations and of the Holy Scriptures. The business of criticism is to explain away all the supernatural out of the Bible and history; or, when that is not possible, to argue it out.

What Dr. Paulus began but did not finish, David Friedrich Strauss completed, by inventing the "peculiar apparatus for causing the miracles to evaporate away mystically."[4] The reports of miracles are for him, every one of them, the "products of undesignedly inventive legend."[5] The miracle is for Strauss under any conditions unthinkable, since, in his opinion, there is no personal God standing above nature; God is only the thought of all thinking men, and the attributes of God are nothing but the laws of nature. It is true, there are many defenders of miracles: "It is with them as it is in a dry autumn with the field-mice; if you close up one hole, six new ones open in place of it."[6] But all the arguments that they bring forward are only "attempts to entangle criticism in apologetical jungles." It cannot be expected of a scientific man "that he contend with such a rabble." Only, "for the fun of the thing," Strauss would not entirely ignore this business.[7] A serious argument on the subject seems to him so much the less necessary from the fact that in the

[1] *Reden über die Religion an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern,* 117 f. (Berlin 1799).
[2] *Leben Jesu,* 203-244.
[3] *Das Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristentums* (Heidelberg 1828).
[4] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* 20th ed., i, 80.
[5] *Ulrich von Hutten,* Preface, iii.
[6] *id.,* 82.
[7] *id.,* 82.

ranks of sceptical and critical philosophers—that is, of the empiricists and rationalists—Hume's discussion of miracles in particular is of such a universally convincing power that the matter can be regarded as being thereby really settled.[1] Thus supported, Strauss, in his "critically elaborated" *Life of Jesus,* designates a belief in miracles at once as "a vanished conception of the universe."[2]

And the whole criticism of miracles has, since then, been quietly content with this. Whoever looks over this criticism will find, from Strauss down to the most recent times, not even one notable attempt at a refutation of miracles.

It is asserted that, since Strauss's time, miracles have been for ever eliminated from the world. Albrecht Schweitzer can rightly say: "Two periods stand out distinct from one another—that before Strauss and that after Strauss. The first is dominated by the problem of miracles. How can historical representation be reconciled with supernatural events? The problem is solved by Strauss; they do not belong to historical representation, but are mystical constituents of the sources. In this way the road is opened."[3]

Since then all Protestant science has been really proceeding along this open road of the denial of miracles. And, above all, the liberal and radical schools. Already four years after the appearance of Strauss's little *Life of Jesus for the German People,* Daniel Schenkel declared "that by far the greater number of the members of the Protestant union believe in no miracles."[4] And even in the year in which Strauss died, Virchow delivered in the assembly of German naturalists and physicians his well-known speech against miracles,[5] and the *Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das evangelische Deutschland* pointed this out "as a protest of science, delivered with sovereign composure, against a product of the crassest superstition."[6] At the same time, also, the English philosopher, Matthew Arnold,[7] asserted that the human mind, as such, turns away from miracles. Soon after, the theologian, J. Philipp Gabler, of Jena, remarked similarly: "The fact is, it is characteristic of the spirit of our age not only to believe no more in the Bible miracles, but also to deny even the possibility of all miracles, and with them all direct divine revelation. Among present-day German Protestant theologians there are certainly far more enemies than defenders of the miraculous."[8]

[1] *id.*, 75. [2] *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* i, 61 (1835).
[3] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 10.
[4] *Der Protestantenverein und seine Bedeutung in der Gegenwart,* 80.
[5] Virchow, *Über Wunder,* in *Journal of the 47th meeting of Naturalists and Doctors at Breslau,* 1874, 151 ff.
[6] Protestant *Kirchenzeitung* of September 26, 1874.
[7] *Literature and Dogma,* 129 (1873).
[8] *Neuestes theologisches Journal,* vii, 18 f. (1901).

That the young liberals of most recent times are still more decided enemies of the miraculous need not be said. "Lack of critical insight"—thus one of them, in the name of all, defines a belief in miracles.[1] At most, they still speak of miracles which are really no miracles at all,[2] or try to conceal their attitude to the question of miracles by an eloquent silence. The words which the historian of the newer *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* writes of those of his own way of thinking are severe but true: "The scientific theologians of to-day, who wish to show their 'feeling,' demand at most that there should be left them one or two little miracles . . . tame, attenuated, little lapdogs of criticism, tormented by rationalistic fleas. These do science no harm, and, moreover, their owners honestly pay the taxes for them by their way of speaking, writing and . . . keeping silent about Strauss. Yet that is always better than the pretentious way in which people nowadays manage to write, purely as 'historians,' about the accounts of the resurrection, without by one word letting it be seen whether they consider the thing itself possible or impossible. All that the modern theologian may safely allow himself."[3]

On the contrary, the conciliatory theologians, the bitterest opponents of Strauss, regard the miracles as an essential element of Christianity. But their defence is equivalent to a denial of the miraculous, and finds its climax in a recasting of all values. Strauss himself could with perfect justice reply to them that they content themselves with weakening and transforming the notion of a miracle. "A miracle must not be thought of at all as something plainly supernatural, and in particular the power of Jesus to work miracles must be considered only as a higher kind of natural force, a healing power which, even if not met elsewhere, still lies within the sphere of human nature."[4] That is really all the vindication of miracles which the opponents of Strauss, Tholuck,[5] Neander,[6] and other conciliatory theologians dare to make.

Their present friends, the liberal-conservative critics, follow exactly the same line. "Rational toning-down of the supernatural in Christianity"[7] is their motto. Accordingly, they try by every means, not only to cast doubts upon the historical accounts of miracles, but also to represent the other miraculous deeds as natural occurrences. To mention only a few names, the German investigators Bernhard Weiss,[8] F. Barth,[9] K.

[1] Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion,* 3 (Tübingen 1904).
[2] Ziller, *Die biblischen Wunder,* 36 f. (Tübingen 1904).
[3] Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 109 f.
[4] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* 20th ed. 76.
[5] *Die Glaubwürdigkeit der evang. Geschichte* (Hamburg 1837).
[6] *Das Leben Christi* (Hamburg 1837).
[7] W. Hunzinger, *Das Wunder,* 24 (Leipzig 1912).
[8] *Das Leben Jesu,* 4th ed., 185 f. and many other passages.
[9] *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* 109-152 (Gütersloh 1907).

Beth,[1] K. Furrer,[2] the Englishman W. Sanday,[3] and A. Sabatier[4] and E. Ménégoz in France are unable to reach any clear and positive attitude towards miracles. Ménégoz, Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, may have found for this school the correct expression, when he defines a miracle as an unusual natural phenomenon, which, through the ignorance of matters of natural science at that time, was held to be supernatural, but which in reality is thoroughly natural.[5]

This "veiled scepticism," according to Ménégoz, dominates in general even the best representatives of Protestant orthodoxy, so that "their defence of the miraculous turns into a denial of it."[6] In one breath they assert their belief in all the Bible miracles, and in the next maintain "that miracles are simple, natural processes, the laws of which are still unknown to us. . . . In truth, there is at present not a single Protestant theologian left who with entire conviction shares the views of Moses, the Prophets, Jesus Christ, the Apostles, the theologians of the Middle Ages, and even of the Reformers, in regard to the miraculous."[7]

That the modernists have thrown belief in miracles completely overboard is, moreover, well known. They have tamely let themselves be taken in tow by the freethinking, Neo-Kantian critics, and their defection from the Catholic Church really began with the defection from miracles. Loisy, the most important champion of modernism, expresses himself in many passages of his works in such a perfectly sceptical manner that we might suppose that we are listening to sentences from Renan: "A miracle is a thoroughly inadmissible thing. . . . Miracles are things that never happen."[8]

This hasty review of the opponents of miracles is in the highest degree instructive. We see from it, first, that the defence of this bulwark, so important and essential to Christianity, is given over, so to speak, entirely to the Catholic Church.[9] What has been said, then, already indicates the

[1] *Die Wunder Jesu,* 28 (Grosslichterfelde-Berlin 1905).
[2] *Das Leben Jesu,* 2nd ed., 118-145 (Leipzig 1905).
[3] *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel,* 169-182 (1905).
[4] *Esquisse d'une Philosophie de la Religion,* 64-103 (1897).
[5] *La notion biblique du miracle* (1894); *Der biblische Wunderbegriff,* German trans. by A. Baur (Leipzig 1895).
[6] Ménégoz-Baur, *l.c.,* 14.
[7] *id.,* 15, 28. If we read the fundamental declarations of orthodox theologians about miracles—as, for example, in E. Samtleben, *Die biblischen Wunder, ihre Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit* (Gütersloh 1907)—we might, it is true, find this judgement pronounced by Ménégoz much exaggerated.
[8] Renan, *Vie de Jésus,* 49th ed., v, vi.
[9] How true this is is shown by the following pleasant effusions of Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Soltau: "There are no objective miracles. . . . The really evangelical Christian . . . will eliminate objective miracles from Christianity. No power of darkness has more contributed to the brutalization and degradation of mankind than the belief in miracles

reason, the true and exact reason, which has always been and still is decisive for the denial of miracles. This reason is not to be sought in the miracle itself, but in the naturalistic view of the universe.

Only nothing supernatural—that is the watchword. The empiricists and rationalists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the subsequent Kantian science and to-day's Neo-Kantian philosophy and theology of all shades, all stand collectively under the spell of naturalism. Some began with a naturalistic theory of knowledge only to carry this later and consistently over to theology. Others, on the contrary, proceeded from naturalistic ideas of religion only to end in an equally modified philosophical theory of knowledge. Some still cling to a misunderstood supernaturalism, and want to unite water and fire; while others again have logically gone on to religious and scientific scepticism and nihilism. In all of them, however, and in every case the doubt of the reality of miracles presupposes a doubt of the supernatural, and the denial of the miraculous presupposes a conscious or unconscious denial of any higher order of the universe.

The conflict against miracles rages with such fury only because a miracle is both the evident proof and the actual revelation of the supernatural in the strictest sense. All difficulties pertaining to miracles proceed from a fear of the supermundane and the supernatural, and also lead back again to this cowardly fear. It is true, ostensibly the belief in miracles is attacked from "scientific" scruples, which are supposed to lie in the miraculous itself. A miracle is in itself, it is said, something so monstrous that even the proposal of the problem of "Miracles and Science" is absolutely to be excluded. "Miracle *or* science" is the proper name for it. A scientific view of the universe is positively incompatible with a belief in miracles. This is even the view of those moderns from the most different camps of the non-catholics who speak and write about miracles with the veritable air of Church Fathers and with pietistically upturned eyes. We ought not, however, to be led into error by all this. With very few exceptions in the strictest orthodox circles, they defend miracles only in so far as they find nothing miraculous in them. They falsify the idea of a miracle, and change it into the very opposite meaning. The expositions thus far given contain proofs of all this. We must, however, give a still clearer account of them if in subsequent arguments we do not wish to fight with windmills.

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furthered by the organs of the Catholic Church. . . . May the Catholic Church, therefore, show whether it is capable of rejuvenation, and whether it, like modern Protestantism, can break with the superstition of former centuries. If it will not or cannot give up the idea of miracles, then all talk of a Catholic science is useless."—*Hat Jesus Wunder Gethan?* 96 f. (Leipzig 1903).

2. *The Conception of Miracles.*

Perhaps no conception has been so variously and contradictorily interpreted since the seventeenth century as that of miracles.[1] Every opponent of the miraculous and every doubter of the reality of miracles is wont to define this conception independently, exactly to suit his own personal views.

Downright scepticism makes it an object of derision. For the most part it fits it out with all the characteristics of a fairy-tale or some spectral figure of the imagination, whereupon it is naturally and quite rightly asserted that with such "miracles" God has nothing to do, and that these belong to the nursery of the human imagination. Again, the enemies of religion often think that miracles are simply natural occurrences, which are looked upon by the stupid numskull as supernatural, although every educated man sees them to be ordinary things. At best, gross unbelief—and with it broad circles of modern Protestantism—understand by a miracle an event which from the standpoint of even the most advanced science is for the present not yet explicable, but which will find its complete natural explanation with the advancement of natural science.

Quite different is the position of those moderns who still hold to the idea of a personal God and of divine intervention in the world and human life, without, however, believing in a supernatural revelation. They are accustomed to look on ordinary events in the course of nature as miraculous if there is in them any dispensation of Providence. A tile falls from the roof. Another step and we should have been killed. God has mercifully preserved us from misfortune. "Miracle, miracle!" declares the liberal Gottfried Traub.[2] The proof that all this has come about by natural means effects nothing to the contrary. In every dispensation of God the "pious" man sees a miracle.

More prudent representatives of the same school of Ritschl regard as miraculous at least all extraordinary dispensations of God. M. Rade thinks that for pious parents the birth of

[1] For the idea of miracles, see A. Nicolas, *Philosophische Studien über das Christentum,* 4th ed., 274-352; H. Denzinger, *Vier Bücher von der religiösen Erkenntnis,* ii, 334-346, 358-402 (Würzburg 1857); Hilmer, *Der christliche Wunderbegriff und die moderne Weltanschauung* (Jena 1869); A. Van Weddingen, *De miraculo,* 87-164 (Lovanii 1869); J. Ottiger, *Theologia fundamentalis,* i, 170-195 (1897); P. Fischer, *Die Frage nach dem Wesen des Wunders* (Blaubeuren 1897); B. Frins in *Philosophisch. Jahrbuch,* x, 109-127, 380-393 (1897); Schinz, *Essai sur la notion du miracle* (Neuchâtel 1897); Al. von Schmid, *Apologetik als spekulative Grundlegung der Theologie,* 246-290 (Freiburg 1900); E. Coste, *Qu'est-ce que le miracle?* 3rd ed. (1902); L. Fonck, *Die Wunder des Herrn im Evangelium,* i, 3-7 (Innsbruck 1907); K. Beth, *Das Wunder, prinzipielle Erörterung des Problems,* 5-17 (Grosslicherfelde 1908).

[2] *Die Wunder im N. T.,* 2nd ed., 2 f.

their child[1] is a religious miracle; for Zeppelin "the victorious flight of his airship, which God let him accomplish, whereby he is conscious of God";[2] and for the pious Christian "a photograph of the bony framework of his body through its fleshly covering" by means of the Röntgen rays.[3] Accordingly, it is thus defined: "The religious miracle is, according to its original and essential signification, an extraordinary event of the world of sense-perception by which the pious man becomes overwhelmingly conscious of God and his activity in this world."[4]

Ménégoz goes somewhat further in the positive direction when he writes: "A miracle is the answer to prayer. . . . If the answer to prayer takes place in a remarkable, striking and unusual way, we call it a miracle; if it occurs in a simple way, we call it an answer to prayer; but in both cases we are convinced that God . . . does nothing contrary to the law of nature."[5]

If, therefore, the moderns allow a miracle at all, they never see in it, precisely like Schleiermacher, a supernatural event in contrast to the natural, but only an unusual event in contrast to the usual. And, moreover, they regard the miracle, not as an external and objective fact, but merely as a subjective, inward experience. Somewhat as Ziller says: "Only those miracles are of positive religious value which are self-experienced, or are, at least, experienced subsequently, and which spring from a normal development of religious sensibility and perception. . . . Only a healthy, strong faith produces the genuine miracle."[6]

All these variously coloured views nevertheless signify the precise opposite of the conception of miracles which we find in the Holy Scriptures, which is the only thing of importance.[7] The document of revelation in the Old and New Testament defines a miracle with a definiteness that makes all misunderstanding impossible. It prevents all ambiguity by not indulging in wellnigh incomprehensible discussions, but by presenting the real miraculous facts themselves.[8]

[1] Rode, *Das religiöse Wunder und anderes,* 12 (Tübingen 1909).
[2] *id.,* 14. [3] *id.,* 16.
[4] *id.,* 27; also Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums,* p. 17, acknowledges a miracle only in this sense; similarly J. Wendland, *Der Wunderglaube in Christentum* (Göttingen 1910).
[5] *Der biblische Wunderbegriff,* 48.
[6] *Die biblischen Wunder in ihrer Beziehung zu den biblischen Welt- und Gottesanschauungen,* 36 f. (Tübingen 1904).
[7] Although we speak here for the present of miracles in general, the whole question in debate revolves about the Bible miracles. Only in regard to them do our opponents, and we as well, put these fundamental questions concerning miracles and science.
[8] In regard to the biblical conception of miracles, besides the previously mentioned literature, see specially J. Lenz, *Das biblische Wunder* (1892); E. Hay, *The Scripture Doctrine of Miracles* (1893).

It always records as miracles, first of all, only events obvious to the senses, phenomena which can be directly apprehended by the external senses. The reason for this is evident. The miracle is to be an indication, a seal, a "sign" of God, as is shown by many passages of Holy Writ. It is to prove itself, in an indubitable, incontestable manner, to be a direct act of God.[1] This presupposes, however, that we personally perceive it. On that account the unfathomable action of God in the mysteries of faith, such, for example, as the transubstantiation in the Holy Eucharist, the working of the Sacraments, and the like, will never be adduced as miraculous in the strict meaning of the word. These miracles of faith are called so only figuratively, for they are really evident only to the cognition of faith, and yet are insufficient for natural, sensible perception.[2] It is very different with the so-called spiritual miracles—the great acts of God in the domain of moral and intellectual human life. The sudden conversion of a sinner, or the inspiration of knowledge not otherwise acquired, are perceived by the favoured individual at least inwardly, and can be inferred, at least indirectly, by outsiders through their results. To that extent they are usually reckoned among the miracles, as, for example, the conversion of the Apostle Paul.[3] But for external, sensible experience these occurrences are not perceptible, and therefore are not miraculous in the technically apologetic meaning of the word. Into the sphere of external sense-perception come only such things as lie in the domain of physical experience—such as the resuscitation of the dead and the healing of the sick—in general, only miracles of Nature, provided that we interpret this word in the widest sense. Only these belong to the category of miraculous events, with which the defence of them can reckon.[4]

Such obvious events in the natural world bear, however, a miraculous character only if they are not in conformity with the natural order. The almighty and all-wise Creator has given forces and laws to nature, according to which individual entities, as well as the whole world, exist, move, and act. The total sum of these forces and laws, and of the effects and phenomena resulting from them, we call the natural order. All ordinary happenings, whether great or small, take place within the limits of the natural order. Even divine

[1] St Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, II, 2, q. 178, a. 1; 3, q. 43, a. 1.

[2] Also from the standpoint of faith they do not come into consideration as miracles because they are accomplished in accordance with the order of grace, exactly as ordinary natural events take place according to the order of nature.

[3] *Conversio Pauli tanquam miraculosa in Ecclesia commemoratur.* St Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, II, 2, q. 113, a. 10.

[4] See, moreover, Müller, *Natur und Wunder, ihr Gegensatz und ihre Harmonie,* 147-183 (Freiburg 1892).

providence usually directs, leads and governs the universe according to the existing order of nature. If, however, we sometimes meet with an event which cannot have been caused in accordance with the laws, and through the forces, of that natural order, then we call it a miracle. The cure of a consumptive, for example, is not to be called miraculous if it is effected with an expenditure of time, nursing and suitable medicines. In this way, nature and natural art heal. It becomes a miracle, however, if it occurs instantaneously, at a mere command of the will; for no natural force can in a moment heal completely an organism ravaged by consumption, and between the command and the work of healing there is, in this case, absolutely no natural relation.

For that very reason we must also say that such and similar events or effects, directly or indirectly, are caused only by God, the Lord of nature. They do not stand within the competence of natural, created beings. Even the highest of these, the created spirits, are, in their activity, subject to the laws of nature, and can set in operation no agencies which absolutely exceed the order of nature.[1]

If we summarize these three characteristics, we may say that: "A miracle is an event obvious to the senses which stands outside the order of nature, and therefore must be caused by God himself."

In this the principal thing lies in the second of these characteristics. We do not demand that the miracle in itself must be an event obvious to the senses, but demand it only because otherwise it would not be at once perceptible to everyone. That it must be wrought by God we do not need yet to demand, since, as has been said, only God can produce results which lie outside of and above the natural order. In the fact that it is a question of an effect not in accordance with nature lies practically everything. We come, then, to the very essence of the miracle if we briefly designate it as an event which is outside the order of nature.

Whether such an event is great or small, important or unimportant, does not affect the fact. That God has created and preserves the entire universe is not miraculous in the narrower sense, because it corresponds to the order of nature; but that he also preserves even a single man in strength and life without natural means is a miracle, because it is not in accordance with the order of nature established by him. That

[1] St Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I, q. 110, a. 4. The question how far the angels, good and evil, are able to accomplish things which at least relatively (to us) surpass the forces of nature, we shall answer briefly towards the end of this chapter. See also Hettinger, *Lehrbuch der Fundamentaltheologie*, 219 (Freiburg 1888); Gutberlet, *Lehrbuch der Apologetik*, vol. II, 79 (Münster 1888); Joseph Pohle, *Natur und Übernatur*, in Esser-Mausbach, *Religion, Christentum und Kirche*, i, 430 (1911).

he leads even one single earth-worm to its aim in life, outside and above the ways of the order of nature, is a miracle; but if his providence cares day by day for the entire world and for humanity, if it answers our most secret prayers, and if it itself hastens to our assistance in an extraordinary way, that is no miracle, so long as this providential leading does not visibly leave out of consideration the natural order of things.[1]

This definition, held firmly by the whole early Christian and medieval theology,[2] and defended still to-day unflinchingly by the Catholic Church,[3] agrees with that of the entire Holy Scriptures. It would mean copying the Bible should we try to prove this in detail. Even those critics who advocate other conceptions of miracles, or simply reject them, do not fail to recognize this. Ziller is obliged to confess that the moderns, by defining the miracles otherwise, put themselves in opposition to the Bible.[4] Ménégoz with still greater emphasis says: "The representation of the miraculous remains the same from the first page of Genesis to the last page of the Apocalypse. . . . The natural order yields to a superior will, and this will is, in the last analysis, the will of God. This is the conception of miracles which shows itself clearly from these narratives. . . . Throughout them all a miracle is looked upon as a phenomenon opposed to the natural order. This gives it its peculiar character—the character of a miracle. . . . If the miracle is ascribed to a natural event which occurs in accordance with unchangeable laws, which are to-day still unknown to us but to-morrow can be discovered, the biblical conception of miracles is destroyed."[5]

Even Strauss, the fiercest opponent of miracles, says plainly: "By a miracle is understood in general an event which, inexplicable from the working and co-operation of infinite causalities, appears as a direct intervention of the highest infinite Cause—God himself—for the purpose of attesting God's existence and will in the world."[6]

Now the "modern" doctrine of miracles stands in most violent opposition to this conception of miracles in the Holy Scriptures and in positive Christianity. It denies, as our recent review of the subject has shown us, above all and most

[1] See Sawicki, *Gebetserhörung und Naturordnung*, in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, lxxxvii, 580-592 (1905); Gaston Sortais, *La providence et le miracle devant la science moderne* (1905).

[2] See, for example, St Augustine, *De Trinitate*, iii, 2-10; Anselm, *De conceptu virg.*, ii, 11; St Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I, q. 105, a. 6-8; q. 110, a. 4; *c. Gentiles*, III, 98-103; Bellarm, *De notis Eccles.*, iv, 14; Suarez, *De Angel.*, cxxix, 10; Fr. v. Tessin-Wesierski, *Grundlagen des Wunderbegriffs nach Thomas v. Aquin* (Paderborn 1899).

[3] This can be said of Protestant orthodoxy only with great restrictions, as we have previously shown.

[4] *Die biblischen Wunder*, 3.

[5] *Der biblische Wunderbegriff*, 2, 6, 8, 16.

[6] *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, 74.

decidedly that characteristic which constitutes the soul and essence of a miracle—namely, the supernatural and extra-natural element of the miraculous event. Because, and in so far as we define a miracle as an event, which is not compatible with the order of nature and does not originate from it, it is at once repudiated by the moderns. It is asserted that it is absolutely impossible that anything can occur which is outside the limits of the natural order.

II.—The Possibility of Miracles.

All the arguments which have been brought against the possibility of miracles[1] can be practically narrowed down to the one sole objection—a miracle, as the effect of a supernatural cause, interrupts the continuity of nature; and an interruption of the continuity of nature is impossible. Spinoza was the first[2] to promulgate this catchword.[3] Since then our critical opponents content themselves with always repeating the same thing with numberless variations. Even Strauss, who is said to have finally solved the problem of miracles,[4] does not know anything else to bring forward. He brands the miracle as a "perforation of the unity of nature,"[5] and then triumphantly cries out: "This newer age is indebted to the examination of a series of the most wearisome investigations, continued through centuries, for the fact that everything in the world is connected by a chain of causes and effects that suffers no interruption. It is true, the individual objects and spheres of the world, with the course of their conditions and changes, are by no means so bound up together that they have not been liable to an intervention and interruption from without; but the activities of the one essential part or kingdom of nature overlap those of the other; human freedom breaks the development of many a natural object, and natural causes

[1] In regard to the possibility of miracles, see Denzinger, *Vier Bücher von der religiösen Erkenntnis,* ii, 346-351 (1857); F. X. Dieringer, *System der göttlichen Taten des Christentums,* 2nd ed., 507-526; A. v. Weddingen, *De miraculo,* 268-327; Knabenbauer, *Das Wunder vor dem Forum der modernen Wissenschaft,* in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* viii, 1-17 (1875); Bonniot, *Wunder und Scheinwunder,* 31-60 (1889); J. M. A. Vacant in *Dictionnaire apologetique* (Jaugey), 2048-2057; Schanz, *Apologie,* ii, 432-445; Ottiger, *Theol. fund.*, i, 195-208; Gondel, *Miracle,* 28-65; Fonck, *Die Wunder des Herrn,* 2nd ed., ii, 10-14; Beth, *Das Wunder,* 15 ff; T. Pesch, *Die grossen Welträtsel,* 3rd ed., ii, 350-359, 392-406; Pohle in Esser-Mansbach, *Religion, Christentum und Kirche,* i, 433-444.

[2] It is true, the scoffer Celsus had already expressed himself similarly, according to Origen, *Contra Celsum,* iv, 5: "Si enim hic unum quid vel levissimum mutaveris, subversa ruent omnia."

[3] *Tractatus theologico-politicus,* c. 6.

[4] Schwitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 10.

[5] *Die Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,* i, 276 (1840).

react upon human freedom; yet the totality of finite things always forms, nevertheless, a very large circle within which—apart from the fact that it owes its existence to a higher one—nothing distinctively individual can any more come from without. This conviction has become so much a part of the consciousness of the modern world that in actual life the opinion or assertion that a supernatural cause or a divine activity has anywhere directly intervened is regarded absolutely as a proof of ignorance or fraud."[1] Adolf Harnack merely brings out the same thought in a more pregnant form: "We are of the steadfast opinion that what occurs in space and time is subject to the universal laws of motion, and that therefore, in this sense—that is, as an interruption of the unity of nature—there can be no miracles. . . . The unity of nature is inviolable."[2] And so it goes on through the really immeasurable series of modern deniers of miracles. In all possible strains the same assertion always returns, about the inviolability of the unity of nature and its interruption by miracles.

No proof for this assertion is, naturally, ever forthcoming. For the most part, the attempt is not even made to produce any such proof. "Critical" investigation would consider it beneath its dignity to bother with such nonsense. It only boasts loudly that its opinion is that "this conviction has become so much a part of the consciousness of the modern world" (Strauss), and "We are of the steadfast opinion" (Harnack). That is to be sufficient!

Only rarely, and as it were in passing, are we referred to reasons of a natural or religious scientific character, from which the impossibility of a miracle results. In reality, the problem of miracles must be conceived from this twofold standpoint. A miracle has been defined as an extra-natural event, the immediate cause of which is God. There arises, therefore, first of all the question whether such an event can be harmonized with nature, in the midst of which it is said to be brought about; and then the further question, whether such an event can be harmonized with the divinity, by which it is said to be accomplished.

Before we start, however, to answer this double question, both the enemies and friends of miracles must find themselves upon some common ground from which they have necessarily to proceed if the investigation is to lead to any result. This common ground and starting-point is the theistic view of the world, the conviction that a personal God exists, and that all nature is dependent upon him as its Creator, Preserver and final Aim. For Monism, which cannot possibly

[1] *Das Leben Jesu, critically elaborated*, i, 80 (1840).
[2] *Wesen des Christentums*, 17.

attain to this conviction, the problem of miracles has no meaning whatever. Monism—both the materialistic and the pantheistic variety—denies the existence of every supermundane being, and exalts the world itself, Nature, the Universe, to the rank of divinity. But if nature is God and God nature, then everything that nature does is also divine, and all that God does is natural. How could there, then, be for Monists any question of a miracle, which is a supernatural act of the supernatural God?[1] Pantheistic and materialistic Monism would cease to exist if it allowed itself to enter into a discussion about miracles. With Monism we should have to argue, not about miracles, but about the existence of God and the relation of created nature to him. It is easy to understand that this cannot be done here. We have only to investigate whether a miracle is consistent with the idea of created nature on the one hand, and with that of a personal God on the other.

1. *Miracles and the Conception of Nature.*

"The unity of nature is inviolable. A miracle, as a breaking of the unity of nature, is impossible." This decision is hailed as a dogma and an achievement of modern science. The words are all the more enticing from the fact that they express themselves in general, indefinite phrases. What do they mean exactly? If we patiently unravel the tangled skein of those views about the conditional violation of the order of nature by a miracle, we come finally upon three prejudices against miracles: (*a*) A miracle interrupts the natural law; (*b*) a miracle interrupts natural force; (*c*) a miracle interrupts the knowledge of nature.

(*a*) *Miracles and the Natural Law.*[2]

"All natural scientists are agreed in this, that what in animate nature belongs to the static and mechanical is subject to the laws of statics and mechanics; that whatever in

[1] For information about Monism, see Gutberlet, *Der mechanische Monismus, eine Kritik der modernen Weltanschauung* (Paderborn 1903); *Der Kosmos, sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung* (Paderborn 1908); Heinrich Schmidt, *Monismus und Christentum* (1906); Josue Uhlmann, *Die Persönlichkeit Gottes und ihre modernen Gegner* (Freiburg i. Br. 1906); Vitus Brander, *Der naturalistische Monismus der Neuzeit, oder Häckels Weltanschauung* (Paderborn 1907); Johann Ude, *Monistische oder teleologische Weltanschauung?* (Graz 1907); Otto Zimmermann, *Ohne Grenzen und Enden, Gedanken über den unendlichen Gott* (Freiburg i. Br. 1908); Friedrich Klimke, *Der Monismus und seine philosophischen Grundlagen* (Freiburg i. Br. 1911).

[2] Besides the already mentioned more general literature, *cf.* Gloatz, *Wunder und Naturgesetz*, in *Theol. Studien*, 403ff. (1886); P. Seeberg, in Herzog's *Realenzyklop. der protestant. Theologie*, vol. XXI, 564-566; Eugen Müller, *Natur und Wunder* (1892); L. Kessler, *Über Offen-*

it is of a chemical nature is subject to the laws of chemistry; and whatever in it stands in relation to light and electricity must also conform to the universal laws of these forces. The divine regulations (of the laws of nature) pursue their course unchangeably.[1] That is the usual phraseology by which is expressed the incompatibility of miracles with natural laws. It could also have a correct significance, but it is understood by the enemies of miracles as meaning that a miracle would interrupt the absolutely inviolable laws of nature.

To this we must remark, on the one hand, that the laws of nature are not absolutely inviolable; and, on the other, that they are in no way broken by a miracle.

From Baruch Spinoza[2] down to the latest opponents of miracles, it has been said innumerable times that natural laws are absolutely necessary and unchangeable laws, and that they, therefore, also absolutely exclude the possibility that anything can ever happen which is incompatible with them.[3] Such a view, however, presupposes an incurable confusion of ideas. What in reality is a natural law? Something immense, existing for itself and unapproachable, which has existed from all eternity, and according to which the things of this world and time must have been necessarily arranged? No; even the materialist, Moleschott, protests against such a conception of law. "The law," he says, "is only the most concise and general expression for the agreement of many thousand phenomena. The law has merely historical validity. . . . Never is the law thought of before the phenomenon; it was discovered in the phenomenon."[4]

In other words, all natural laws are experimental laws and are derived solely from experience. We find, for example, that in all observed cases masses attract one another in the proportion of the square, that heavy bodies sink in water, that a body thrown into the air tends to fall towards the centre of earth, and that water boils at a temperature of 100 degrees centigrade. From this we infer corresponding separate laws of the attractive power of masses, the law of

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barung und Wunder (Göttingen 1899); P. de la Barre, *L'ordre de la nature et le miracle* (1900); Seydl, *Das ewige Gesetz in seiner Bedeutung für die physische und sittliche Weltordnung* (Wien 1902); Heigl, *Die Beziehung von Wunder und Naturgesetz* (1903); Émile Boutroux, *Begriff des Naturgesetzes* (Jena 1907); Kristian Aars, *Haben die Naturgesetze Wirklichkeit?* (1907); T. Pesch, *Die grossen Welträtsel,* 3rd ed., i, 211-233; Gutberlet, *Natur und Wunder,* 20-32 (1905); George Sattel, *Begriff und Ursprung der Naturgesetze* (Paderborn 1911).

[1] Konrad Furrer, *Leben Jesu Christi,* 2nd ed., 124.

[2] Spinoza, *Sämtliche Werke,* übersetzt von B. Auerbach, i, 223 f.

[3] For the modern representatives of this view, *cf.* T. Pesch, *op. cit.,* i, 221, and especially Sattel, *op. cit.,* 110.

[4] Moleschott, *Der Kreislauf des Lebens,* 437 (1852).

gravitation, and the like. But because these laws are only derived from what we have observed and experienced in regard to things, they possess also only the worth of experience. They are the rules according to which things really are and manifest themselves, but not the rules according to which they must absolutely be and manifest themselves. We could easily think of them otherwise. Why should there lie an inward contradiction in the possibility that masses should attract one another in the proportion of the cube, instead of in that of the square; that water should support not merely cork and wood, but also men and iron; and that it should begin to boil only at 200 degrees? Hermann Lotze remarks in regard to this: "We must consider the unchangeableness of the laws of nature . . . as one of those facts learned by experience, which inform us about the fundamental characteristics of the real construction of the universe, but we ought not to look upon them as an arrangement necessary in itself, which must occur in every nature, or even without limitations in this nature of ours."[1]

The condition of things in our world could have been, in itself, entirely different from what it really is; in fact, the things themselves might also not have existed at all. They are contingent, not absolute. They have come into being because the Creator of nature wished to have it so, and they will be here so long and in so far as it pleases him to maintain them. So much the less can the laws which are deduced by us from the phenomena and activities of natural things claim for themselves absolute validity and necessity. Monistic naturalism, which ascribes to them such qualities, is by nature itself accused of error. The impossibility of a miracle would, therefore, not be proved, even if the laws of nature were broken by it.

A miracle does not, however, infringe in the least upon the laws of nature. This is evident from the fact that the very people who believe in miracles, also defend most vigorously the actual, real constancy of the natural order. This is denied by some thinkers and investigators, and in particular by well-known opponents of miracles like Locke and Hume, and later by John Stuart Mill[2] and Otto Liebmann.[3] On the contrary, the Aristotelian-Christian philosophy has always held fast to the belief that the existing natural laws without exception possess validity and inviolable constancy. Belief in miracles is so far removed from denying this postulate of true science that it rather builds itself up on that foundation.

As often as we perceive an effect which has not been

[1] Lotze, *Mikrokosmos*, 4th ed., i, 51 (1884).

[2] *System of Deductive and Inductive Logic*, German by Schicl, 4th ed., ii, chap. xxi, 1.

[3] *Gedanken und Tatsachen*, i, 5 (Strasbourg 1899).

produced in accordance with the corresponding law of nature, we do not conclude that the natural law has become weakened. No; we presuppose the unexceptional constancy of natural occurrences, and seek, on that account, the cause of the influence exerted upon nature in God. We are absolutely convinced that the natural law continues even in the occurrence of a miracle, and that, in spite of the miraculous fact, it suffers no violation, no alteration and no exception.

In order to make this clear, let us bear in mind the episode, recorded in the Gospels, of Peter walking on the water. We remark, to our amazement, that there is here a wholly different effect to that which the law of gravitation is otherwise accustomed to cause in such cases. Do we infer from this that in this instance the above-named law has been abrogated or violated? Not at all. We know that it was at the time active. Because, however, it is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon of walking on the water, we draw the conclusion that a high, divine cause must have intervened and have produced the miraculous result. The natural law, therefore, was not abrogated by this cause, but the working of that natural law was paralyzed and replaced by another.

The same is to be said of all miraculous occurrences. It is not an antagonism between law and law, but an antagonism between effect and effect, that makes itself conspicuous in them. Either the miraculous effect is one that could also be produced by the power of nature, but not in the way that God produces it; then we have a miracle outside or alongside of nature, *praeter naturam*—as, for example, the sudden healing of a broken bone or of a sufferer from fever. Or the effect in question is one that could never be produced by natural power in any circumstances; and then we have a miracle above nature, *supra naturam*—as, for example, the changing of water into wine, or the healing of a blind man whose organ of sight was wanting. Or, finally, the intervening effect is one of those which, under given circumstances, would be attained by nature, but is precisely reversed; and then we speak of a miracle contrary to nature, *contra naturam*—as, for example, the resuscitation instead of the decomposition of a dead man, or the walking about of the three youths in the fiery furnace instead of their being burned to death.[1]

[1] The Christian view, in so far as it speaks of miracles contrary to nature, *contra naturam,* understands the expression only in the above sense of an effect based upon divine causality, and opposed to the natural effect (St Thomas, *Summa c. gentil.,* III, c. 99, 100; *De pot.* q. 6, a. 1 and 2). Our opponents, such as, recently, Lütze, *Über das Wunder,* 7 ff. (1883); Ménégoz, *Der biblische Wunderbegriff,* 36; Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* 3rd ed., 119 f.; Beth, *Das Wunder,* 17; Hunzinger, *Das Wunder,* 7, 36, 96 (1912)—accuse us unjustly of defending miracles, as if they were contrary to nature, or at least unnatural. Already St Augustine (*De civitat. Dei,* xxi, 8, 2)

In whatever relation the miraculous effects may stand to those of nature, it is in any case a question only of an interruption of natural effects, never of an interruption of nature's laws. Thomas Aquinas says this expressly: "Although God may produce some effect outside the working of its natural cause, he in no way abolishes the regular relation of this cause to its effect. Thus, in the fiery furnace, there remained the regular order of things in respect to burning, although it did not burn up the three youths in the furnace."[1]

Let no one say the intervention in the effects is also an intervention in the law itself, because in all circumstances the corresponding effect must follow the law. Nothing is more erroneous than such a view. The effect is not connected with the law in all circumstances, but only in certain, well defined circumstances. Electricity lights my room, or heats my stove, or drives my motor, provided the mechanic has complied perfectly with the necessary regulations and that the stream is not by any accident interrupted. A given law of nature produces, therefore, its effect only if the necessary conditions are fulfilled. "The law of nature reveals itself as that appointed state of things, by means of which under definite conditions they produce definite results."[2] These results are, without prejudice to the laws themselves, interrupted as often as those conditions are interrupted. The inviolability of natural laws is, therefore, quite compatible with the interruption of natural effects.

Whoever would deny this must nevertheless acknowledge, not only in the case of a miracle, but in the most ordinary daily events, numberless interruptions of the laws of nature. The universe abounds in cases in which the effects of nature are paralyzed. The blindly acting elements in innumerable phenomena work violently against one another, impeding and mutually neutralizing one another. And every higher grade of being uses the lower for its own advantage and to the disadvantage of the inferior. The plant is nourished by paralyzing the physical and chemical effects of the inorganic world. The animal disturbs and destroys, in its fight for existence, specimens of plant life and often also those of the animals to which it itself belongs. Man is the first to force all nature to enter his service. Here he suppresses one effect in order to set free an antagonistic one; there he elevates one at the cost of the others—in short, the king of creation scarcely takes one step in his kingdom without leaving behind him some traces

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has remarked that it is neither contrary to nature, nor unnatural, but in the highest degree in accordance with nature, that nature yields to its supreme Lord, whether he bring forth effects which proceed from nature or such as do not lie within the powers or nature.

[1] *De pot.*, q. 6, a., 1 *ad* 20.

[2] Sattel, *op. cit.*, 75.

of his supremacy over the working of nature. Whoever looks upon the intervention in natural effects as an abolition of the laws of nature should never sit down at table, for with every mouthful he takes he contravenes the effects of nature; he should never go to the doctor, for every medicine and every surgical intervention is an intervention in the effects of nature; and he should carefully avoid throwing a stone into the air, for he feels in his hand and muscles the law of gravitation and yet sets a contrary force against it. But if all these are not to be regarded as interruptions of the laws of nature, neither is a miracle to be so regarded.

(*b*) *Miracles and Natural Forces.*

According to its origin, the intervention in the activity of nature conditioned by the miracle is, it is true, fundamentally different from all the rest. Wherever creature-causes influence nature favourably or unfavourably, this is done with forces which are inherent in nature itself and are thoroughly natural. Wherever, on the contrary, an influence is brought to bear upon nature by a miracle, this occurs by means of an extra-natural and supernatural cause. This entrance of the supernatural into the complex of nature's forces would be, according to our opponents, an interruption of the harmony and unity of the entire universe.

Here the scientific objection of an interruption of nature's continuity by a miracle appears in its severest form. That eternally and monotonously repeated objection really means this: "Whatever happens in the world can have its cause in the world only; every natural phenomenon must have been produced by natural force; it is not possible that any external energy should intervene in the machinery of natural causality." More clearly even than Spinoza, Strauss and Harnack, W. Wundt expresses this idea in the concise sentence: "The postulate of a closed natural causality tells us that natural occurrences can have their causes always only in natural occurrences, and not in any given conditions whatever outside of the continuity of natural causality."[1]

Stated thus, this objection is only the most concise expression for philosophic naturalism, which either denies the existence of God, or, at least, his providence and care in the world, and with this very hypothetical denial approaches the physical explanation of the universe. Such a theory of natural science cannot, of course, be taken seriously. The objection of the inviolability of natural conformity, or the "postulate of a closed causality," can be seriously allowed only in the sense of the so-called principle of force, or of the

[1] *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 1904, 782.

law of the conservation of natural energy. And to this only do intelligent natural scientists, like John Tyndall[1] and other later opponents of miracles, appeal.

This fundamental principle of all natural science, as a whole, was first uttered in 1842 by the physician Robert Mayer, and since then has been universally confirmed by a very extensive induction, so that it is regarded to-day as an unassailable axiom. It states that no force manifests itself in nature without an equivalent consumption of another force, and that, accordingly, no new natural force is created, and none already existing is lost. When an amount of energy is apparently destroyed, it really experiences only a transformation into another form of energy. Mechanical work can, for example, be transformed into heat, light and electricity. The amount of heat, light and electricity thus acquired will correspond strictly to the amount of mechanical work applied. If the initial condition is again brought about, it will be seen that not even the smallest amount of mechanical force has been destroyed. If we carry this principle over into all nature, the whole sum of its energy remains unchanged, no matter what processes and mutations have taken place in it separately.[2]

Now a miracle is said to offer the sharpest contrast to this principle of force, and for that very reason to interrupt the whole course of nature. Because the miracle had to be accomplished by a supernatural and extra-natural cause, it must necessarily have brought with it a shifting, a diminution or an increase of natural force. For example, the raising of the dead would imply a new creation and an increase of vital force, and the healing of the sick a production of healing force. That is, however, in view of the principle of the conservation of energy, absolutely inadmissible. Hence a miracle also is impossible. How is this?

In the first place, the principle of force in no wise forbids the mechanical force of nature from being arbitrarily conducted and influenced from without. Within and by means of the inorganic world it is, of course, impossible. Here every body has just so much movement and energy as it receives from another body, and it necessarily gives out again just so much as it has itself received. A stone begins to roll because it comes to a sloping surface. Exactly in proportion to the greater or smaller inclination of the ground it will also roll faster or more slowly, strike harder or more heavily, and

[1] *Fragments of Science.*

[2] For the law of energy, see J. Traube, *Grundriss der physikalischen Chemie,* 15 (Stuttgart 1904); L. Dressel, *Lehrbuch der Physik,* i, 38 (1905); Ed. Riecke, *Lehrbuch der Physik,* i, 135 (1905); Remsen-Seubert, *Anorganische Chemie,* 3 (1906); for the following exposition, Gutberlet, *Das Gesetz von der Erhaltung der Kraft und seine Beziehungen zur Metaphysik* (1882).

affect thus the second body hit by it. Again, heat is produced by the burning of coal; the heat develops steam, steam drives the machine, and the friction of the machine again develops heat. The case is similar with all the incidents and processes of nature. Every movement and every transformation of force calls forth another equivalent movement and another parallel amount of force. What is lost on the one hand appears again on the other in the same, or in another, form. This law of force prevails so far as the inorganic world extends, to which, as is well known, no voluntary movement is possible.

The animal, however, is already able to move without having received an impetus from without, and without having to impart again to other beings the impetus of its own motion. It is able, on the other hand, however, independently to release quantitative and qualitative energies in the mechanical world of nature which otherwise would not have been evolved. Every waggon-horse furnishes proof of this. So much the more is man able, by uniting his own movement with intelligence and freewill, to influence correspondingly all the lower forces of nature. An act of will, and our limbs move and exert an influence upon other bodies; an inspiring thought, and natural powers are bound, released, drawn tightly, unloaded, restrained and unchained without the human mind having received an equivalent impetus from nature or having felt any counterstroke. In a word, it is the experience of our daily life that man can, on his own initiative and by the decisions of his own freewill, effect changes in nature which would never take place without the practical manifestation of human determination. Upon this fact rest all technical knowledge, all industrial achievements, all civilization, and all progress in natural science and the practical manipulation of natural forces. We have only to think of telegraphy, the steam-engine, the airship, the aeroplane, and the like. In all these the principle of force is not in the least infringed upon, because it is efficient only just for the exchange of physical forces among themselves and by themselves.

The principle of force is also not overthrown if God, in the case of a miracle, imparts to natural forces a direction pleasing to himself, and combines them, turns them aside, and allows them to work together and thus increases their activity infinitely.

Such a supernatural influence upon natural force might explain most of the miracles, perhaps all of them. There is no doubt that the walking on the water, the stilling of the waves, the multiplication of the loaves of bread, and the like, could have occurred in this way without any need of creating any new force or material. Also the miraculous healing of the sick requires no creation of curative force and no destruction of the force of disease, otherwise the same would have to

be also assumed in every cure made by a physician; for, in both cases—in that of a miracle and that of a physician's intervention—the material and force of the disease disappear and the force of health comes in. Even in cases of raising from the dead no new vital force is created, but only that which was formerly there is called back.

Meanwhile, the principle of force allows also that additional new force can be imparted from without to the natural mechanical force already existing. The law of energy says only that in all the cases observed, one definite form and amount of force has arisen only through the transformation of another homogeneous and equivalent force, and that, in consequence, the whole amount of world-energy remains the same so far as nature is dependent on itself and itself alone. From nature and by nature force is neither increased nor diminished by virtue of the principle of energy. But that above nature, and through God himself, no force can be newly created and imparted to nature, the principle of energy does not say at all, and natural science can in no way prove it.

On the contrary, it proves rather that God at a certain moment in the history of the world has increased the total amount of natural force by such a new creation. All scholars are agreed in the belief that organic natural force has not been present ever since the beginning of the world. As every beginner in geology and cosmology is able to prove, there was a time when no living creature existed on this planet. For, as examinations of the earth's crust reveal, our planet was once a molten fiery mass with such a high temperature as rendered all plant and animal life impossible. During this period of intense heat, therefore, there lived upon the earth neither plants nor animals; nothing but lifeless matter existed. Only when the earth had cooled off to approximately its present temperature did the possibility of its being inhabited by living beings present itself. But at that moment, when the first life had its commencement, the force of nature was increased, and increased by an immense amount of energy. In this, again, all investigators are agreed.

It is true, some sceptical advocates of natural science, like Vogt, Büchner, Moleschott, Haeckel and others, boldly declare that vital energy has not been brought into the world by God precisely as new energy, but that life has been evolved out of dead matter by spontaneous generation—*generatio aequivoca.* This is, however, something so contrary to sense that all really great natural scientists cry out against it. Even the atheists among them prefer to give up trying to explain the origin of life rather than accept spontaneous generation. They oppose to it the natural law, according to which every living being comes from a living cell—*omne vivum ex ovo;* they point out also that spontaneous generation can be accepted only by the denial of the principle

of energy, according to which natural force produces no new natural force. Spontaneous generation would be, therefore, in the strictest sense, a miracle contrary to nature and contrary to sense. As the paleontologist Branca, of Berlin, pertinently remarks: "Everyone who adopts the theory of spontaneous generation must understand that he is accepting thereby a miracle, so far as our present knowledge of nature extends. And the whole difference is merely this, that in one case this supposed procedure, effected contrary to natural law—that is, a miracle—is produced by absolutely lifeless, unintelligent matter, while in the other case an intelligent being, God, is represented as the originator of the miracle."[1]

A rational and natural explanation of life is, therefore, only possible if one holds firmly to the fact that the force of nature has been at one time increased by God by the force of life, without interrupting the continuity of nature or violating the principle of force. But if God could increase natural energy on such an immense scale once without affecting in the least the course of the world, he is able to do it also a second, a tenth or a hundredth time on a much smaller scale. For power to work a miracle, however great it may be, is, in comparison with that creation of life, or rather, let us say, in comparison with the divine creation of the world, as a drop of water or an atom in the wellnigh infinite universe.

(c) *Miracles and Knowledge of Nature.*

There still remains one last consideration. It is said that "a miracle interrupts our knowledge of nature and natural science as well as its practical application in life." It is quite incredible what senseless apprehensions in this respect are entertained against miracles. We will begin by making a collection of these as they are advanced by the most zealous enemies of miracles. The solution of the difficulties will then be at once evident.

Already Kant wrote the following drastic sentences: By miracles "reason becomes, as it were, paralyzed, since it is thereby checked in its regular business conducted according to unknown laws. . . . In all kinds of business (to which belongs also that of the natural scientist), we cannot therefore possibly count on miracles, or make allowance for them in any way by the use of our reason, as it is necessary to do in all the circumstances of life. . . . If reason is deprived of the laws of experience, it is of no more use whatever in such a world of witchery."[2]

Frohschammer remarks in a similar strain: "If we think

[1] Branca, *Der Stand unserer Kenntnisse vom fossilen Menschen*, 93 (Leipzig 1910).

[2] *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, 92-95 (1793).

in truth that a reign of law and necessity in nature is established, yet at the same time that a continual divine intervention and direct influence is also there, . . . then universal laws can be no more theoretically known and practically utilized. Nature would become again more or less of a chaos."[1] "By admitting the possibility of miracles," according to John Tyndall, "all natural certainty would be shattered, and no claim, based on the continuity of natural laws, would be any longer worthy of confidence."[2]

In the writings of L. Büchner and Julius Duboc these considerations assume the character of an actual cry of distress and alarm against the terrible evil of miracles. "How would it be possible," cries Büchner, "for the unchangeable order, in which things move, ever to be disturbed without causing throughout the entire world an irremediable breach, without giving us and the universe over to a dreary arbitrary power, and without making all science appear as childish trash, and all earthly endeavour as useless labour?"[3] The atheist Duboc summons science and humanity into the lists against a relapse into a belief in miracles: "We protest against the relapse into a belief in miracles, for the same reason and with the same right that we protest against a relapse into absolutism, against a régime of personal caprice, and against lawlessness. For a miracle is lawlessness, and precisely for this reason it means the abolition of all science based on principle, because, and in so far as, science has for its life-task the investigation of events determined by law."[4]

The strongest and certainly unsurpassable outburst is, however, furnished by L. Feuerbach, when, in his treatment of miracles, he writes: "The fundamental representation here is the common, low one, that God has given the laws of nature as a king gives a constitution, and that what he gives he can take back again. To-day he makes water wet, to-morrow perhaps he will make it dry; to-day the sun moves, to-morrow it will perhaps stand still; motion and rest are only expressions of the changeable will of the Lord. If I, for example, go to the well to fetch water to wash my linen, I cannot surely know whether what I here see as water is really water, and whether perhaps my linen will not become by its use, instead of white, red as blood; for the miraculous force can intentionally mystify me with a *quid pro quo,* so that I cannot trust myself, but remain always in the feeling of dependence on the omnipotence of the miracle-working will. If I, like Balaam, hear a donkey speak, I no longer know whether I am a donkey or whether the donkey is a man."[5]

[1] *Das Christentum und die moderne Naturwissenschaft,* 278 (1868).
[2] *Fragments of Natural Science,* 43 (1874).
[3] *Kraft und Stoff,* 7th ed., 36 (1862).
[4] *Optimismus, als Weltanschauung,* 41 (1881)
[5] *Sämtlicke Werke,* i, 7 (1846).

Now, we may not expect from all the enemies of miracles as little self-confidence as Feuerbach shows in this last sentence, but a large amount of sound common sense is not manifest in their statements above quoted. On the whole, all of them together come finally to the preconceived opinion, already refuted, that a miracle infringes the laws of nature and natural force. With this prejudice falls also the thoroughly rotten bulwark which was once erected between miracles and the knowledge of nature, theoretical and practical. The whole copious collection of catchwords with which the above-mentioned leaders of exact science have invested miracles melts away pitiably—"deprived of the laws of experience," "chaos of the world of miracles," "a world of witchery," "irremediable breach throughout the entire world," "dreary arbitrary power," "childish trash," "régime of personal caprice," "lawlessness," "abolition of all science," "*quid pro quo*"—all these famous bugbears against a belief in miracles become ineffective because, as has been demonstrated, miracles leave natural law and natural force undisturbed.

One thing remains—the fear that a miracle necessarily makes our knowledge of nature uncertain and precarious. Although natural force and natural law are not infringed by a miracle, yet, as we have seen, the miraculous effect is not produced by natural force, and therefore also does not correspond to the effect which would be expected according to the natural law. There lies the stumbling-block.

Natural science means, however, the ability to predict the effects of natural forces by means of well tested rules or laws. If in each individual case it were to be feared that another effect could be produced than the one supposed, all the certainty and security of science would vanish, and also that of practical life. The latter is based upon the fact that in all cases that effect which we expect by means of nature's force and in accordance with nature's law will take place. If this does not necessarily occur, it leaves open the possibility that also now and then a miraculous exception will be made, and then all guarantee for our conduct will cease. No one could any longer build a house, no one could enter a ship or a railway train, and no one could even go out of doors without the fear that the house might collapse through some secret miraculous power, or the ship sink, the train leave the track, or the ground rock beneath his feet.

That is the actual difficulty expressed in its full force. But it will be immediately reduced to a minimum if we reflect that a miracle is an extremely rare exception. Out of millions of naturally ordered effects there is not one that is extra-natural or miraculous. By a calculation of probabilities of one to ten million, the probability is no more a probability. In ordinary life it would not be at all considered. Yet, if we should wish to take it into consideration, it could at most

be done in the sense of the axiom: *Exceptio confirmat regulam.*

Still more. This exception always takes place only by the order of him who guides the world, who has numbered all the hairs of our head, and directs all events for our good. Moreover, God always works a miracle only for a moral or religious purpose, and also lets this purpose of the miracle be known. He never imposes upon us a *quid pro quo*. The miracle, therefore, comes as a hindrance neither to the investigator in his scientific researches, nor to the ordinary man in his usual life, and therefore brings neither of them into confusion.

Yet all this is not in the least needed in order to weaken the above-mentioned difficulty. Let us for once suppose that there are no miracles and can be none. Is then the builder in all cases certain that his house will not collapse? Is the traveller absolutely sure that his train will not be derailed, that his ship may not sink? Are we always absolutely certain that the earth will never rock beneath our feet? Think only of the thrilling reports of bridges and buildings which have fallen, of shipwrecks and railway accidents, of earthquakes, of cities and sections of the earth which, in consequence of the sinking or the elevation of the ground, have arisen and disappeared in the course of time. And no science or learning was able to foresee these events, although the laws and forces of nature connected with them were well known to scholars. Thus, therefore, the same difficulty which is brought forward in respect to miracles exists also in regard to purely natural things.

It is even true, as we have already demonstrated, that the effects which are expected by means of natural laws do not always and absolutely come to pass, whether there are attendant miracles or not. The truth is, that we are able to predict the arrival of any effect only conditionally. Abstractly, it is an accepted fact that a ship will be kept afloat by the supporting power of the water, but, concretely, there are many possibilities of hindering this effect, guaranteed though it be by science and experience. The correct expression for our scientific and practical predictions is, therefore, the following: "According to a given law, a given force produces always the same effect if exactly the same conditions and relations are present." The ship does not sink, provided it is not loaded too heavily; does not spring a leak; is not overwhelmed by a hurricane; does not run upon an iceberg; and does not founder through a hundred other possibilities.

If, however, it founders on the next voyage because in some unforeseen way one of those possibilities occurs, neither the science and art of shipbuilding nor that of practical naviga-

tion become on that account more uncertain or insecure or creative of despair. On the contrary, our knowledge in this respect has been plainly confirmed by the catastrophe; its exactitude was so great that the absence of one single condition was sufficient to bring about the accident. This is true of all spheres of theoretical and applied natural science.

It is true also in the case of a miracle. Peter does not sink in the water. There was present, therefore, a condition which paralyzed the working of the laws of the forces of gravitation and support. Closer inspection teaches us that this condition cannot lie in nature itself, but only in God. And therein exists the miracle. Whoever thereby lets his conviction of the validity of the laws of gravitation and support be weakened, would have to ascribe it to his own simplicity. Every rational human being will assume this law and this force as given, and indeed so surely and firmly given, that he, on beholding Peter walking on the water, will cry out: "That is the finger of God!" Natural science may, therefore, from the depths of the earth to the zenith of the sun courageously and diligently investigate and make use of matter, force and natural laws; that is its sphere and its task. Yet it will not in the slightest degree disturb the miracle in its operation, for miracles and nature do not contradict each other.

2. *Miracles and the Idea of God.*

What has been said really refutes also the view that miracles are not compatible with the theistic notion of God. This view rests, from first to last, only on the assumptions already examined concerning nature and miracles and their mutual relation. On both sides—on that of nature and on that of miracles—there is such excessive exaggeration that a collision with the Christian faith in God is unavoidable. First, nature and the order in nature are brought so near to God—in fact, confounded with him—that a miraculous intervention in them appears like an intrusion into the nature of God. Then miracles and miraculous occurrences are forced into such opposition to nature and natural occurrences that miraculous activity seems like a contradiction to the activity of God in nature. Since we have placed the relation of miracles to nature in its proper light, the above-mentioned misunderstandings about miracles and the idea of God have also been essentially averted. They must still, however, be discussed expressly and treated under the headings—Miracles and the Nature of God, Miracles and the Activity of God.

(a) *Miracles and the Nature of God.*

The theologians of the thirteenth century already knew and refuted the objection that miracles cannot be harmonized with the nature of God.[1] They had, it is true, in doing so fewer such attacks to encounter, although these were already making themselves felt; they rather foresaw with prophetic vision the future assault upon the Christian doctrine of miracles. It was Spinoza who first really asserted, and sought to prove, that miracles are in contradiction to the nature of God. "The universal laws of nature," says the Dutch pantheist, "are merely decrees of God which result from the necessity and perfection of the divine nature. If, therefore, anything should happen in nature which conflicted with its universal laws, this would of necessity conflict with the decree, the intelligence and the nature of God. Or if anyone should assert that God does anything against the laws of nature, he would have to assert also at the same time that God acts against his own nature. . . . Nothing whatever, therefore, happens in nature which conflicts with its universal laws—absolutely nothing also which has not been in accordance with them, or resulted from them."[2]

This dictum has since then been continually repeated without the addition of a single new thought to that of Spinoza. At most, the modern opponents of miracles express themselves in still harsher terms. Thus Lipsius, in his dogmatics, remarks: "If God can neither make iron out of wood, nor cause 2×2 to equal 5, and if, further, God cannot lie or sin, it is not clear what difference it should make to the omnipotence of God that there should be also for God an inviolable necessity, not, it is true, in the sphere of physics, but in the sphere of logic and morals."[3]

But how is this? Should the physical sphere stand on one and the same level with the moral and logical? Every even partially educated person would be able to perceive the infinite distance between these, provided it were made only half clear to him. Logical and moral truths and laws exist by means of inner, metaphysical necessity. They would maintain their validity and absolute inviolability even if no world of experience existed. Indeed, they are included in God's nature itself, and cannot be thought of otherwise, unless we deny the divine nature itself. The logical, mathematical expressions that $2 \times 2 = 4$, or that the angles of a triangle make two right angles, that the circle is not square, and,

[1] See, for example, St Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I; q. 105. *Summa c. Gent.*, 3, 98.

[2] Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, c. vi, 24 (1895).

[3] R. A. Lipsius, *Lehrbuch der evan.-protest. Dogmatik*, 322 (1876). Similarly, K. Furrer, *Leben Jesu*, 2nd ed., 123.

moreover, the ethical laws that good and evil are not equivalent, that we are to do good and leave evil undone, that we may not lie or sin, and the like, are accordingly absolute truths which even God cannot change. Otherwise he would contradict his own nature, and, in a word, he could no longer be God.

The reverse is true of truths in the sphere of physics, which alone come into consideration in the case of a miracle. They are entirely dependent on the free choice and the freewill of God. God chose them out of possibilities infinite in number. He could have called into being, together with the world and nature which exist, a thousand others. So much the more could he have formed the present world and nature entirely differently, and every law, force and atom of matter could have been formed otherwise without there being in them even the slightest contradiction. "He could, for example, have placed the earth much further from the sun, have given it a greater velocity than it has, and a different volume. Then the natural interchange of day and night and the seasons would have been different, and the bodies on our planet would have been lighter or heavier than now. We could, for example, under such conditions, fly through the air, and have no need to make an effort to lift the heaviest bodies; or, by a greater earth-mass and attraction, we could not move the lightest bodies. These would be, in our present conditions, great miracles."[1] But they would form for God in no sense a contradiction. On the contrary, they would be for him in the highest degree natural. Jean Paul writes no less brilliantly than correctly: "Miracles on earth are nature in heaven."

But if God once, without contradiction to his nature, could introduce into nature another higher, or even opposing working force and method, why should he now no longer be able, by way of exception and in his own person, to bring about results which are outside and above natural events and opposed to natural effects and methods? Can it be that he has laid fetters on himself through his free choice of the existing natural order, or that nature itself should have bound its Creator so that he is now able to do only what it dictates to him and allows him to do? It is plainly an impiety even to think of such a thing. What conflicts with the nature of God is, therefore, not a miracle, but the denial of miracles. It is doing violence to the inmost nature of God to suppose that the created world proceeds from the necessity of the divine nature, and forms also a necessity for the divine nature in such a way that the Lord of the universe is powerless against the usual course of things in this universe. Such a thing can be seriously assumed only by one who, with Spinoza,

[1] Gutberlet, *Vernunft und Natur*, 21.

makes nature and the world divine, and denies, in the sense of Monism, the existence of a personal God.

(*b*) *Miracles and the Activity of God.*

Therewith the ground is already taken from under the second misunderstanding — namely, that the miraculous activity of God is in contradiction to his activity in nature. It is said that by a miracle God raises up one kingdom against another; that what he has built up since the foundation of the world, he destroys in the moment when he sets about developing in the universe an activity which is outside nature. God could, of course, it is said, have arranged the world differently; but, in fact, he has not arranged it differently. He has selected the present world-order because it in all things corresponded to his perfection. Should he even once depart from that order, and work an extra-natural miracle, his comprehensive world-plan would be "thwarted" (Strauss). Every miracle would be equivalent to saying that the divine order and divine activity of nature needed correction, and that in reality it would be successively corrected by the supernatural intervention of God. Thus the miracle stands outside of any connection with God's wisdom and preservative world-activity (Pfleiderer); it is "a wholly dead view of divine preservation" (Schleiermacher); it makes the God of ethical religion a God of nature (Wundt); in a word, it is "a blasphemy against the great God and his revelation in nature" (Goethe).

Thus and similarly do all the enemies of miracles instruct us who occupy the standpoint of a more or less outspoken Deism. While the Monist view of the universe confounds God and the world, and hence, as we have seen, cannot harmonize miracles with the nature of God, the world, according to the deistic conception, is not merely different from God, but separated from him, and indeed so effectually that an intervention of God in the activity of nature becomes impossible. This Deism has been concisely summarized in the words: *Semel jussit, semper paret*—God once and for all prescribed to nature its course and its activity, and he himself always obeys this freely chosen progress of the world.

Against this collective humanity the higher intellectual nature, the queen of the universe, rebels, and utters its veto against such a barren and comfortless view of God's work and activity. Mankind prays. Prayer is humanity's most original and most natural worship of God; prayer is its highest and tenderest sentiment. But prayer is based upon faith in an all-governing, all-powerful providence—a providence which is in no way limited in its activity by the order of nature. "Humanity prays; and humanity, therefore, sees

in nature and its laws not a rigid, blind, unbending necessity, an insurmountable wall which God has erected between himself and his creatures. Humanity prays; that is, it believes that the laws of nature are not an impassable barrier, but a usable instrument for God's guiding hand, and that his infinite power works in and through, but also outside and above, the finite, created forces and laws which he implanted in nature, or rather created as the order of nature. And that is a miracle—an effect which takes place outside and above the natural order."[1]

Nature, the cosmic universe, rebels against the deistic view of that universe. It will not and cannot be that idol which exalts itself beside God, and owes to him nothing but its being, matter, force and a couple of hundred established laws. On the contrary, it is, in its activity, as well as in its existence, continually and absolutely dependent upon God. Without the constant creative influence of God upon the world and its individual creatures, everything would sink back again into nothingness. Every creature must confess with St Paul, "In him we live, move and are" (Acts xvii, 28). It is, therefore, a thoroughly unnatural idea of the world to set up nature and the natural order in opposition to God as independent entities, and to regard it as extraordinary or absolutely impossible that the Lord himself should undertake after all to do something in this world—that is, to work a miracle. Whether God's activity be in accordance with the laws of nature, or miraculous, how can it be possible that the world should repudiate an action on the part of God? Would it not thereby be dethroning God himself?

The thought of God and the notion of God also revolt, on this account, against the deistic rejection of miracles. Whoever acknowledges the natural, creative activity of God, yet on the other hand contests the supernatural working of miracles, displays thereby an utterly impossible conception of God. He assumes, in the first place, that God, in himself, stands in space outside the world, and "intervenes" in the world's affairs only from without. Then he imagines, furthermore, that God did intervene once, as Creator and Director, but that now an intervention is no more possible. That means simply to anthropomorphize the idea of God. The omnipresence, omnipotence and eternity of God are thereby at once denied. God does not stand locally outside the world, and his activity does not invade the world from without in a spatial sense, but only in a dynamic sense. Space is not an attribute of God, but an attribute—a constituent part—of the universe. With time it is exactly the same. With God is neither yesterday nor to-day. His activity is immediate action now. Temporal succession is a purely human mode of

[1] Hettinger, *Apologie*, 10th ed., ii, 164.

thinking. We imagine that God at one time formerly created the natural order, and that now, later, he is active in the world in a natural or miraculous way. For God all activity, past and present, nature and miracle coincide in one single timeless act.

Natural and miraculous activity—and, we should add, activity in grace and redemption—constitute for God one, single, all-embracing order of the world. The natural order is only one part, one section of the universal world-order of God. And it is, moreover, the lowest part of this world-order. By means of his ever-living providence, God so directs and guides the natural order that it corresponds to his sublime intentions which he has regarding the salvation of the elect. And where the salvation and welfare of his children require it, or where the personal honour and majesty of God demand it, he adopts even miraculous means of providence and the guidance of the world. But everything—creation, natural order, providence, and the working of miracles—originate in one and the same divine world-plan, pursue one and the same lofty aim, and are born at one and the same moment from the will, knowledge and wisdom of God. The same thought of God that called the natural order into being, fixed also at the same time all those extra-natural effects which we call miracles.

Thereby the remarkable view that miracles are an alteration and correction of the natural order, and consequently bring about inconstancy in God himself, becomes also null and void. A miracle is, we repeat, unchangeably contained in God's original and eternal plan of the world. Between both there exists a difference only for our limited mentality, an antagonism only for an erroneous notion of God, a contradiction only for the denial of God.

Where faith in a personal, supermundane, absolute God exists, the possibility of miracles is a matter of course. "If a God is once conceded," remarks even John Stuart Mill, "the production by his will of an effect, which in any case owed its origin to his creative will, seems no longer like a purely arbitrary hypothesis, . . . but must be reckoned with as a serious possibility."[1] Still more forcibly Rousseau writes: "Can God work miracles? This question, if intended seriously, would be impious, and we should pay to the man who answered it in the negative too much honour if we wanted to punish him: it would be better simply to send him to a madhouse."[2]

Accordingly, the possibility of a miracle is an inevitable consequence of the theistic notion of God.

[1] *Essay on Religion.*
[2] *Lettre 3 de la Montagne, Œuvres,* iii, 152 (1905).

III.—The Ability to Perceive Miracles.

When unbelief is deprived of all the weapons with which it fights against the possibility of miracles, it then merely takes possession of another position—that of the indiscernibility of a miracle. "Whether miracles are possible or not," it exclaims resignedly, "can be after all a matter of indifference. Miracles cannot in any case be recognized and proved with critical certainty. Consequently they have for the human mind—that is, for the religious, scientific view of the universe and especially for christology—no importance."

In order to test the worth or worthlessness of this objection also, we must again recall the previously discussed notion of a miracle. We defined a miracle as a sensible event, which stands outside the order of nature, and consequently is caused by God himself. A sensible event, outside the order of nature, and caused by God—these are the three elements of the idea of a miracle. The first tells us that every miracle is an occurrence perceivable by the senses, and that therefore it must correspond to reality and historic truth. The second and third have reference to the historical and philosophical value and truth of the miraculous fact, and because this cannot be explained from nature, we refer it back to a supernatural, divine cause.

A miracle, therefore, includes a twofold problem of perception. First, criticism must ask whether the sensible reality or historical truth of the miracle can be recognized; and then whether the supernatural cause or the philosophic truth of the miracle can be proved. These two questions are, for the most part, not kept distinct by our opponents at all, or certainly only partially so. Hence the irremediable confusion which prevails in regard to the capability of recognizing a miracle.

1. *The Historical Recognition of Miracles.*

At the outset, we give up trying to agree here with the theologians of the Neo-Kantian school. The problem in question has for them no meaning, because they do not understand by a miracle an external objective occurrence.

To them, every religious perception whatever is equivalent merely to an inward experience, sentiment, imagination.[1] Accordingly, a miracle also is conceived as merely an inward, subjective experience.

Albrecht Ritschl, the head of the school, declares that "a

[1] Even adherents of the liberal school openly confess to-day that the so-called religious experience of modern theology is essentially a product of the imaginative faculty. So recently E. Fuchs, *Offenbarung und Entwicklung* (Tübingen 1912).

miracle is nothing objective in an experimental sense, but always something objective in relation only to the subjective religious perception."[1] W. Hunzinger remarks similarly: "Lessing's[2] statements that no merely historical certainty is sufficient to establish a belief in miracles, that this must rather necessarily contain the element of individual experience, that the foundation of belief in miracles is religious life itself, and so forth, have become at the present time the common property of theology."[3] Still more decidedly and with all desirable clearness, Ziller writes: "Only those miracles are of positive religious value which are, at the same time, true and sound—that is, those which are personally experienced and which spring from a normal development of religious sentiment and perception. . . . Only a sound and genuine faith produces the genuine miracle."[4] Hence these critics consider an occurrence which is decidedly external and objective—that is, independent of personal "experience"—as something fundamentally very far from a miracle.

It is, however, a matter of course that for them a miracle falls at once outside the pale of any historical consideration. According to this Neo-Kantian conception of miracles, it must be said with logical necessity "that the stories of miracles are incompatible with scientific historical research,"[5] that the student of history knows no miracles,[6] and that wherever miracles are related he has to assume that legends and not history are before him.[7] Considered from such a point of observation, Harnack's words say rather too little than too much: "The historian is not able to reckon with a miracle as an historical event given him with certainty, for he thereby abandons the method of consideration on which all historical investigation rests. Every single miracle remains, from an historical point of view, wholly doubtful, and a totality of doubtful things never leads to a certainty."[8] That is all very well provided one adheres fundamentally to the confession of Ritschl, according to which all miracles are merely subjective experiences—that is, products of feeling and phantasy.

That they are so, however, and that no miracle can be established as an objective, and consequently an historical, event, is not proved by the followers of Ritschl. They, however, assume it as proven. We must, remarkably enough,

[1] In Sybel's *Historischer Zeitschrift*, viii, 109 (1862).
[2] *Lessing's Werke*, 9 Teil, 84-89, 116-120.
[3] Hunzinger, *Das Wunder*, 23 (Leipzig 1912).
[4] Ziller, *Die Biblischen Wunder*, 36 f. (Tübingen 1904).
[5] A. Ritschl, *op. cit.*, 94.
[6] O. Schmiedel, *Die Hauptprobleme der Leben Jesu-Forschung*, 2nd ed., 43 (1906).
[7] W. Bousset, *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 5 (Tübingen 1906).
[8] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed., i, 63, note 4. *Wesen des Christentums*, 16-18.

go back from this so-called historical-critical school to philosophical and sceptical rationalism in order to learn the reasons for which the historical recognizableness of miracles is denied.

It is significant that the father of the historical denial of miracles was David Hume, known also as the prophet of complete scepticism. Hume doubted objective historical truth merely because he doubted the objective reality of the outer world, as well as the possibility of perceiving and knowing it correctly by our senses. Even the most ordinary phenomena and events of everyday life are, according to him, completely doubtful, although they emerge from our experience with perfect clearness. Moreover, if it is a question of extraordinary, or of actually miraculous, occurrences, according to Hume, experience without exception decides against them and brings thereby the full proof of their historical incredibility. "A miracle," says Hume, "is a violation of the laws of nature; and since these laws have been established by firm and immutable experience, the proof against a miracle is, merely from the nature of the fact, as complete as any proof derived from experience can ever be desired to be."[1] This proof against miracles can never, in any circumstances, be outweighed by historical testimonies according to which miracles have occurred. For such testimonies furnish at best only a moral assurance, which is never equal to the certainty of physical experience which tells us that there are no miracles.[2]

These objections of Hume are not only the strongest, but are fundamentally the only ones which have until now been brought against the historical recognition of miracles. According to Strauss, "Hume's discussion of miracles has such a universal power of conviction that the subject can be regarded as really settled by it."[3] Strauss underlines only the assertion of Hume that a miracle contradicts experience, and can, therefore, never become credible even by the best testimony. "For there are examples (perhaps only a few, but nevertheless they have occurred) of the fact that even the most credible testimony of eyewitnesses and of worthy people has nevertheless been false; but that anything demonstrably contrary to the laws of nature ever happened has never come to pass, with the exception of the very cases whose credibility is in question. . . . Such testimony, therefore, compared to the immense burden of the improbability of the event which it would have to outweigh, falls in the scale only like a feather against a hundredweight. But, apart from this and granting to the testimonies the very best character, no case

[1] Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.*
[2] Hume, *op. cit.* Exactly on the standpoint of Hume stands J. May, *Miracles and Myths of the N.T.* (1909).
[3] Strauss, *Leben Jesus für das deutsche Volk,* i, 75.

can be possibly thought of in which the historian would not necessarily find it beyond all comparison more probable that he has to do with a false report than with a miracle."[1]

The Tübingen critic, Edward Zeller, concurs with this, and merely reproduces Strauss's thoughts almost textually: "Even should metaphysics succeed so well as to prove that possibility [of miracles], how could it be required of the historian that he, in any given case, should decide in favour of its reality? A miracle is an occurrence which is in contradiction to the analogy of all previous experience, and just this is the essential feature and notion of a miracle; whatever agrees with our other observations and with the laws deduced from them, we call no miracle. If, therefore, it is a question of the credibility of the story of a miracle, it means in other words: Which is more probable, that something has really happened here which contradicts the analogy of our whole experience, or that the tradition which reports such an event is untrue? If we put it thus, however, the answer is conceded. For since the probability of acceptance can be estimated only by its agreement with something else, recognized as true, and since, in our experience of inexact observation, erroneous tradition, intentional or unintentional invention, and, in general, of incorrect reports, there exist, nevertheless, numberless examples of a positively attested miracle, but not one single example of an effect which has not proceeded demonstrably from the natural connection of things, so no case can be thought of in which the historian would not necessarily have to find it incomparably more likely that he has to do with an incorrect report than with a miracle. If, therefore, Strauss treats miracles as plainly unhistorical, he does only what he must do, as an unprejudiced critic, and follows only the same scientific principles, according to which the study of history directs its course on all other lines."[2]

These excerpts from the literature of our opponents are sufficient to give us an insight into the reasons which they bring forward against the historical recognition of miracles. There are two of these reasons. A miracle, as such, is to be rejected, or, at least, doubted historically from the standpoint of experience and the standpoint of information.

It is remarkable with what confidence it is assumed on all sides that a miracle stands in contradiction to physical experience. If it were so, then indeed it would drop out of the sphere of history. Every historical event is, after all, only true and scientifically tenable in so far as it rests upon ex-

[1] *op. cit.*, 75.

[2] Zeller, *Die Tübinger historische Schule, Vörträge und Abhandlungen*, i, 304. First published anonymously in Sybel's *Historischer Zeitschrift*, iv, 90-173 (1860).

perience—either one's own experience, or that of others who stand as witnesses for the reality of the event in question. But may it be said that miracles contradict physical experience?

So far as an inward antagonism between miracles and the world of experience, and between miracles and the experimental laws of nature is meant, the assertion is not applicable. We have fully proved this in our discussion about the possibility of miracles. At most, therefore, it could only be a question whether a miracle stands in practical antagonism to the experience which we make in nature and natural things? There, indeed, the historical criticism of the opponents of miracles begins with all possible vigour. "It would be a miracle," says Hume, "if a dead man came to life, because nothing like that was ever observed anywhere. There must, therefore, stand in opposition to that miraculous occurrence a proportionate experience. . . . And since a proportionate experience is equivalent to a proof, so here from the nature of the event a direct and complete proof against the existence of a miracle is at hand."[1]

This elementary example of the English sceptic reveals the whole weakness of our opponents' mode of argument. It rests upon a begging of the question. It assumes in advance what it ought to prove—namely, that an awakening of the dead was never seen, and that therefore experience, without exception, argues against the resuscitation of the dead, and, in a word, that experience in any case is opposed to the existence of a miracle. The sophism is evident.

It is, however, not merely a question of a formal sophism, but of a totally incorrect representation. The antagonism between experience and miracle is constructed wholly artificially. What has experience, then, to inform us about the resuscitation of the dead? That resuscitation of the dead cannot occur? Not at all; experience occupies itself, not with the possible or impossible, but only with that which actually occurs or does not actually occur. Or, does experience prove that resuscitations of the dead never occur? By no means; we should be obliged then to have the audacity to assert that we know and have observed all the cases of death which have already happened or will still happen. Or does experience prove at least that one definite resuscitation of the dead—for example, that of Lazarus—did not occur? Still less; since all the witnesses who participated in that event of their own experience say the contrary—that Lazarus was brought back to life. Again, therefore, what does experience teach in regard to the raising of the dead? In the cases usually observed the dead have not risen again. From this the

[1] *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.*

hypothetical law of experience should be deduced: the dead do not rise again provided that we have to do with ordinary natural things. Whether, however, by exception and outside of the natural order the dead have ever risen, or in the future ever will rise, ordinary experience has nothing to tell us. It cannot pronounce either for or against miracles. If, however, eye and ear witnesses appear who assure us that they have experienced and observed a miracle, and if their report maintains itself after severe critical examination as reliable, then the miracle becomes a fact and a fact of experience. Both range themselves harmoniously in the world of experience—the everyday fact that the dead usually remain dead, and the extraordinary fact that by exception the dead have come to life again. So little do experience and miracles contradict one another.

Just at this point, however, rises the second difficulty. Our opponents assert that a reliable report that a miracle has taken place is never and in no circumstances whatsoever conceivable. Human testimony for the miracle is always only a moral one, while physical testimony speaks always against the miracle; moreover, every moral testimony can always deceive and is a thousand times counterbalanced by the physical. The testimony for the miracle, "as opposed to the immense burden of the improbability of the event which had to be balanced, falls into the scales like a feather as contrasted with a hundredweight. No case, therefore, can be possibly conceived in which the historian would not have to find it incomparably more probable that he has to do with an untrue report than with a miracle."

It is, however, just as incorrect to assert that a miracle is always supported by moral testimony only, in contrast to a natural event, as it is unreasonable to say that this testimony can always deceive. Rather is it true that both natural phenomena and miraculous phenomena, which I may have myself observed, are guaranteed similarly by the physical testimony of my senses; but the natural and miraculous manifestations, which I do not myself experience, are similarly guaranteed by the moral testimony of others, which itself goes back again to the physical testimony of their own senses. The testimony on which miracles rest is, therefore, as regards its nature and convincing power, of equal worth with the testimony on which natural facts rest. If the former are not critically demonstrable, the latter also are not. Let us make this clearer.

If we ourselves are witnesses of a miracle—as, for example, the resuscitation of a dead person—we assume this to be proven, because our senses guarantee it to us. But, in the same way, we also assume to be proved the usual everyday phenomenon—for example, that the dead are not resusci-

tated—because our senses guarantee that also to us. In both cases, therefore, there is a testimony of the senses or experience. It is wholly incorrect to say that in this case the miracle is established by moral, and the everyday event is established by physical, testimony. According to that, if I cannot trust my eyes when they report to me an exception from the usual course of things, I cannot trust them also when they guarantee for me the regular course of things. I must, then, doubt myself and every certainty. The end of such an investigation of history is complete historical scepticism and scientific nihilism.

It happens, however, very seldom that the individual man can see miracles with his own eyes, because a miracle itself only very rarely occurs. We are, therefore, for the most part dependent on the reports of others. The miraculous event and its certainty are then merely moral. But the same thing is to be said of all the natural events which we have not ourselves observed. They, too, are supported only by the moral testimony of our fellow-men. Only a very small proportion of natural laws, based on experience, come to us from our own personal observation; they are deduced from what other men have observed and report. Not only do ordinary life, the juridicial weighing of evidence, and the science of history rest very largely on moral reports and moral belief in testimony, but so also for the most part does the science of physics, and even mathematics, which claims for itself the title of the only exact science.

In all the above-mentioned spheres, science proceeds from the conviction that we may trust the sufficiently certified testimony of our fellow-men just as well as our own senses, because the souls and senses of our fellow-men are created like our own. If this view is correct, then it must be correct in respect to every sphere of truth, religious and secular, and in respect to all phenomena, the regular and usual as well as the extraordinary and miraculous. If this confidence in the testimony of the senses of our fellow-men in regard to the reports of miracles is not justified, then it would also be not justified in reference to every historical, juridical and scientific report. Then all the sciences would collapse, and with them even the physical natural laws, based on experience, because the latter rest, as has been said, for the most part on the moral testimony of our fellow-men. In so far, then, as rationalistic and empirical criticism attacks the validity of testimony to a miracle, it devours also its own children and perishes from its own hypercriticism.

If historical criticism wants to escape this act of suicide, it should apply the same standard only to the testimony about miracles and to miracles themselves which it applies to other historical reports.

This, at least, should be self-evident to everyone. A miracle is, indeed, as we have repeatedly affirmed, an external occurrence perceptible by the senses, like any other occurrence in nature and history. Whether miracles or natural events, all facts, so far as their historical side is concerned, are alike. Accordingly, they can all be verified in the same way and handed down to posterity. Just in the same way as we perceive that a man is blind or dead, we also perceive that he is no more blind or dead. Hence the healing of a man well known to have been blind from birth (John ix), or the recalling to life of Lazarus (John xi), can be verified by the same means of knowledge and the same certainty as any other event which has occurred in a perfectly natural way. It is, therefore, an undertaking as wicked as it is unscientific to wish to apply to reports of miracles different critical rules from those applied to other historical facts.

Next we have to judge the exorbitant demands which are made by our opponents upon the accounts of miracles. To begin with, they reject simple and uneducated people as witnesses to a miracle because they are not capable of forming an expert, unassailable judgement on the miracle laid before them. Voltaire and Renan refuse even the educated as witnesses to a miracle, and recognize their report as critical only if the miracle related by them can be repeated at will by means of experiment and expert manipulation. "No miracle has taken place before an assembly of people capable of verifying the miraculous character of a fact. Neither people from the masses nor well-bred, educated persons are fit for that. There is needed for it great prudence and long intimacy with scientific investigations. . . . We do not say 'a miracle is impossible,' but we say merely, 'There has never yet been an authenticated miracle.' Granted that to-morrow there is found a worker of miracles who declares that he can bring to life a dead man. What should we do? We should nominate a commission consisting of experts in physiology, physics and chemistry, as well as of men who are skilled in historical criticism. This commission would select the corpse, would assure itself that death had really taken place, would designate the hall where the attempt at resuscitation was to be made, and would take all needed precautionary measures so that no doubt would be possible. If, in such circumstances, the resuscitation succeeded, we should have attained a probability almost equivalent to certainty. Because, on the other hand, every experiment must be able to be repeated; because one must be able to do again and again what one has done once, and because, finally, in the sphere of miracles notions of what is easy and difficult of performance are not at all taken into consideration, we should invite the wonder-worker to repeat his miracles under other conditions, on other corpses,

and under different surroundings. In case the miracle should succeed every time, it would be proved that there are in the world really supernatural facts. . . . But who does not see that a miracle has never been worked under these conditions?"[1]

And even if the miracles of our religion were performed under these conditions, they would not be recognized by Hume and Rousseau. According to them, man is incapable, in any case, of testifying to a miracle as a trustworthy witness. "The emotion of astonishment and wonder," says Hume, "caused by miracles is a pleasing excitement and gives a noticeable impulse to faith in those occurrences from which it originates. . . . But if to the demand for miracles the spirit of religion is added, there is an end to sound human mentality, and in such circumstances human testimony loses all claim to credibility."[2] Rousseau writes still more positively in his *Confessions of Faith of the Vicar of Savoy:* "Where are miracles? In books. Who wrote these books? Men. Who report and attest them? Men. Who saw the miracles? Men. Therefore always only human testimony, only men who report what other men have reported. And should I be able to rely on such purely human testimony when it comes to a question about miracles? That is not possible. There is needed for this stronger evidence than that of purely human testimony, the originators of which are never safe from deceptions."[3]

The absurdity of such claims is clear. Why, then, should the plain man of the people and even the educated man, though not a specialist, be incapable of observing a miracle? In a miracle, as we have seen, it is a question of external, obvious occurrences, for the observation of which nothing further is necessary than sound, open eyes. Whether the eyewitness of the miracle is educated or uneducated, critically trained or not, here makes no difference; the uneducated man frequently sees even more correctly, because he is more free from prejudice than the scholarly historian. Whoever excludes the non-expert from the attestation of a miracle must with equal right consider him incapable of attesting other historical events. But then there remain to us only scraps of the whole history of mankind. Let no one say: "The extraordinary character of a miraculous event demands the attestation of an expert." By no means. Otherwise we should have to say the same of the extraordinary phenomena of the whole world of experience. A deed of heroism, for example, could only be regarded as proven, and an unusual

[1] Renan, *Vie de Jésus,* xcv-xcvii. Similarly Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique, s.v.* Miracles.
[2] Hume, *op. cit.*
[3] Rousseau, *Œuvres,* ii, 269 (1905).

crime could only be considered as judicially actionable, if, in advance, experts in such affairs appear as witnesses. But since that is almost never the case, history and justice would have to limit themselves to dealing with everyday matters. What are we to say when Renan demands that a miracle should be reproduced as often as desired, as if it were a show-piece or a theatrical effect? Can a rational man demand that the extraordinary events of profane history again and repeatedly be enacted at the wish of the pedants? And if not, is it not an insult to science and a wicked blasphemy to make such an unreasonable demand in regard to the great acts of Almighty God?

Evidently it is not the business of this school of criticism to sift and certify historically the reports of miracles, but to drive them out of history in advance, on principle, and to make them impossible. Hume and Rousseau are honourable enough to acknowledge this, since they declare man to be absolutely incapable of observing and reporting a miracle. Also Voltaire and Renan confess, finally, that they wish in all circumstances to know nothing of miracles, and that they would deny such even if their own eccentric conditions could be fulfilled. Voltaire asserts that even if a miracle were observed in the centre of Paris by a thousand eyewitnesses he would still contest it. And Renan proceeds from the principle: "A supernatural report may not be admitted by historical criticism."[1] "It is an absolute rule of criticism in historical narratives to admit no miraculous circumstances."[2] Only one who agrees with this prejudiced criticism can and must shut his eyes to the conviction that miracles are just as recognizable historically as are all the natural facts of history.

2. *The Philosophical Recognition of Miracles.*

The case of the philosophical recognition of miracles is not so simple. The evidence that an alleged extraordinary phenomenon has been caused directly by God cannot in most cases be furnished. Only in the one case where it is established in advance that the miracle is an absolute act of omnipotence is a direct intervention of God at once conceded. But miracles of this sort are of great rarity. By far the greater number of miracles are those of which we can only say that they surpass the forces really present in nature. From this established fact we then infer indirectly divine causality. The law of cause and effect, or the law of the sufficient reason, points out to us that every effect must have its corresponding and adequate cause. Accordingly, as soon

[1] *Vie de Jésus.*
[2] Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 11th ed., xliii *et seq.*

as it is established that this cause does not lie in nature—in other words, that the alleged miraculous event has not been brought about by natural, created forces—we are compelled to claim for it divine causality.

But according to our opponents, here lies precisely the insuperable difficulty—that it is absolutely impossible to determine whether a miracle oversteps the limits of natural activity, or whether it does not rather lie within the bounds of nature's powers. If, therefore, in history or in our personal experience we come upon an event which we cannot comprehend by natural means, we should never infer a supernatural cause for it, but merely our own ignorance and lack of acquaintance with nature.

Baruch Spinoza, on that account, curtly translates the expression "miracle" with the word "ignorance,"[1] and then continues: "May I be allowed to ask whether we puny mortals have such a great knowledge of nature that we can determine how far its force and power extend, and what surpasses its force? Since no one can assert this without arrogance, it must also be permitted, without laying myself open to the charge of presumption, to explain miracles from natural causes, as far as I can. In regard to what we cannot explain and also cannot comprehend, because it is contrary to common sense, it would be better to be reticent in expressing an opinion and to base our belief in religion only on the wisdom of its doctrines."[2]

This remained thenceforth the shibboleth to which, ever since Spinoza, all the enemies of miracles, in their greatest distress and as their ultimate refuge, have always appealed and still appeal. The Pantheists, Deists, rationalists, and the whole liberal-protestant school of to-day preserve the words of Spinoza in their memory almost literally. As soon as they are no more able to escape the proofs for the historical existence of miracles, they console themselves with the evasion: It is in no case demonstrable that a supernatural act must be assumed for it. E. Ménégoz, a very recent advocate of this line of thought, writes: "Even if it should be proved that all the facts narrated in the Bible are historical, it would still not have been proved thereby that they owe their existence to a special and miraculous intervention of God. In certain cases science can prove most clearly the actuality of an extraordinary phenomenon; but here proof ends; it can go no further; it is impossible to show that this extraordinary phenomenon is due to a supernatural divine action, and that it is not the effect of a natural cause. We should not conceal from ourselves the impossibility of proving

[1] *Epistola*, 73 and 76. *Opera*, ii, 411, 415.
[2] *Epistola*, 75, *l.c.*, 416.

miracles. If, in presence of the professors of the Faculty of Medicine, a leper should be healed by a word, they would seek for the natural causes of the cure, and would see themselves in no way compelled to perceive in this the finger of God. . . . As far as the laws of nature are concerned, we have not the foolish arrogance of claiming to know them all. The possibility of facts which originate from laws concealed from us, we concede perfectly, and do not doubt that such events (at bottom natural but with the present condition of our knowledge inexplicable) have occurred in past times, as such events still occur to-day."[1] Harnack,[2] Hunzinger,[3] and in general all the followers of Ritschl are guided by the same thoughts.

Even the anti-Strauss conciliatory school of theology, in its defence of miracles, has come to this pitiful result: "Miracles there are, but a miracle is not a supernatural occurrence, but an event which we call supernatural because its natural cause is as yet still unknown to us."[4] Precisely the same ideas are held also by the latest representatives of this line of thought—the "conservative" critics, Beth,[5] Barth and others. "What, then, really is nature?" the latter asks, and answers: "Certainly the entire sum of all existing things, so far as we can discover them by means of our sense perceptions and the thoughtful comparison of their results. The extent of the 'natural' coincides for us with what we have perceived and understood of things. But the objective extent of existing things does not coincide with that; this is shown by every step of progress made by natural science, since it discloses to us new forces of nature and natural laws. The forces and laws hitherto known are not thereby eliminated, but it is proved that they can undergo undreamed-of connections and uses. Therefore an event which does not correspond to the natural laws known to us is on that account still far from being objectively 'supernatural.'"[6]

We see, then, that since the time of Spinoza—that is, for about 300 years—the same objection is continually made against the philosophical truth and perceptibility of a miracle. "We do not know all the forces and laws of nature," it is said. "In spite of the immense progress of the natural sciences, the expert meets everywhere with problems, all of which he can never solve. First, the great masses of mankind, before whom for the most part miracles are worked,

[1] Ménégoz, *Der biblische Wunderbegriff*. Baur's trans., 32, 37 (Freiburg 1895).
[2] *Wesen des Christentums*, 18. [3] *Das Wunder*, 106.
[4] See Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 97 ff.
[5] *Das Wunder, prinzipielle Erörterung*, 20 f. (Grosslichterfelde 1908).
[6] *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesus*, 122 (Gütersloh 1907).

have not even a slight idea of the most important events and riddles of nature. Yet one would certainly have to know all the intricacies of nature in order to have a right definitely to say that this or that miraculous fact surpasses every natural force. So the supernaturalness of the miracle remains at least doubtful."

This apparently scientific statement turns out, however, on closer scrutiny to be overstrained and incorrect.

In the first place, we can judge with certainty of the supernatural origin of a miracle if we also know merely those forces and laws of nature which come into consideration in the one individual, separate miracle. For the explanation of a concrete miracle there sometimes come in question only more or less numerous natural factors, but never the whole of nature with all its forces and laws. If I, for example, see a man walking on the water, or a dead man come to life, all the laws and forces of medicine, chemistry, celestial and terrestrial mechanics and the like are matters of perfect indifference. They can neither help nor hinder me in my knowledge of the cause of those occurrences. I know the axiom of death, "Dead is dead," and the law of life, "Every living being comes from a living being"; I know also the laws of gravitation and support, which tell me that a man cannot walk on the water. The knowledge of these laws is sufficient for me to have a right to say before any faculty of natural science that there is in the above-named cases an extra-natural effect, and that this presupposes an equally extra-natural and supernatural cause.

Do not our opponents also judge so? If not, why do they in advance stamp every resuscitation from the dead, every natural miracle, and all healing of organic suffering, as impossible and unhistorical? Because they look upon such occurrences at once as extra-natural, although according to this naturalistic view of the world there is nothing extra-natural. However strong and incontrovertible the reasons may be which plead for the historical truth of the above-named accounts of miracles in the Gospel, they are relentlessly denied, and, indeed, as Harnack,[1] O. Holtzmann,[2] W. Bousset,[3] and W. Wrede[4]—in short, the leaders of anti-miraculous criticism honourably confess, they are denied only with reference to the supernatural character of these Gospel incidents. For the denial of miracles, therefore, it is not by any means necessary to know the whole of nature; the knowledge of some separate laws and forces connected with the miracle is fully sufficient to allow us to recognize positively the extra-natural character of a resuscitation from

[1] *Wesen des Christentums*, 18. [2] *Leben Jesu*, 58.
[3] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 5.
[4] *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 7.

death, or of a miracle in the domain of nature. Why, then, should not the same knowledge be sufficient when it is a question of the verification and defence of the same miracles? Is it scientifically just to apply a double standard of weight and measure according as belief or disbelief in miracles is interested?

Secondly, even in regard to those natural forces which come in question in a concrete miracle, for the most part no positive knowledge is necessary, but merely negative knowledge. We do not need to know precisely how far an occasional natural force extends and all that it can do; but it is enough to know that it is not able to produce that alleged concrete miraculous effect. A recent example will better explain this than all theoretical representations.

On April 7, 1875, in Oostacker, a Belgian place of pilgrimage consecrated to our Lady of Lourdes, the Flemish workman, Pierre de Rudder, was cured of a complicated fracture of the leg. Both of his shin bones had been for more than eight years completely broken below the knee. The two fragments, deprived of their periosteum, were swimming in pus. There was even a perceptible space between the upper and lower ends of the fragments, since a rather large section of decayed bone had been surgically removed. Below the knee and on the upper part of the foot were two large gangrenous wounds of a cancerous nature. For years surgical treatment had only made the trouble worse and completely incurable, when a perfect healing took place. The wounds closed instantaneously, and the bones grew together without leaving anything but two scars. Both the previous frightful suffering and the sudden, complete and permanent cure have been confirmed by about thirty physicians and a great number of eyewitnesses. The fact has been most minutely investigated by believers and sceptics often and repeatedly, both during the lifetime of de Rudder, who survived his cure twenty-three years, and subsequently, and leaves no room for even the smallest doubt.[1]

Even a layman in medicine, provided he is not a sworn devotee of unbelief, will without hesitation confess that here there can be no question of a natural healing. Although he is not able to say positively what nature is capable of doing in a similar case, he would yet take his oath that nature conjures up no such phenomenon. And the professional experts will say that he is right, and so much the more decidedly the greater their insight into the affair becomes.

[1] See the report of the three doctors, L. van Hoestenberghe, E. Royer and A. Deschamps, *Guérison subite d'une fracture. Récit et étude scientifique* (Bruxelles 1900); E. Wasmann, *Eine plötzliche Heilung aus neuester Zeit* in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, vol. LVIII, 113-128 (1900), and *Mainzer Katholik*, i, 344 (1911).

"Thousands upon thousands of biological processes in cell growth and the division of old cells into new daughter cells are requisite in order to effect the rebuilding of any kind of living tissue in the human organism. These processes cannot, however, be simultaneous, but must follow one another only in a definite order, because they are essentially dependent on the change of matter in the organism. But for the growth and division of every cell, however small, as modern science well knows, more than a couple of seconds are necessary. How much time, therefore, is first needful in order to rebuild large sections of tissue, which must fill festering wounds as large as hens' eggs, and replace missing pieces of bone? Hence it should be evident to everyone that a sudden healing of a double fracture of the leg and two great festering wounds is absolutely impossible by any natural means."[1] The expert, who only half understands the healing power and healing methods of nature, and the layman, who does not understand it clearly at all, are alike certain that they are not mistaken in this judgement. Their science may be halfway or wholly negative; but their common sense, sharpened by a thousand experiences, tells them that in this and similar cases it is simply a matter of supernatural action.

Thirdly and finally, there is sometimes no need whatever of any knowledge of nature, whether positive or negative, in order to be able to say with infallible certainty that nature has not wrought a miracle. This occurs at least in events in which no natural force is used or can be used.

Think, for example, of the standing still of the sun accomplished by Josue. The sceptical natural scientist, John Tyndall, reckoned the natural forces which would have been needful in order to halt the sun—that is, the earth in its rotation about the sun. "The energy which must thereby be reckoned with is equivalent to the power of six trillions of horses, which must have worked during the whole time that Josue needed for the destruction of his enemies; the amount of force thus used would be enough to endow every individual in a thousand times stronger army than that of Josue with a thousandfold greater force than that of those warriors, and this not only for those few hours which were necessary for the annihilation of a handful of Amorites, but for millions of years; this whole miracle is passed over in complete silence by the sacred historian, evidently because he knew nothing of it."[2]

What is the difference whether he knew it or not? He certainly did know it, and every uneducated peasant knows that a mighty force was necessary to cause this natural event to take place, and that Josue could confine with his hands

[1] Wasmann, *op. cit.*, 125.
[2] Tyndall, *Fragments of Science.*

neither the sun, from which he stood at an infinite distance, nor the earth, with which he himself moved or stood still, and that his word and command, "Sun, stand still," bore no relation whatever to the result which ensued. In a word, a natural force in this case was not used at all. The natural cause for the phenomenon which appeared was plainly wanting. Hence, unless one wishes to renounce logic and sound common sense, it is necessary to take refuge in a supernatural cause to explain the halting of the sun by Josue.

The same thing is to be said when, at the mere word of a miracle-worker, a leper is healed or a dead man is called back to life, or a storm and waves are stilled. A natural cause, related to the effect, does not exist here. Whoever is not willing to infer the supernatural cause is forced to suppose an effect without a cause—that is, a piece of sheer nonsense, which one attributes only to the demented.

Accordingly, there are numerous cases in which the denial of a miracle on the part of nature is for ever excluded, and the natural explanation of extraordinary phenomena is absolutely impossible. However uncertain the dividing line may be between natural and non-natural occurrences, and however vague the transitions, the two final points, the natural and the supernatural, are often perfectly evident. The natural and supernatural can be frequently as surely distinguished from each other as we distinguish day from night, and green, red and blue from one another in the rainbow, although light and darkness, colour and colour, mingle with one another in such imperceptible tones that we cannot determine the dividing lines between day and night and between the green, red and blue of the rainbow. That is a conclusion from what has gone before.

Another conclusion is then certainly this—that it is often difficult, and in many cases impossible, to distinguish a miracle from a natural occurrence. Every rational human being recognizes that our present knowledge of nature is fragmentary, that so much the more the ancient world had a very inadequate acquaintance with nature, and that in any case even the most distant future will never entirely solve the mysteries of the universe. In the interest of science and faith, it is consequently recommended to proceed with the greatest circumspection and conscientiousness wherever it is a question of deciding whether a concrete event must be explained naturally or supernaturally.

There certainly have been times, and there are people who, not observing this rule, have uttered and still utter too prematurely and too unwisely the cry, "A miracle! A miracle!" In this we agree perfectly with our opponents. That is also at the same time the tiny, true nucleus which lies in all the objections made against the capacity of perceiving a miracle.

But, long before the moderns called attention to the fact that miracles must be tested critically from the historical and philosophical side, the Church theoretically devised and practised the most merciless criticism of miracles. In its methods of canonizing saints, for example, it investigates the alleged miraculous acts of the servants of God with a severity and prudence[1] that could not be exceeded in any scientific institution in the world, and which even by non-catholics are designated as exaggerated.[2]

[1] See the still standard work, in four vols., of Benedict XIV for the methods of canonization, *De beatificatione servorum Dei.*

[2] This would be the place to add a discussion on miracles and false miracles, as well as on hypnotism, spiritualism and Satanism in their relation to miracles. We give up the idea, however, of going further into this subject. On the one hand, it would lead us too far; and, on the other hand, it would be of little use. It will be shown that the miracles of Jesus have nothing to do with hypnotic, spiritistic and diabolical deeds, and also that they are not actually brought into connection with them by the modern enemies of miracles. It is merely a question of whether the miracles of the Gospel can be explained by natural, physical and psychical causes. For the answer to this question, however, the foundation has been sufficiently laid in the foregoing pages.

CHAPTER II

SCIENCE AND GOSPEL MIRACLES

I.—Historicity of the Miracles of Christ.

THE previous statements concerning miracles and science were intended to remove the prejudices with which scepticism is accustomed to approach the investigation of the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now the way is clear. No unprejudiced man who has followed us thus far will be able to reject miracles in advance in the name of science. Miracles and science do not contradict each other. It is, on the contrary, one of the noblest tasks and one of the highest triumphs of human knowledge to investigate and appreciate historically and philosophically the supernatural acts of God.

We have not as yet, however, mentioned the strongest and clearest proof of the harmony of miracles and science. This lies in the actual existence of miracles, and first of all of the Gospel miracles. "Nothing is so brutal as a fact," says the Frenchman, and he is right. The ancients also already incorporated this conviction in the principle: "Against a fact no proof avails." Every discussion and even the least doubt whether miracles are possible and recognizable must disappear if genuine miracles have happened and can be scientifically proved. This is now, however, the case. Not to speak of all the other miracles of Christianity, the miraculous deeds of its founder rise with undeniable distinctness into the world of history and testify to the divinity and divine sonship of Jesus Christ. The following investigations are to prove this.[1]

[1] Expositions concerning the miracles of Jesus exist in considerable numbers both on the Protestant and Catholic sides. Among the latter are: Corluy, S.J., article on *Miracles des Evangiles,* in Jaugey's *Dictionnaire apologétique de la foi*, col. 1194-1229 (1892); Chable, *Die Wunder Jesu in ihrem inneren Zusammenhange betrachtet* (1897); Vallet, *Les Miracles de l'Evangile,* 3rd ed. (1905) (Collection: *Science et Religion*); Fonck, S.J., *Die Wunder des Herrn im Evangelium,* 2nd ed., i (1907); Ballerini, *I miracoli di Cristo et la critica storica,* in *Scuola cattolica,* 4 S. xii, 633-654; Lahousse, S.J., *La divinité de Jésus-Christ prouvée par ses miracles* (Bruxelles 1909); Bourchany, *Les miracles evangéliques*, in *Université catholique, June,* 1910, 200-235; Fillion, *Les miracles de N.S. Jésus-Christ,* I, *Étude d'ensemble* (Paris 1910); II, *Les miracles de Jésus-Christ isolément* (Paris 1911), the best and most complete work upon the miracles of Jesus. For Protestant works see: R. C. Trench, *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord* (1870); G. A. Chadwick, *The Miracles of Christ,* in the *Expositor,* Series IV, vol. V (1892), 39-50, 126-139, 270-280; Feine, *Das Wunder im Neuen Testament* (1894);

1. *List of Recorded Miracles.*

Information about the working of miracles by Jesus must naturally be sought principally in the Gospels. These are the most abundant and the oldest sources of his life. Then, however, the Gospel's documentary vouchers for the miracles will be confirmed, strengthened, and, as it were, countersigned by other witnesses, both Christian and non-christian.

(*a*) *Gospel Records.*

1. If we open the Gospels we find Jesus standing before us everywhere as a worker of miracles. The Evangelists accompany him step by step in his wanderings through Galilee and Judea, into the cities, villages and homesteads, into the deserts, to the mountains and lakes, into private houses, into the synagogues, and even into the Temple at Jerusalem, and they note down there continually the miraculous deeds of their Master.

There were, however, so many of them that they for the most part do not describe them in detail, but mention them merely quite concisely and in a general way. Day after day, miracles flow from the hands of Jesus, in his omnipotence, as a matter of course, and just as naturally also does the fame of them flow into the pens of the sacred writers. Let us, therefore, place the most important of these utterances in their chronological succession as we meet them in the separate Evangelists.

"And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and every infirmity among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria, and they presented to him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and such as were possessed by devils and lunatics and those that had the palsy, and he cured them" (Matt. iv, 23 f.).

"And Jesus went about all the cities and towns, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity" (Matt. ix, 35).

J. Laidlow, *The Miracles of our Lord* (1900); A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels* (1906); W. Soltau, *Hat Jesus Wunder getan? Eine biblische Widerlegung kirchlichen Aberglaubens* (Leipzig 1903); Karl Beth, *Die Wunder Jesu* (1905); Gottf. Traub, *Die Wunder im N.T.* (1907); Thomas Selby, Milligan and others, *The Miracles of Jesus* (1907); Toster, *The N.T. Miracles*, in *Amer. Journal of Theology*, 1908, 369-391; besides extracts concerning Gospel miracles in all works concerning Jesus.

"And many followed him, and he healed them all" (Matt. xii, 15).

"And Jesus making answer said to them: Go and relate to John what you have heard and seen. The blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead rise again" (Matt. xi, 4, 5).

"And he coming forth, saw a great multitude and had compassion on them and healed their sick" (Matt. xiv, 14).

"And there came to him great multitudes, having with them the dumb, the blind, the lame, the maimed and many others. And they cast them down at his feet. And he healed them: so that the multitudes marvelled, seeing the dumb speak, the lame walk, the blind see" (Matt. xv, 30, 31).

"And great multitudes followed him: and he healed them there" (Matt. xix, 2).

"And there came to him great multitudes, the blind and the lame . . . and he healed them" (Matt. xxi, 14).

"And when it was evening, after sunset, they brought to him all that were ill, and that were possessed with devils. And all the city was gathered together at the door. And he healed many that were troubled with divers diseases. And he cast out many devils" (Mark i, 32-34).

"And when they were gone out of the ship, immediately they knew him. And running through that whole country, they began to carry about in beds those that were sick, where they heard he was. And whithersoever he entered, into towns or into villages, or cities, they laid the sick in the streets, and besought him that they might touch but the hem of his garment. And as many as touched him were made whole" (Mark vi, 54-56).

"And so much the more did they wonder, saying: He hath done all things well. He hath made both the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak" (Mark vii, 37).

"But the fame of him went abroad the more: and great multitudes came together to hear and to be healed by him of their infirmities" (Luke v, 15).

"A very great multitude of people from all Judea and Jerusalem and the sea coast, both of Tyre and Sidon, who were come to hear him and to be healed of their diseases. And they that were troubled with unclean spirits were cured. And all the multitude sought to touch him: for virtue went out from him and healed all" (Luke vi, 17-19).

"And in that same hour, he cured many of their diseases and hurts and evil spirits: and to many that were blind he gave sight" (Luke vii, 21).

"Now when he was at Jerusalem, at the pasch, upon the festival day, many believed in his name, seeing his signs which he did" (John ii, 23).

"And a great multitude followed him, because they saw

the miracles which he did on them that were diseased" (John vi, 2).

"But of the people many believed in him and said: When the Christ cometh, shall he do more miracles than these which this man doth?" (John vii, 31).

"The chief priests, therefore, and the Pharisees gathered a council and said: What do we, for this man doth many miracles?" (John xi, 47).

"And whereas he had done so many miracles before them, they believed not in him" (John xii, 37).

"Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples, which are not written in this book. But these are written, that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: and that believing you may have life in his name" (John xx, 30, 31).

2. Only in so far as it seemed necessary, therefore, to awaken faith in Jesus Christ do the Evangelists undertake to relate separate miracles expressly.

Yet of these there is a considerably large number. If we disregard those occurrences which possibly stand on the dividing line between nature and the supernatural, and which, therefore, must not be regarded necessarily as miracles in the strictest sense of the word, there remain, nevertheless, about thirty-five separate miracles reported.

PREPARATORY PERIOD: FROM THE BAPTISM OF JESUS TO THE CALLING OF THE FIRST DISCIPLES.

1. Changing water into wine at Cana	—	—	—	John
2. Healing of the Ruler's son at Capharnaum	—	—	—	John
First Period of the Public Life of Jesus.				
3. Healing of the possessed at Capharnaum	—	Mark	Luke	—
4. Healing of Peter's mother-in-law	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
5. The first great catch of fish	—	—	Luke	—
6. Healing of a leper	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
7. Healing of the paralytic at Capharnaum	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
8. Healing at the Pool of Bethsaida	—	—	—	John
9. Healing of the withered hand	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
10. Healing of the Centurion's servant	Matt.	—	Luke	—
11. Raising from the dead at Naim	—	—	Luke	—
12. Healing of two blind men at Capharnaum	Matt.	—	—	—
13. Stilling of the storm on the lake	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
14. Healing of the possessed at Gerasa	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
15. Healing of the woman with an issue of blood	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
16. Resuscitation of Jairus's daughter	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
17. Healing of a dumb possessed man	Matt.	—	—	—

Second Period of the Public Life of Jesus.				
18. Miraculous feeding of the five thousand	Matt.	Mark	Luke	John
19. Jesus walks on the Lake of Genesareth	Matt.	Mark	—	John
20. Healing of the daughter of the Canaanite woman	Matt.	Mark	—	—
21. Healing of the deaf and dumb at Decapolis	—	Mark	—	—
22. Miraculous feeding of four thousand	Matt.	Mark	—	—
23. Healing of the blind man at Bethsaida	—	Mark	—	—
24. Healing of the lunatic after the Transfiguration	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
25. Catching of the fish with a coin in its mouth	Matt.	—	—	—
Last Period of the Public Life of Jesus.				
26. Healing of the man born blind	—	—	—	John
27. Healing of the deaf and blind possessed man	Matt.	—	Luke	—
28. Healing of the woman bowed over	—	—	Luke	—
29. Healing of the dropsical man	—	—	Luke	—
30. Resuscitation of Lazarus	—	—	—	John
31. Healing of the ten lepers	—	—	Luke	—
32. Healing of two blind men at Jericho	Matt.	Mark	Luke	—
Last Days of the Life of Jesus.				
33. Curse of the fig-tree	Matt.	Mark	—	—
34. Healing of Malchus	—	—	Luke	—
After the Resurrection of Jesus.				
35. The second miraculous catch of fish	—	—	—	John

3. This tabulated juxtaposition[1] of the miracles of Jesus is in some respects very instructive. Above all, it seems to us remarkable how the different accounts of the miracles are divided up in the separate Gospels. That the Gospels, especially the synoptic, here as everywhere show a close kinship is implicitly understood. They used frequently the same sources, oral and written. Yet with all this the independence of the individual reporters is surprisingly great. One miracle only—the first multiplication of the loaves—is mentioned equally by all four Evangelists. Eleven miracles are found in all the synoptic Gospels; one in Matthew, Mark and John; three in Matthew and Mark; two in Matthew and

[1] See the *Chronology of the Life of Jesus,* by Jacob Grimm, as well as the *Synopsis evangelica,* by Fillion; also Chable, *op. cit.,* 105 f.; T. H. Wright in Hastings's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* ii, 189; Fonck, *op. cit.,* 123; Fillion, *Les Miracles de N.S. Jesus-Christ,* i, 25 ff.

Luke; one in Mark and Luke; twenty are recorded by one Evangelist only.

The same independence prevails also in the mode of presentation of those facts which are mentioned by several Evangelists. There is no pattern-work, no uniform picture. Not only the words and form bear, for the most part, a thoroughly individual character,[1] but the whole conception is quite frequently different. The facts are looked at and estimated from different standpoints. It is, indeed, mostly a question only of extremely subordinate differences; but often the independence of the individual Evangelists is so sweeping that it requires serious effort to prove, among the differences in detail, the essential, actual unity of all the Gospel reports.[2]

From this formal and material difference in the Evangelists' accounts of the miracles is seen the very important fact that the sacred writers do not report slavishly, but draw from the material before them concerning miracles after personal and careful selection. Not only that. Every one of them makes use of independent sources of information. Each has at his disposal his own independent accounts, either because they come to him from his own personal experiences, as is the case in the first and fourth Evangelists, or because, as is the case with Mark and Luke, they utilize the teachings of the Apostles and are further instructed by other eye and ear witnesses. Thus the Gospel reports of the stupendous miraculous activity of Jesus rest not merely on the word of one man. They become a fourfold source of original Christianity, and one historical document for the defence of which all the original disciples of the Lord enter the lists.

Still more. The peculiar character of the Gospel reports about miracles guarantees at the same time that the miracles of Jesus in all the Evangelists, and consequently in the whole consciousness of early Christianity, claim the same exalted position. Matthew relates twenty, Mark eighteen, Luke twenty and John eight miracles. The last Evangelist, therefore, does not at all bring forward a larger number, as would be expected according to our opponents' theory of evolution. On the contrary, John offers disproportionately fewer than the other Evangelists, and, with the exception of two, he relates merely miracles which are not found in the Gospels of his predecessors. He also takes it for granted that the writings of the latter are known, and mentions therefore, on principle, only those great deeds of our Lord which stand in most intimate connection with the main purpose of his Gospel—the proof of the divinity of Jesus Christ (John vi, 1-13, 24-72; ix, 1-7, 39-41; xi, 15, 42). Even Traub lets

[1] Good observations on this point by Hermann Schell, *Jahwe und Christus*, 2nd ed., 493-496; Fillion, *Les Miracles*, i, 30-33.

[2] See Fillion, *op. cit.*, i, 114-120. *Les divergences dans les récits.*

fall the observation: "It must be acknowledged that in their view of miracles there is no essential difference between synoptic and Johannine conceptions."[1] Johannes Weiss calls attention to the fact that even Mark's Gospel, which is regarded by most critics to-day as the oldest, does not in respect to miracles in any particular fall short of the Gospel of John.[2] Indeed, it is precisely the second Gospel that, considering its brevity, contains the most miracles. How often it has been called already the Gospel of Miracles?[3] And what if we wished to appeal, as the critics do, from the Gospel of Mark to a still older original "Mark"? Even then Otto Schmiedel confesses of this also that "The whole life of Jesus is interwoven with miracles. Even in the original Mark there are still enough of them. Jesus was to the Evangelists the great thaumaturgist, the mighty worker of miracles."[4]

In reality, the activity of Jesus in working miracles is, according to the Evangelists, all embracing.

In respect to time, it extends to all phases of the public life of Jesus in regard to the general utterances of the Gospels concerning miracles, and this is also evident from our tabulation. Of his early life nothing of the kind is known to us. The thirty years of his hidden life in Nazareth saw no miracles performed by the Lord. "Christ worked his miracles," according to St Thomas Aquinas, "as a confirmation of his teaching and as a proof of his divine power. He was, therefore, to work no miracles before he began to teach, and he was not to begin to teach before he had reached the full age of manhood."[5] Simultaneously with his teaching he begins his working of miracles. This shows itself most frequently during his first mission in Galilee, where the faith of the simple people of that poor province was most vigorous. In Judea and Jerusalem the unbelief of the scribes and Pharisees and of the masses of the people incited by them frequently hinders him from working miracles. Yet is his arm not shortened even then. Some of the most extraordinary miracles occur precisely towards the end of his life, and only at his ascension to the Father does the source of his miraculous gifts on earth run dry.

[1] *Die Wunder im N.T.*, 31. Similarly Paul Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 3, 4 (Tübingen 1904); more in detail, Gottfried Naumann, *Die Wertschatzung des Wunders im N.T.*, 30-44, 63-69 (Leipzig 1903).

[2] Weiss, *Das alteste Evangelium*, 98 (Göttingen 1903).

[3] The synoptical reports of miracles are treated especially by W. Hönig, *Die Wunderberichte der synoptischen Evangelien*, in *Protestant Kirchenzeitung* (1886), Nos. 8-13; L. v. Gerdtel, *Sind die Wunder des Urchristentums geschichtswissenschaftlich genügend bezeugt?* (Tillenburg 1909).

[4] *Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu Forschung*, 2nd ed., 42.

[5] *Summa Theol.* III, q. 43, a. 3.

According to the subject needing it, everything—sickness, death, the devil and inanimate nature—succumbs to the miraculous power of Jesus.

Most numerous are the cases of healing the sick. The infirm and suffering of every sort experience the loving omnipotence of the Saviour—the feverish, the paralyzed, the bowed with age, the sufferers from hæmorrhage, a man with a withered hand, lepers, the blind, the deaf and dumb, the dropsical, the wounded.

Of resuscitations from the dead, only three are described to us—that of the daughter of Jairus, that of the youth of Naim and that of Lazarus at Bethania.

His power over evil spirits is shown by Jesus in the healing of demoniacal possession, whereby there at times occurs also a rehabilitation of bodily health simultaneously with the mental liberation. Especially worthy of mention is the release of the two men of Gerasa, and that of a lunatic boy possessed of a devil, which occurred after the transfiguration; of another demoniacally possessed man in the synagogue at Capharnaum, and of still another who was at the same time blind and dumb.

Finally, Jesus wrought miracles on the senseless and involuntary elements of nature. To these belong the stilling of the lake storm, the walking on the water, the changing of water into wine, the withering of the fig-tree, and the multiplication of the loaves.

Thus Jesus really reveals himself, in his miraculous works, as the Lord, the Ruler and divine Saviour of the world. His deeds proclaim with overwhelming force the truth of that utterance of omnipotence: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth" (Matt. xxviii, 18).

According to their inner significance in the Gospel the miracles are a leading feature of the teaching of Jesus and an essential part of his life and personality. St Luke condenses the whole glad tidings, the whole Gospel, into two descriptive words: "He was mighty in work and word" (Luke xxiv, 19). These are not to be separated. A Gospel of word is inconceivable without a Gospel of work. Not only the Evangelists, but Jesus Christ himself emphasizes this again and again, and imprints it on the minds and hearts of his hearers in sentences worthy to be cut in stone (Matt. xi, 2 etc.; xii, 28; John v, 21, 36; vi, 26; xi, 42; xiv, 10 etc.).

"Wherever I open and read in this sacred volume, wherever my gaze falls, miraculous deeds are everywhere reported, and his words are for the most part only the explanation, motivation, interpretation and illustration of his deeds. The miracles and teaching of Christ are one indivisible whole; the teaching refers to the miracles, the miracles confirm and symbolize the teaching; his teaching is a miracle, and his miracles are

a profoundly significant form of teaching. Indeed, the teaching of Christ is not at all teaching in the sense of abstract theories, or of a system of doctrinal phrases and proofs. The teaching of Christ is rather identical with his deeds and life—the great teaching of his miraculous life. It was, therefore, a self-contradictory beginning which bore within itself the germ of dissolution when various schools and forms of rationalism sought to separate the doctrines of Christ from his deeds and his sacred person, and indulged in the delusion that they could retain the former and give up the latter."[1]

But even if the testimonies to the miracles in the Gospels were annihilated, the miraculous deeds of Jesus would themselves nevertheless remain. They would be vindicated before the tribunal of history, even without the Gospel, through testimony outside the Gospels.

(*b*) *Christian Records Outside the Gospels.*

1. On the Feast of Pentecost, in the presence of an immense assembly of Christians, Jews and Gentiles, Peter began to preach the good tidings by thus reproaching his fellow-countrymen: "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you also know; this same, being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, you by the hands of wicked men have crucified and slain" (Acts ii, 22, 23).

The fundamental text of that first Pentecostal sermon forms, therefore, a solemn confession of the miracles of Jesus. This sermon is preserved in a book, uncontested by rationalistic criticism, and written by Luke, the educated physician among the first disciples. The sermon was delivered by Peter, the original companion of Jesus, the witness of his whole public life. Nor was this sermon on miracles uttered in a little corner of the world, but in the world-famous city of Jerusalem, on one of its great feast days, and before the multitudes of people who had flocked hither together from all the districts of Palestine and the whole Roman Empire. And as witnesses to the truth of this sermon on miracles, Peter summons not the Eleven, nor the five hundred Christians, nor the Jewish women who had shown their admiration of Christ, but the men of Israel, the assembled élite of the Jewish intellectual aristocracy, the priests and Pharisees, the enemies and judges of Jesus. Peter makes bold to tell them to their faces that they are thus plainly guilty of the death of Jesus, and are witnesses to, and perfectly aware of, the miracles in

[1] Hettinger, *Apologie des Christentums*, 8th ed., ii, 281.

the life of Jesus. And not one of the men of Israel dares to take exception to this challenge. On the contrary, thousands of his hearers repent and become Christians (Acts ii, 37), and from that day on adopt the vocation of the apostles, strikingly delineated by Peter, of being witnesses to the miracles of Jesus (Acts i, 22).

Soon after, Peter begins at Cesarea his mission to the Gentiles. Again an appeal is made to the universally known miraculous power and miraculous works of Jesus: "You know," begins the missionary, "the word which hath been published through all Judea; for it began from Galilee. . . . Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things that he did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem . . . who did eat and drink with him after he arose again from the dead" (Acts x, 37-41).

Peter also ascribes his own miracles, not to himself, but to the miraculous power of Jesus (Acts iii, 6, etc.; v, 1, etc.; ix, 32, etc.; ix, 36, etc.). To the man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, who was born lame, he says: "In the name of Jesus Christ arise and walk" (Acts iii, 6). Then he cries to the Jews, astonished and indignant at this act of healing: "Ye men of Israel, why wonder you at this? Or why look you upon us, as if by our strength or power we had made this man to walk? The God of our fathers hath glorified his son Jesus" (Acts iii, 12, 13). The palsied Eneas in Lydda, who for eight years had been confined to his bed, is healed by the Apostle with the words: "Eneas, the Lord Jesus Christ healeth thee. Arise and make thy bed" (Acts ix, 34).

After his delivery from prison, Peter, together with the whole Christian Church at Jerusalem, addresses this prayer to heaven: "And now, Lord, behold their threatenings, and grant unto thy servants that with all confidence they may speak thy word by stretching forth thy hand to cures and signs and wonders to be done by the name of thy holy Son, Jesus" (Acts iv, 29, 30).

The Apostle could not have spoken thus if he had not been convinced from his own experience of the miraculous power and miraculous deeds of his Master. He, therefore, appeals expressly to his wonderful experiences in the life of the Saviour: "For we have not followed cunningly devised fables when we made known to you the power and presence of our Lord Jesus Christ; but having been made eyewitness of his majesty" (2 Pet. i, 16).

2. The testimony of St Paul to the miracles of Jesus links itself to that of Peter. He had long struggled hard against acknowledging the divine power of the Man of Nazareth. Only after this had revealed itself to him with irresistible force

and undeniable evidence; only after it had become impossible for him to kick against the pricks; only when Christ had appeared to him on the way to Damascus and converted him in a miraculous way—only then did Paul believe in the worker of miracles, whom until then he had persecuted in blind hate. His own conversion will be to him for ever after the one great miracle of his life, upon which his faith in Christ is founded (Acts ix, 1; xxii, 6; xxvi, 12; 1 Cor. xv, 8; Gal. i, 15).

In proximity to this stands, as a second cornerstone of his Christianity everywhere, the reference to the miraculous life[1] and the resurrection of Jesus. The resurrection of Jesus is, according to the Apostle to the Gentiles, the fundamental fact upon which rests the whole structure of faith (1 Cor. i, 20). It is to him the proof of the Messiahship and divine sonship of his Master;[2] it is for him a guarantee that the Lord is the victor over death and corruption (Acts xiii, 34, 37), and that he will call us also again to life from death and the grave (Acts xxvi, 8; 1 Cor. xv, 18). Redemption (Rom. iv, 25; 1 Thess. i, 10), the forgiveness of sins (Acts xiii, 38; 1 Cor. xv, 17), and the whole supernatural life (Rom. vi, 4; 1 Cor. vi, 14; 2 Cor. v, 4; Col. ii, 13), have, according to the Apostle to the Gentiles, their foundation in the omnipotent miracle of the resurrection of Jesus.

Finally, Paul can appeal to the renewal of the miraculous activity of Jesus in his own missionary life.[3] He who so often emphatically warns his followers to accept nothing that is not proven, and to listen to no legends and fables (1 Tim. i, 4; 2 Tim. iv, 4; Titus i, 14), mentions it as an incontestable fact that the Lord has worked through him miracles of life and death, and is still working them before the eyes of the Christian, Jewish and pagan world.[4] To those who were envious of him the Apostle points to the divine confirmation of his apostolic vocation in the words: "The signs of my apostleship have been wrought on you in signs and wonders and mighty deeds" (2 Cor. xii, 12). "For I dare not to speak

[1] Separate miracles are not quoted by Paul out of the life of the Saviour. This is easily comprehensible if we reflect that he, on the one hand, was not an eyewitness of those miracles; and, on the other, that he left behind him no historical writings, but merely occasional letters. That the Apostle to the Gentiles set little value on the miracles of Jesus is asserted without reason by modern critics. Thus, for example, B. Naumann, *Die Wertschätzung des Wunders,* 51-52; Traub, *Die Wunder im N.T.,* 11-21; Beth, *Die Wunder Jesu,* 23 f.

[2] Rom. i, 4; vi, 9; viii, 11, 34; xiv, 9; 2 Cor. iv, 14; xiii, 4; Phil. iii, 10; Col. ii, 12; 1 Thess. iv, 14; v, 10.

[3] Thorough proof of this is given by Ludwig v. Gertel, *Sind die Wunder des Urchristentums geschichtswissenschaftlich genügend bezeugt?* 3rd ed., 10-20.

[4] For Paul's miracles see Acts xiii, 10, etc.; xiv, 7, etc.; xvi, 16, etc.; xix, 12; xx, 9, etc.

of any of those things which Christ worketh not by me, for the obedience of the Gentiles by word and deed, by the virtue of signs and wonders, in the power of the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xv, 18). "Which [the great salvation] having begun to be declared by the Lord, was confirmed unto us by them that heard him. God also bearing them witness by signs and wonders and divers miracles and distributions of the Holy Ghost" (Heb. ii. 3, 4).

3. Moreover, not only did Christ renew continually his miraculous power among the early Christians, but there still lived among these for decades some of those fortunate ones upon whom the Redeemer had wrought miracles during his earthly life. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Lesser Phrygia, "a disciple of John, a friend of Polycarp, a man of the remote past,"[1] gives us express information on this point. He assures us "that down to the time of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) persons were living who had been raised from the dead by Christ."[2]

The same thing is affirmed, contemporaneously with Papias, by Quadratus, a disciple of the apostles in Asia Minor, endowed with extraordinary gifts of grace.[3] About the year A.D. 124, he sent to the Emperor Hadrian a defence of the Christians, in which, among other things, he writes the following remarkable sentences: "The works of our Redeemer were always public, for they were founded upon truth. Those especially who had been freed from sicknesses, or had been called back to life again from death, were not only at that time seen by all when they were healed or called back to life, but also subsequently. Not only as long as our Redeemer remained on earth, but also after his ascension, they were still alive for a long time, so that some of them have survived even to our own day."[4]

No clearer documentary evidence could be desired. This venerable disciple of the apostles and oldest of Christian apologists does not testify merely out of, and in harmony with, the Gospels to our Saviour's miracles of healing and resuscitation. No, he can refer to the fact that the healed and resuscitated persons themselves gave living, personal testimony to the miracles wrought upon them during the whole lifetime of Jesus and the apostles, and some of them did so even down to the beginning of the second century. He himself and his older contemporaries have still been able to

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, v, 33, 4.

[2] Ἱστορεῖ δὲ . . . περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντων, ὅτι ἔως Ἀδριανοῦ ἔζων. C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchr. Literatur*, published by Gebhardt and Harnack, v, 2, 170 (Leipzig 1889).

[3] Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii, 37, 1; v, 17, 2.

[4] Quadratus, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv, 3, 2.

see and associate with these individuals miraculously healed and raised from the dead.

And what Quadratus here tells us must be correct. It is unthinkable that he in a defence intended, through its effect on the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, to allay a persecution against the Christians already begun, and which also actually did allay it,[1] could appeal to invented miracles, and, to prove their truth, could challenge a century and his own contemporaries as witnesses. If the utterances of the apologist had not been evidently true, his manner of defence would have to be called senseless and the most certain means of ruining his effort instead of a vindication of the Christian Church.

Thus all the Christian statements about the miracles of Jesus are in striking agreement, and form only one, unique and incontestable proof of them. It is not only inadmissible but also entirely useless to try to invalidate the Gospels because of their accounts of miracles, for the other apostolic writings rise at once to their defence and confirmation, and if anyone should wish to attempt the impossible task of eliminating miracles from all the apostolic writings, there would rise against him the contemporaries and disciples of the apostles and summon as witnesses the healed and resuscitated, and with them the whole Christian community of that time.

(*c*) *Non-christian Reports.*

1. Among the non-christian witnesses for the miracles of Jesus, Flavius Josephus is usually mentioned. Josephus (born A.D. 36-37, died about A.D. 100), by origin a Jewish Pharisee, later a Roman renegade and friend of the Flavian imperial family, wrote among other works two historical books of incomparable value—*Jewish Antiquities* and the *Jewish Wars*. In the *Antiquities*, as they have come down to us, are short but important utterances concerning Jesus; in the Slavonic translation of the *Jewish Wars* is found a similar passage about the Saviour.[2] We place the two passages in parallel columns for the sake of comparison.

[1] Eusebius, *Chron. ad a. Abr.*, 2140; *H. E.*, iv, 3, 1-2.

[2] Josephus wrote the *Bellum Judaicum*, as he himself says in the Preface, first (about A.D. 75) in his Aramaic mother-tongue, "for the barbarians in Upper Asia," and translated the work subsequently (about 98) into Greek for the purpose of promoting its circulation among the Romans. Hitherto only the Greek translation was known, and this does not speak of Christ. A. Berendts then called attention to the fact that the old Christian revision of the text, which is said to go back to the original Aramaic text, contains extensive paragraphs concerning John the Baptist, Jesus Christ and his disciples. He published, in 1906, these paragraphs with a critical treatment of them in *Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristl. Literatur*, edited by

"At that time, however, lived Jesus, a wise man, if one may indeed call him a man. For he was a worker of miracles, a teacher of men who willingly accept what is true. And many of the Jews, and also many from the Hellenic world he drew to himself. He was the Messiah. And when, on the accusation of our most distinguished men, Pilate had condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him from the first did not abandon him on that account. For he appeared to them on the third day, alive again, since the divinely inspired prophets had said of him this and a thousand other marvellous things, and still to the present time the nation of Christians, called after him, has not ceased to exist."[1]

"At that time appeared a man, if indeed it is proper to call him a man. Both his nature and his form were human, but his appearance was more than human. His works, however, were divine, and he performed miracles which were astounding and powerful. Hence it is not possible for me to call him a man. But, on the other hand, considering his whole being, I shall also not call him an angel. And everything that he did by means of some invisible power he did by word and command. Some said of him that the first law-giver [Moses] had risen from the dead and performed many cures and wonders. Others, however, thought that he was sent from God. . . . And it was said that, after he had been put to death, and after his burial in a tomb, he was not found. Some now allege that he is risen from the dead, but others that he was stolen by his friends. I do not know, however, which speak the more correctly."[2]

These passages from Josephus may not, however, be adopted without further comment. We must test their value separately. First, the passage from the *Antiquities*. For two centuries the controversy of opinions about this among the critics fluctuates to and fro.[3] Some regard it absolutely as genuine, others consider it just as positively a subsequent addition, while according to a third opinion the text referring to Jesus in Josephus has received a Christian colouring through a later interpolator.[4] All the

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Gebhardt and Harnack, *Neue Folge,* xiv, part IV: "Witnesses of Christianity in the Slavonic *De Bello Judaico* of Josephus." The text of the above-named paragraphs itself embraces seven full pages (6-12). We must, therefore, limit ourselves to giving information about the principal passage concerning Christ, which directly interests us. It is interpolated in the Slavonic manuscripts between *Bellum Judaicum,* ii, 9, 3 and 4, of the Greek edition. One must not confound this, however, with the passage about Christ, which is interpolated in some separate Latin translations of the *Bellum Judaicum.* This latter passage is taken literally from the *Antiquities.*

[1] *Antiquities,* xviii, 3, 3.

[2] Berendts, *op. cit.,* 8, 12.

[3] The very extensive literature on this subject is noted by Oberthür in Fabricius, *Biblioth. Graec,* v, 49-56; Fürst, *Biblioth. Judaica,* ii, 127-132; Heinichen, *Eusebii Scripta,* iii, 623 (1870); Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdäischen Volkes,* i, 544.

[4] Among defenders of its genuineness are Kaulen, *Flavius Josephus Jüdische Altertümer,* 3rd ed., 620; Hurter, *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.,* 515 (1890); 584 (1896); Bole, *Flavius Josephus über Christus* (1896);

more important Protestant investigators of the last decades have given up the Josephus passage completely, and some Catholic historians also have abandoned it.

Now there comes suddenly a reaction out of the liberal circles themselves. It is true, the young scholar, Kurt Linck of Königsberg, in his recently published work[1] sums up again all that has for a long time been brought forward in proof of the spuriousness of the passage. Yet at the same time, F. C. Burkitt, of Cambridge, one of the greatest of English investigators, rises to prove convincingly the genuineness of the Josephus testimony,[2] and the leader of the liberal theology in Germany, A. Harnack, as well as K. G. Goetz, agree with him.[3] Harnack with reason maintains that the previous negative criticism has here made the same error which it has committed in regard to many points of primitive Christian tradition—" the old error of considering as spurious what it at present does not understand."[4] This school of criticism was not able to understand how the Jew Josephus could say of Jesus anything so lofty and honourable. Accordingly, it ascribed this testimony to Jesus to a stout-fisted Christian forger, notwithstanding the fact that it is found in all the manuscripts of the *Antiquities,* and is ascribed to Josephus by all the Church historians of ancient times[5] from the days of Eusebius of Cesarea.

To-day, criticism has learned to recognize the fact that a Jew might very well express himself thus about Jesus of Nazareth, while the passage in Josephus would be, if uttered

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Kneller, *F. Josephus über J. Christus und die Christen,* in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* vol. LIII, 1-19 and 161-174 (1897). Opponents of its genuineness are Waudel, *Der jüdische Geschichtsschreiber F. Josephus und das Christentum,* in *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift,* 967-987 (1891); Niese, *De testimonio christiano quod est apud Josephum* (1893); Schürer, *op. cit.,* 545-549; Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs,* 19 (1908); Batiffol, *Orpheus et l'Evangile,* 3-21 (1910). For interpolation, Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften,* iv, 352 ff. (Leipzig 1893); Gustav A. Müller, *Christus bei Josephus Flavius* (1895); Asmussen, *Josephus und das Christentum,* in *Deutsch-Evang. Blätter,* 183-191 (1896); and Th. Reinach, *Josèphe sur Jésus,* in *Revue des Études juives,* xxxv, 1-18 (1898).

[1] *De antiquissimis veterum quae ad Jesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis,* 1-31 (Giessen 1913).

[2] *Josephus and Christ,* in *Theologisch Tijdschrift,* 135-144 (1913).

[3] Harnack, *Der jüdische Geschichtschreiber Josephus und Jesus Christus,* in *Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft,* 1037-1068 (1913); Goetz, *Die ursprüngliche Fassung der Stelle Josephus Flavius'* "*Antiq.,*" xviii, 3, 3, *und ihr Verhältnis zu Tacitus'* "*Annal.,*" xv, 44, in *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft,* 286-297 (1913)

[4] *id.,* 1042.

[5] Eusebius, *H. E.,* i, 11; Sozomen, *H. E.,* 1, 1; Rufinus, *H. E.,* iii, 11; Isidore of Pelusium, iv, *Ep.* 225; Hieronymus, *Catalog. Script. Ecclesiast.,* c. 11.

by a Christian, wholly unintelligible.[1] In fact, the passage is especially applicable to Flavius Josephus and to the purpose of his *Antiquities*. The *Antiquities* are intended to be a monument which Josephus dedicates to his politically ruined people—a mirror of memorable Jewish events which he holds before the eyes of the Romans. All Jewish sects and party leaders, from the time of Augustus to the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, find their place in this gallery. It would, therefore, be quite remarkable if Jesus were not mentioned here in a suitable manner. And this so much the more as Josephus gives an extensive report of John the Baptist,[2] and names even "James, the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ."[3] Josephus, therefore, doubtless also spoke of Jesus, and that he does so in a way so honourable to him cannot surprise us. Even if he had not uttered such extraordinary words about Jesus out of love for the truth, he would surely have done so, nevertheless, out of Jewish vainglory, as well as from a desire to flatter the Christian members of the Flavian imperial family which was adored by him.

Some expressions in the Josephus passage must, however, be excluded from this judgement. That all the Old Testament prophecies about Jesus were fulfilled and that he was the very Messiah would have been hard for a Jew to acknowledge, even though he had been, like Josephus, half a renegade. Origen says truly: "Josephus did not recognize Jesus as the Christ."[4] There were, therefore, at the time of Origen (A.D 185-255) manuscripts of the *Antiquities* which did not contain the testimony "he was the Messiah." Hence the supposition is natural that the passage about Christ in the *Antiquities* subsequently received a somewhat different form from some Christian writer.

This supposition might perhaps find confirmation through the paragraph about Jesus which we have quoted from the Slavonic *Bellum Judaicum* of Josephus. That the Slavonic paragraph is related to that in the *Antiquities* is at once perceptible; and equally so the fact that in the former it is precisely that specifically Christian feature which is wanting which makes the latter suspicious. Jesus is indeed depicted in the Slavonic Josephus as quite an extraordinary man, in fact, as a superman and mighty worker of miracles; on the other hand, there is no more mention of the fact that the Old Testament prophecy has been fulfilled in him, and that he is consequently the Messiah. The passage about Jesus in the *Antiquities* would thus be placed in a new light if the parallel

[1] Since the proof of this is not easy to produce within the limits of this book, I refer the reader to my article, *Flavius Josephus und Jesus Christus*, in *Theolog.-prakt. Quartalschrift*, 608-620 (1914).

[2] *Antiq.* xviii, 5, 2. [3] *Antiq.*, xx, 9, 1.

[4] *Comment in Matt.*, x, c. 17; *contra Cels.*, i, 47; ii, 3.

passage in the Slavonic *Bellum Judaicum* were undoubtedly genuine.

Unfortunately, however, this is not the case. Even if the bulk of the Slavonic translation should actually go back to the Aramaic original of Josephus, still nothing would be gained thereby, especially for the passage about Jesus. Did this also stand already in Josephus's Aramaic text, or was it only subsequently smuggled in by some forger? The question remains an open one. It may, in the first place, be definitely answered by saying that no Christian can be suspected of such a forgery. No Christian, not even a Jewish Christian, could write about the Saviour so equivocally and sceptically. In the mouth of a Jew, however, such language is entirely comprehensible. That a Jew is at the bottom of it becomes still clearer if we take into consideration also the utterances of the Slavonic *Bellum Judaicum* about John the Baptist, the disciples of Jesus and their pharisaic enemies. They are worded with such hostility to Christianity and are so genuinely Jewish that only a Jew can possibly be regarded as the author.[1] It only remains doubtful whether we must think of Josephus or of one of his racial brethren. A. Berendts decides for Josephus;[2] Seeberg for a Jewish interpolator at the transition period of the first Christian century.[3] The problem still waits for its solution.

But however the case may be with the Josephus passages about Jesus, one thing is to-day indubitable—namely, that he bore testimony to the Man of Nazareth as a great thaumaturgist. This conviction was, moreover, shared not only by Josephus and by one and another of his Jewish contemporaries, but by the whole Jewish world in general.

2. Jewish tradition has from time immemorial advocated the historical truth of the miracles of Jesus. The Gospels themselves report repeatedly and expressly that the Jews never denied the reality of the works of the Saviour. Only in regard to the cause of his miracles did they think differently from Christ and the apostles (Matt. ix, 34; xii, 24; Mark iii, 22; Luke xi, 15; John xi, 47; Acts iv, 16).

And so it continued, according to the testimony of later Christian writers. Tertullian, for example, declares in his work *Against the Jews* that Jesus healed the sick, the blind, the deaf, the lame and the dumb, and for the truth of his declaration summons the Jews themselves as witnesses with

[1] This is strikingly proved by Reinold Seeberg, *Von Christus und dem Christentum*, 54-56 (Berlin 1908), against Schürer, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 265 f. (1906). Yet Seeberg (page 59) rightly supposes that a Christian copyist in very early times put into the Jewish text some Christian glosses.

[2] Berendts, *op. cit.*, 28-79.

[3] Seeberg, *op. cit.*, 65 f. For the reasons for this date, see Seeberg, 57, and Berendts, 15-28.

the words: "That Jesus performed these and other miracles you also do not doubt, and you reproach him only with having done his works on the Sabbath."[1] Justin, the apologist,[2] Eusebius,[3] Jerome,[4] Augustine[5] also vouch for the fact that the Jews thought thus about the historic truth of the miracles of our Lord.

Furthermore, even the statements of the Jewish synagogue literature agree perfectly with what the Gospels and old Christian writers report about the attitude of the Jews to the miracles of Jesus. The *Talmud,*[6] that standard book of the religion of the synagogue, filled with lofty truths and also with amazingly senseless rubbish, reflects in matters regarding the miracles of Jesus exactly the same conception which the Jews exhibit in the Gospels and in the same way.[7] Jesus wrought miracles, but not through the power of God—this was the official view of Talmudic Judaism at the time of Christ, as well as in the time immediately following and far into the Middle Ages. It was condensed, together with other Jewish calumnies, in the thirteenth century into the execrable libel called the *Toldoth Jeshua* (*History of Jesus*)—a work which trampled in the mire not only the person of Christ, but also the persons of his mother and disciples.[8]

3. The Jews knew also how to influence public opinion in the pagan world to believe that Jesus had performed his miracles by the power of magic. But the historical reality of the miracles is never doubted. After the resurrection of Jesus, the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem caused a circular letter (preserved by Justin Martyr, who died in A.D. 163) to be carried into the world by messengers, and in this the miracles of the "Galilean juggler" are attributed to magic.[9]

[1] Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos,* c. 9.
[2] *Dialog. cum Tryphone Judaeo,* n. 17, 108.
[3] *Demonstr. Evangel.,* iii, 6; Migne, 22, 224.
[4] *Tract. de Ps.,* 71, Ed. G. Morin, *Anecd. Mareds.,* iii, 2, 80.
[5] *De consensu Evang.,* i, 9-11; Migne, 34, 1049.
[6] *Tract. Shabbath,* fol. 104 b.
[7] See John Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae in Evang., Opera* II[2] (1699); J. H. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum,* i, 1711, 149-151; Christ. Schöttgen, *Horae hebr. et talmudicae in univ. N. T.,* ii, 699 (1733); Aug. Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Göttingen 1878); G. Dalman, *Was sagt der Talmud über Jesum* (1891); Heinrich Laible, *Jesus Christus im Talmud,* 2nd ed., 44-48.
[8] The most important parts of the *Toldoth Jeshua* have been published in Hebrew and German by Samuel Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin 1902). The passages concerning the miracles of Jesus are found there, pp. 40 f., 53 f., 68 f., 93 f., 118 f., 123 f. *Cf.* Gustav Rösch, *Die Jesusmythen des Judentums,* in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken,* xlvi, 77-115 (1873); E. Bischoff, *Ein jüdisch-deutsches Leben Jesu* (Leipzig 1895); L. Couard, *Jüdische Sagen über des Leben Jesu,* in *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift,* xii, 164-176, (1901); R. Fr. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash* (1903).
[9] Justin, *Dialog. cum Tryphone,* n. 17, 108.

Celsus suggests that he has actually received from the Jews the opinion that Jesus wrought his miracles by means of Egyptian magical arts.[1] But Celsus also concedes the actuality of the miracles of Jesus, and he is the oldest and most important polemical writer against Christ and Christianity in the ranks of pagan authors. In his *True Word* he endeavours repeatedly to divest the miracles of the Saviour of their divine character at least, and to pour out upon them a torrent of wit and frivolity. But, in spite of his blind rage, he does not dare to deny them.[2]

Porphyrius,[3] Hierocles,[4] and the pagan polemical writers in general,[5] proceed in precisely the same way. Even Julian the Apostate does not dare to take a different standpoint against the historical truth of the miracles of Jesus. As the last pagan pamphleteer, he dips his pen essentially in poison and gall, hates Christ as, indeed, only an apostate can hate him, and scrapes together everything that paganism had uttered blasphemously against the Nazarene for three hundred years. Nevertheless, he sees himself forced to make this confession: "This Jesus has in his lifetime done nothing really remarkable, unless we wish to take into account that he healed the lame and the blind, exorcized devils and walked on the sea."[6]

2. *Criticism of the Records of Miracles.*

(*a*) *Critical Attacks on the Records.*

It was reserved only for modern times to make an assault upon the historical truth of the miracles of Jesus. And this was not to happen from historical considerations, but was supported merely by philosophical assumptions. Empiricism and rationalism have, since the seventeenth century, inclined towards a view of the universe in which revelation and the supernatural could no longer maintain a position. In the light of these philosophical theories of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Thomas Woolston, David Hume and Spinoza, the miracles of the Gospel must, according to them, appear unhistorical.

Now, however, all modern philosophy, in so far as we do not take that of positive Christianity into consideration, rests completely on the shoulders of empiricism and rationalism.

[1] Origen, *Contra Celsum,* i, 28, 38.
[2] Origen, *l.c.,* i, 6, 36, 38, 67, 68; ii, 9, 48.
[3] Jerome, *Quaest. in Genes.,* i, 1. Cf. *Breviar. in Psalm.,* 81.
[4] Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem;* Migne, *P.G.,* XXII, 795, 868.
[5] Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangel.,* iii, 4-6; Migne, *P.G.,* XXII, 198-221. Arnobius, *Adversus Gentes,* i, 43; Migne, *P.L.,* V, 773.
[6] Cyrillus Alex., *Adversus Julianum,* C, vi; Migne, *P.G.,* XXVI, 992; C. J. Neumann, *Juliani imperatoris librorum contra Christianos quae supersunt,* 196, 198, 201 (1880).

And, as we have previously shown exhaustively, it rejects miracles even to-day just as decidedly as the empiricists and rationalists themselves. That miracles in general are impossible, and that consequently Jesus also can have wrought no miracles, has been for all "critical" philosophers and theologians a fixed dogma ever since the seventeenth century. For them there is no need of producing evidence that the miracles of the Gospels are unhistorical and incredible. They assume that, in advance, as dogma. From the seventeenth to the twentieth century, they have also not attempted to bring forth a single serious proof against the truth of the Gospel and old Christian accounts of miracles. One question only interests them and lies like a nightmare on the whole mass of sceptical and half-sceptical literature about Jesus and the Gospels. It is: "How can we get around the accounts of the miracles? How can we succeed in denying the miracles of Jesus, when all the competent witnesses assert unanimously that he did work miracles?" The answer to this question has kept the enemies of miracles breathlessly at work for fully two centuries. The ways and means tried for the solution of this hopeless problem have been almost numberless.[1] They can, however, be reduced substantially to the following:

The Gospels are to be ascribed to a pious fraud on the part of Jesus and his disciples, and the miracles form the chief ingredient of this deceptive information about primitive Christianity. Thus does H. S. Reimarus (1694-1768) express himself in his *Vindication of the Reasonable Worshippers of God,* which, under the title of *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente,* was thrown by Lessing into the world as an incendiary torch.[2] According to this, Jesus wished to set himself up as the Messiah by contriving a rebellion, and with a view to the attainment of this aim became involved in a Messianic imposture. For this purpose he had apparently to perform also the miracles expected from the Messiah. He therefore allied himself with some commonplace fellows who pretended to be blind, dumb, deaf, lame, crazy or dead, in order then to be "healed" or "raised from the dead." The resurrection of Jesus himself also rests upon a similar pious fraud on the part of the Saviour. Subsequently, in order to restamp their Master as the spiritual Messiah and Son of God, his disciples had invented what was still lacking, until the whole wonderful history of the Gospel stood complete before the world.

We seek in vain in Reimarus for a practical proof and justification of this theory of fraud; his whole *Vindication*

[1] An excellent monograph on the subject has been written recently by Fillion, *Les Etapes du Rationalisme dans ses attaques contre les Evangiles* (1911); and, by the same author, *Les miracles de N.S. Jésus-Christ,* i, 71-100.

[2] Already referred to in vol. i, pp. 67-69, of this work.

stands or falls with the assertion of the third *Fragment*—the *Impossibility of a Revelation.* The entire conception of primitive Christianity is, morever, distorted by such an excessive amount of misunderstanding and ignorance of the real history that even the most pronounced rationalism soon turned away from it with disgust. It was necessary to discover another formula for reconciling the Gospel history and a denial of miracles.

The Gospels in all respects correspond to actual history, only they must be so interpreted that everything miraculous in them becomes purely natural and not miraculous at all. This is the climax of the notorious and famous "natural" explanation of miracles made by Gottlob Paulus (1761-1851).[1] Bearing in mind the pitiful fiasco of the author of the *Wolfenbüttler Fragmente,* and yet true to his rationalistic view of the world, he made the Gospel pass seemingly for history, but interpreted it "naturally," "rationally." All the miracles and all supernatural truths in general, whether it was practicable or not, were brought down to the level of purely natural occurrences, and in every case the Gospel text was compressed, abbreviated or enlarged, and misconstrued and misinterpreted until nothing supernatural was any longer present.

"For this purpose the 'natural' explanation assumed that the Evangelists had conformed to the miracle-seeking, superstitious and otherwise false notions of their readers and hearers; had altered the facts from certain psychological aims and motives; or had even repeated simply incorrect traditions, had in many places omitted the connecting links of the narration; and had added erroneously understood or falsely reported accessory circumstances. In consequence the Gospel texts and facts keep their 'miraculous appearance,' of which they must be divested by the natural explanation.''[2]

But by trying to remove the miraculous appearance from the Gospel narratives, Paulus everywhere really attacks the historical value of those narratives. Moreover, not one Gospel miracle supports a natural explanation unless the miracle is differently described and unless the fact is otherwise represented than is the case in the Gospel. Thus Dr. Paulus falls on his own sword; in the beginning he asserts that the Gospel reports must not anywhere be disturbed, but finally he holds in his hand only a universally mutilated and curtailed Gospel—a self-inflicted criticism which is equivalent to scientific suicide, and was also immediately stigmatized as such by Strauss. The latter rightly reproaches the author of the natural explanation as follows: "He who under the guidance of Paulus wishes to hold fast to the alleged fact

[1] *Commentary on the N. T.,* 1800-1804; *Leben Jesu, als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristentums* (1828).

[2] *Cf.* vol. i, pp. 69-71, of this work.

actually thrusts his hand into the mire; and it is always at least coal instead of gold that one succeeds in grasping in his natural explanation. . . . By excluding from his historical pragmatism the supernatural, which the sources of information give him, Paulus declares that the Gospel history, as it lies before us in the sources, cannot be treated historically; yet since he makes these sources pass for genuine foundations of history, he confesses that he has not satisfactorily performed his task. If the Gospels are really historical documents, then miracles are not to be eliminated from the history of the life of Jesus; if, on the other hand, miracles are incompatible with history, the Gospels cannot be historical sources."[1] It was an evident contradiction that Paulus wanted at the same time to adopt both these mutually excluding alternatives. Strauss was honourable enough, from his standpoint as a radical rationalist, to declare himself decidedly in favour of the latter, and to construct for this purpose his powerful mythical theory.

The Gospels contain, for the most part, and especially in their portions which treat of miracles, no history at all, but merely myths, says this theory of Strauss. The Gospel narratives of miracles are, according to Strauss (1808-1874), in every instance "products of unintentionally inventive legend," "garlands of myths, which enwreathe the portrait of Jesus of Nazareth." The old Christian myth has taken possession of the life of Jesus and garnished it everywhere with miracles without regard to reality. What Jesus said and did was exaggerated in a supernatural sense; and what the Old Testament had composed in prophetic enthusiasm concerning the future Messiah, the first Christians had also applied to the person of their Redeemer, and whatever else Christianity has still possessed in hopes and the music of the future has all been projected back into the historical life of Jesus. All these myths—more correctly, legends, for Strauss had also no idea of the myth—the Evangelists had then woven into a harmonious, wonderful portrait of Jesus.[2]

For a moment, sceptical criticism believed that Strauss had really found the talisman by means of which the miracles could be at last spirited away from the history of Jesus. But as soon as a sober method of considering the subject had returned, it became clear to every intelligent person that with Strauss it is a matter of ingenious fiction, and that such a total transformation of the life of Jesus under the very eyes of those who had known him could not have been accomplished

[1] *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* 20th ed., i, 8. See also Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* sect. 6 and 87-100 *passim.*

[2] For further details concerning Strauss's theory of myths, see the first volume of this work, pp. 71-74.

by an unintentionally inventive legend. For that there was needed a later age and intentional deception.

The Gospels are a portrayal of primitive Christianity, written for a purpose in post-apostolic times, and the Gospel miracles form one of the chief elements of this biassed history. Such was the thesis which was now brought forward by Ferd. Christ. Baur (1792-1860), and was defended and propagated by the "Tübingen historical school," named after him. With this the climax of a wellnigh pathological criticism of miracles was certainly reached. Everything which up to that time had been brought up as material against the historic truth of the miracles of Jesus, and had been already rejected, was once more collected from the street by Baur; he became Reimarus, Paulus and Strauss at one and the same time with all the faults of their systems. And beyond that also came the wholly senseless assertion that the Gospels first originated in the second century, and then really only as a monument of lies and subtlety on the part of the Christian generations of that time. The "higher criticism" could not have debased itself more than this.

According to this, the riddle how the New Testament reports of miracles can be reconciled with the rationalistic denial of them has remained unanswered, notwithstanding all the attempts made for its solution. And what the masters, with a labour of a hundred and fifty years, had not achieved, their pupils also could not hope to accomplish.

So, then, the young rationalists have for the most part altogether given up bringing up the problem again. Instead of loosening the knot, they refashion it clumsily with the daring assertion: "The Gospels do not contain history, but legends or actual romance, and this simply and solely because they contain miracles." The unhistoricalness of the Gospel miracles is at once assumed as a matter of course by Edward Zeller, Ernest Renan, Ernest Havet and other offshoots of the rationalistic period, without caring in the least how they are to manage with the accounts of the miracles of Jesus actually in our possession. All considerations of this kind are swept away by a mere reference to the rationalists' assertion that miracles and history cannot be reconciled.

Zeller, Baur's best-known pupil, writes: "The historian can make no use of miracles; he must answer the question as to the credibility of a report about miracles in all circumstances in the negative."[1] "If [however] a miracle is altogether unthinkable, then also in the history of Christianity, and likewise in that of the New Testament Christianity, miracles are unthinkable. If, therefore, miracles are nevertheless narrated to us, these narratives, so far as they report miracles, must be false; that is, what is narrated either

[1] Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, vi, 365.

never took place at all, or, if it did take place, it had causes sufficient to explain it whether the narrators knew these causes or not, and consequently whether they wish to report natural occurrences or miracles."[1]

Renan thinks still more significantly "that it is evident that the Gospels are in part legendary, since they are interlarded with miracles and the supernatural. . . . I say that the Gospels are legends, not because it has been proved to me that the Gospels do not deserve an unqualified faith, but because they narrate miracles."[2]

Havet, however, takes the palm when he bestows upon the miracles of the Gospel the following treatment: "The first duty which the rationalistic principle lays upon us, one which forms the foundation of all criticism, consists in rejecting everything supernatural from the life of Jesus. Therewith, at one stroke, what we call miracle vanishes from the Gospels. That the lame and lepers are instantly healed, that the deaf, dumb and the born blind suddenly receive again hearing, speech and sight at a touch or a word of Jesus, can plainly make no claim upon reality. Not only did Jesus never perform any such acts, but I assert boldly that no one was able to believe anything of the sort of him when he was alive. Only from a distance and long afterwards have such things been conceived. If criticism refuses to believe in the accounts of miracles, it does not need at all to furnish proofs for the justification of its denial; what is related is false, merely because what is related could not be."[3]

Nevertheless, this dreary criticism on the part of rationalism, devoid of all sense of history and reality, has remained more and more lonely on the broad plain of controversy. Gradually there grew up the so-called "historical-critical school," which endeavoured to bring about a greater comprehension of the history of early Christianity. By the use of the strictest critical methods it proved, first, that the Gospels, especially the synoptic ones, originated in the first century, and that they have for their authors those very apostles and apostolic men to whom they had always been ascribed by tradition. Therewith was also conceded the fact that the credibility or historical truth of the New Testament books was to a great extent acknowledged by the critics. A leading spirit of the new school writes: "There was a time—in fact, the great mass of the public is still in it—when it was thought that the oldest Christian literature, including the New Testament, must be regarded as a tissue of deceptions and falsifications. That time is gone by. The oldest literature of the Church, in its principal points and most of its details, considered from a literary and historical stand-

[1] *id.*, viii, 110. [2] *Vie de Jésus*, vi, ix.
[3] Havet, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1881, 587.

point, is true and reliable."[1] That is the challenge of the latest science to rationalistic biblical criticism.

But now the wellnigh incredible happens. As soon as the historical-critical scholars meet with miracles and the supernatural, they become rationalists again, and pronounce upon them a judgement of lack of historical truth and of incredibility, because miracles and a revelation are in any case impossible and unhistorical.[2] Nor is that all. Even Strauss and Baur, however little sense for true history they had, perceived, nevertheless, that the legendary hypothesis can be accepted only on the condition that the New Testament writings originated only in post-apostolic times. The historical-critical scholars, on the contrary, let this transformation of the estimate of Christ go on under the very eyes of the apostles and their disciples, who wrote the Gospels. Within the three and four decades which lie between the death of Jesus and the composition of the synoptic Gospels, the reports concerning the Saviour are supposed to have run wild mythically, to have become coloured by legend, and to have risen into the realm of the miraculous.

The Gospels are, therefore, historical with the exception of the supernatural and miraculous, which are to be discarded as a rank legendary growth on the primitive Christian faith. Into this sentence the most modern view of the Gospel and miracles can be condensed.

It is, above all, shared by liberal Protestant theologians. Already in C. Hermann Weisse (1801-1866),[3] Theodor Keim[4] and Karl Hase,[5] who still stand strongly under the spell of rationalism, we meet the principal elements of the liberal treatment of miracles—the elimination of all miraculous facts which do not pertain to the healing of the sick, and then the manipulation of the miracles of healing until they can be understood as apparently natural. That the subsequent and modern followers of Ritschl hold substantially the same opinions will be evident from the following illustrations.

Arnold Meyer expresses himself about the Gospel miracles as follows: "The whole account of the teaching of Jesus is embedded in an account of miracles, which begins in Matthew and Luke with his birth, and in Mark with his baptism, and ends with the resurrection. Thereby naturally the words of Jesus also receive another imprint, and they originate, like the miracles, from another and a miraculous world. Here, however, it is to be remembered how ready the enthusiastic

[1] Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, II, 1 (1897), viii.
[2] See the first volume of this work, pp. 110-117.
[3] *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch betrachtet*, (1838).
[4] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara* (1867-1872).
[5] *Geschichte Jesu* (1876).

love and joyful belief in miracles among the first Christians were for a continual increase of the miraculous in any event, and how much inclined they were to see precisely in the miraculous the essential and divine in Jesus.

"With certainty, therefore, we can infer from these accounts of miracles only the overpowering impression which Jesus made upon the susceptible portion of his people—an impression which in itself must have led to striking and thrilling occurrences. To this must be added the fact that, besides all this there floated about this Man, who was revered as the Messiah, and subsequently in pagan Christianity as the Son of God, an entire world of Messianic legends and myths about the gods, which quite naturally appropriated him and of necessity clung to him."[1]

"The tradition of our Gospels," says also Wilhelm Bousset, "has then certainly made of Jesus a miracle-worker in the extraordinary and absolute sense of the term. In this sphere he became the supermundane Son of God, who, without any psychical mediation, intervened directly in the life of the body, resuscitated the dead, walked on the sea, commanded the winds and waves, fed thousands with a few loaves, and for whom there were no limits of possibility. The believing Church has outlined the simple, human picture of Jesus on the golden background of the miraculous. But it is still comparatively easy to free the picture from that golden background. . . . There remain actually few narratives in which a purely miraculous event presents itself freed from all analogies. These narratives we have, then, to eliminate as legendary growths."[2] "The historian can hardly do otherwise than assume that, wherever such miracles are related, he has legends and not history before him. . . . Is not the life of Jesus here so immersed in the miraculous that it must, so far as our consideration of it goes, cease to be historical? But if we inspect it more closely, the specifically miraculous element begins to disengage itself and the historical portrait of Jesus to be set free. . . . And under the veil of the shimmering vestment of miracle in our reports we behold the true form of the historic Jesus."[3]

Adolf Harnack first asserts that modern criticism is able to appreciate these accounts of miracles historically; but, instead of this, he dissects them, and what cannot be denied he looks at askance: "But the miraculous, all these accounts of miracles! Not only Strauss, but also many others have let themselves be so repelled by them that they on that account have bluntly denied the credibility of the Gospels. On the other hand, it is a great step in advance which the science of

[1] *Wer hat das Christentum begründet?* 50 f. (Tübingen 1907).
[2] *Jesus,* 3rd ed., 25 (1907).
[3] *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 2nd ed., 55, 57 (1906).

history has made in the last generation, in that it has learned to judge those narratives more intelligently and more charitably, and is therefore able to appreciate and make good use of even the accounts of miracles as historical sources of information. . . . So far as I see, the following groups can here be formed: (1) Accounts of miracles which have originated from amplifications of natural, impressive events; (2) accounts of miracles which have had their origin in discourses and parables, or in a projection of internal experiences into the external world; (3) such as have arisen out of an interest in seeing Old Testament prophecies fulfilled; (4) surprising acts of healing wrought by the spiritual force of Jesus; (5) the inscrutably mysterious. . . . In spite of those narratives, indeed, partly also in them, we meet here a reality which makes a claim to our sympathy. Study, and do not let yourself be repelled by this or that account of miracles, which affects you strangely or chills you. What is here incomprehensible to you put quietly aside."[1]

Otto Pfleiderer knows only one proper use to be made of these old-fashioned miracle-legends—that of the antiquarian. He hopes that miracles, especially those of the Gospels, will in future pass from the region of facts to that of art, and from the books of history into the stained-glass windows of cathedrals in order finally to remain there.[2]

With enthusiasm the other representatives of liberal criticism unanimously agree. To mention only a few of them, we recall H. J. Holtzmann, Wilhelm Wrede, Oskar Holtzmann, Adolf Jülicher, Wilhelm Soltau, Paul Wernle, Rudolf Otto, Konrad Furrer, Paul Mehlhorn, Gottfried Traub, Hermann von Soden, Johannes Weiss and A. W. Hunziger.[3]

Even the more conservative Protestants make similar, if not such extensive, concessions to modern unbelief. They are, it is true, convinced that Jesus did perform real miracles, but they are almost ashamed to appear with this confession before the world that is hostile to miracles. Accordingly,

[1] *Wesen des Christentums*, 16, 18 f.

[2] *Geschichte der Religionsphilosophie von Spinoza bis zur Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., 621 (1893).

[3] H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der N. T. Theologie*, ii, 410 f., 448 f. (1897); *Synoptische Evangelien*, 3rd ed., 510; Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 7 (1901); O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 58 f., 223 ff. (1901); *Christus*, 42 (1907); *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 93 (1903); Jülicher, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, 5th ed., 377; Soltau, *Hat Jesus Wunder getan?* 18-53 (1903); Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 2nd ed., 66 f.; Otto, *Leben und Wirken Jesu nach historisch-kritischer Auffassung*, 4th ed., 32-39; Furrer, *Leben Jesu Christi*, 2nd ed., 119 ff.; Mehlhorn, *Wahrheit und Dichtung im Leben Jesu*, 51-55 (Leipzig 1906); Traub, *Die Wunder im N. T.*, 2nd ed., 11-20; v. Soden, *Die wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, 39 f. (Berlin 1907); Johannes Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythus oder Geschichte?* 140 (Tübingen 1910); Hunzinger, *Das Wunder*, 75-92 (Leipzig 1912).

they weaken as much as possible the marvellous deeds recorded in the Gospel, and try especially to get around the miracles wrought by omnipotence, because these presuppose the divinity of Jesus.

Significant in this respect is the monograph of Karl Beth on the miracles of Jesus. Beth maintains "that Jesus performed genuine miracles."[1] But after he has cited the "examples for the historical reality of Jesus' miracles," he immediately comforts his readers with the observation: "Of course, with all this, it cannot be said that the historical truth of every single miracle reported to us is by such considerations unhesitatingly guaranteed. That even in the report and representation of the eyewitnesses this or that detail has been misplaced, and that some single definite event is felt by them to be an absolute miracle, and so interpreted, without its having claim to such an appreciation, is by no means impossible. . . . It is not at all important whether every individual miracle of Jesus happened exactly so and is to be so conceived as the report states it."[2] At least, in regard to miracles in the domain of nature, Beth would not hesitate "to suggest some doubts as to certain individual accounts of them."[3] "Even if these do not enable us to find out anything positive against these accounts of miracles, it may, nevertheless, through them become evident that an unprejudiced view can encounter difficulties of various sorts which are perfectly comprehensible, and can remain in suspense without detriment to one's faith in the actual verification of the real miraculous power of Jesus."[4] This is truly a healing "miraculous balsam," and in any case is scientifically perfectly harmless.

Willibald Beyschlag, Bernhard Weiss, Fritz Barth, William Sanday and other German and English "orthodox" investigators hold substantially the same opinions.[5] Of course, the modernists and, above all, Alfred Loisy,[6] in this respect render unqualified submission to their "historical-critical" masters.

(*b*) *Vindication of the Records of Miracles Against the Critics.*

After a conflict of two hundred years against the historical truth of the miracles of Jesus, unbelief as a whole, therefore, is united on the following formula: "The reports of miracles

[1] *Die Wunder Jesu,* 28 (1905). [2] *id.*, 27.
[3] *id.*, p. 28. [4] *id.*, p. 31.
[5] Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu,* 3rd ed., i, 296-331; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* 4th ed., i, 138; Barth, *Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu,* 3rd ed., 124-147; Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel,* 169-182; *The Life of Christ in Recent Research,* 213, 216-221.
[6] *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 182 f., 207 f., 655-657, 823 ff.; ii, 117, 251, 286. See also Lepin, *Les Théories de M. Loisy,* 183-195 (1908).

under consideration, in so far as they allege events inexplicable by natural means, are in no way based on facts. They have originated, rather, through the circumstances that the oldest oral tradition adorned the life of Jesus with legends, which were then rendered permanent in written form in the Gospels and other documents about miracles. It is the task of historical-critical investigation into history to free the portrait of Christ from its miraculous varnish."

History or legend? That is the question at stake. We shall answer it by pointing out that the Gospel records of miracles (1) have not been in the least invalidated by hostile criticism; (2) are found in documents critically unassailable; (3) bear in themselves throughout an historical character; (4) go back to absolutely reliable witnesses; (5) have been recorded and transmitted under the strictest scrutiny.

1. *The Gospel records of miracles have not been in the least invalidated by hostile criticism.* This criticism plainly bears upon its forehead the stamp of an unscientific and unhistorical method. No doubt the investigator who is working scientifically, historically and critically has to test and to decide upon the records of miracles laid before him without prejudice. Never may an historical question (and such a one is, after all, concerned in the problem of the records of miracles) be strangled in advance by the application of a philosophical principle or a purely arbitrary view of the world. That would be an open insult to historical criticism, an attempt on the life of scientific investigation.

Now, however, it is sufficient to point out the statements of the critics of miracles up to the present time in order to perceive that the miracles of Jesus are declared to be unhistorical without any consideration of the state of historical material on the subject, and that the inquiry is conducted only under the subjective, philosophical view that there are no miracles and can be none. Let us again go through the quoted utterances of Reimarus, Lessing, Gottlob Paulus, Zeller, Renan, Havet and others, and we shall not be able to assert that the sceptical criticism of miracles is treated unjustly in making this statement.

Strauss, who occupies the central point between the early and late rationalistic criticism of miracles, also openly confesses that he seeks to throttle in this way the miracles of the Gospel: "Not as if it could be declared of every single account of a miracle in the Gospel, whether and how far it is to be regarded as historical, but so that we can indicate a point beyond which in all cases possibility ceases, because here all historical analogy is for us wanting, and all conceivableness, according to the laws of nature, has an end. If we begin with the most external forms, Jesus can never have multiplied the means of nourishment immensely by a mere

word of blessing; never can he have changed water into wine; nor can he, contrary to the law of gravity, have walked on the water without sinking; he can have called no dead to life again. . . . Just as little will congenital blindness, or any other kind of blindness, or deafness have been removed at his word or touch, or leprosy have instantaneously disappeared."[1]

Over such a treatment of history from the good old days of rationalism, it is true, the latest critical-historical theologians shake their wise heads. Strauss and his associates should not have "let themselves be so repelled by the reports of miracles that they on that account bluntly denied the credibility of the Gospels."[2] "On account of such miracles, the reports of Mark are not at all to be objected to."[3] "To reject reports as utterly useless, or to assign them to a later period merely because they also contain narratives of miracles, springs from prejudice."[4]

Nevertheless, the half-rationalists, just like their predecessors, exclude all accounts of miracles, whose natural explanation they doubt simply for the reason that these contain real miraculous facts. What is natural is historical; what is supernatural and miraculous is unhistorical, according to the principle *Sic volo, sic jubeo.* Are we exaggerating? Let the reader judge.

Rudolf Otto, the lecturer on theology at Göttingen, finds "that a prudent attitude of distrust towards stories of miracles is entirely proper. . . . A resuscitation from the dead, like that of Lazarus, or a transformation of water into wine, excludes us from the realm of what is conceivable and historically acceptable. Already in the synoptic Gospels also enough is found that simply surpasses all power of imagination—for example, the walking upon the sea, the feeding of thousands with five loaves and two fishes, and the story of the Gadarenes. If one eliminates that sort of miracle, there remain in the synoptic Gospels almost exclusively acts of healing, certainly of an astonishing sort. Also two cases of raising the dead are there related. Criticism will be inclined to reject them."[5]

W. Wrede, professor of theology at Breslau, adds to this some malicious words: "Mark has actually a great number of unhistorical reports in his Gospel. In what he relates of the baptism of Jesus, of the resuscitation of Jairus's daughter, of the miraculous instances of feeding, of Jesus walking on the water, of his transfiguration, of the conversation of the

[1] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* i, 137.
[2] Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums,* 16.
[3] Soltau, *Unsere Evangelien,* 5 (Leipzig 1901).
[4] Harnack, *l.c.,* 17.
[5] *Leben und Wirken Jesu,* 4th ed., 37 f.

angel with the women at the grave, and still much besides, no critical theologian believes him as he reports it."[1] Harnack is of exactly the same opinion: "We are thrown back," he says, "upon our own imperfect judgement, and are frequently unable to accept the representations and declarations of the first reporters."[2]

Gustav Frenssen, the *enfant terrible,* who, as liberal theology well knows, is informed about everything and tells secrets out of school, defiantly rejects the miracles of Jesus and his views about the miraculous with the words: "We, men of the Germanic race, children of Siegfried and Goethe, are content with this earth as the home given us by God, and we do not wish it to be or to become other than it is; nor do we desire that its eternal, hard, but noble laws should be violated by any miracles, great or small, which we know have never happened and can never happen. . . . That is our belief about these all-important things. That is the calm, strong and joyful faith of the Germans. We reject his [Jesus'] faith about these things."[3]

That is it! "Prudent attitude of distrust towards stories of miracles. . . ." "Criticism will be inclined to reject them [the miracles]. . . ." "No critical theologian believes in them any more . . ." "They can no more accept the representations and declarations of the first reporters. . . ." "They reject even Jesus' faith in miracles and the supernatural, and know that miracles have never happened and can never happen." The process of elimination, attempted by criticism, by means of which the miracles are characterized as an unhistorical element of the Gospels, "is undertaken from thoroughly subjective points of view, in accordance with philosophical assumptions, which are wholly foreign to historical investigation."[4] This "separation of the natural from the supernatural . . . is arbitrariness," as even the good liberal historian of the latest investigation into the life of Jesus concedes.[5]

Judged historically and scientifically, the sceptical criticism of miracles has not, therefore, up to the present time attained the slightest success. It has not been able to weaken the historical value of the accounts of miracles in a single point. After all the storms, these remain exactly as much unaffected as they were two hundred, even two thousand, years ago. That is certainly the best guarantee of their historic truth, the best refutation of the legend-theory of their opponents. We must not, however, be satisfied with this rather indirect vindication.

[1] *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien,* 7.
[2] *Lukas der Arzt,* iv.
[3] *Hilligenlei,* 589.
[4] B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* i, 11.
[5] Albrecht Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* 305.

2. *The credibility of the miracles of Jesus is already included in the credibility of the Gospels.* We have in another place effectually demonstrated the latter, especially also in regard to the narratives of miracles therein contained.[1] Here it is necessary to say again only that it is an undertaking as uncritical as it is foolish, for our opponents really to concede on the whole the credibility of the Gospels yet to strike out from them the miracles. It has been shown that miracles envelop the whole life of Jesus, penetrate the whole teaching of Jesus, and fill the entire Gospel.[2] This even the opponents of miracles cannot fail to see.

H. J. Holtzmann remarks: "In case the accounts of miracles . . . are to be eliminated from the narrative-material available for the history of Jesus, there will also be effaced at the same time most of the colours, by means of which that individual and vitally powerful portrait of the personality and prophetic activity of Jesus could be delineated."[3] According to Pfleiderer, miraculous and non-miraculous features are "in the text so inseparably interwoven that we cannot divide the two from each other without divesting the latter of their definite signification, and retaining in our hand merely a vague shadow."[4] In agreement with this, Harnack says that the miracles of Jesus "cannot be eliminated from the historical reports without fundamentally ruining these reports."[5] Whoever wishes to exclude miracles from the Gospel really fares, therefore, "like the child who, seeking for the nucleus, stripped the root-stock of its leaves so long that he had nothing more left in his hand, and had to recognize the fact that the leaves were the nucleus itself."[6]

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the Gospel records of miracles become substantially confirmed, strengthened and countersigned by additional testimony, both early Christian and non-christian. Accordingly, those who think that they can settle matters historically with the Gospel on this point, or that they have thus settled them, would find these accounts of miracles standing imperiously in their way in writings outside the Gospels. Of the historical truth of these latter records no man of calm judgement can doubt.

3. *The Gospel records of miracles bear in themselves throughout an historical character.* Let us for the moment leave out of consideration what has been previously said.

[1] See the first volume of this work.
[2] See Fillion, *Les miracles de N.S. Jésus-Christ,* i, 38-42.
[3] *Die synoptischen Evangelien,* 509 (Leipzig 1863).
[4] *Protestantische Monatshefte,* 172 (1906).
[5] *Dogmengeschichte,* 3rd ed., i, 64. It is true, Harnack will have this understood only of the miracles of healing, because he thinks he can explain these naturally, in case of necessity, and allows only that to pass as historical which can be explained naturally.
[6] Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums,* 9.

Let us contemplate the reports of miracles in themselves alone, without regard to the decisive, essentially organic position which they occupy in the Gospel, in the whole life of Jesus and in all ancient Christian literature. These reports have not in any respect the stamp of gradually developing legends and fantastic fictions, but display all the marks of historical information.

In the first place, it is remarkable that there are visible in them no additions and no accessories for the formation of miracles. If the narratives of miracles had originated in accordance with the fact that everyday historical events become little by little interpreted as miraculous, then of necessity some remnants, some more or less well-preserved traces of this retouching and revarnishing of the real portrait of Jesus ought evidently to be forthcoming. In any case, our opponents' hypothesis of such a revarnishing ought to be accepted only in so far as remnants and traces of progressive stages in the belief in miracles have really been produced.

Both the earliest and the latest rationalists have spent an enormous amount of labour in trying to discover such progressive stages. The supposed results are best summed up by O. Holtzmann: "The one Gadarene (Mark v, 1-20) has in some extraordinary manner become two (Matt. viii, 28-34); instead of the healing of the deaf and dumb (Mark vii, 32-36), Matthew tells us (Matt. xv, 29-31) of the healing of many lame, blind, dumb and crippled people. The healing of the blind man of Bethsaida (Mark viii, 22-26) is not mentioned by the two other synoptists; but Matthew (ix, 27-31) describes a healing of two blind men, and relates again, instead of the healing of one blind man, Bartimeus, at Jericho (Mark x, 46-52), the healing of two blind men (Matt. xx, 29-34). Moreover, in Matthew occur still other cases of healing which are not related in Mark, the dumb man possessed of a devil, whose cure has, as its consequence, the talk about Beelzebub (Matt. ix, 32-34; Luke xi, 14). But Matthew furnishes here also the discussion over the complaint of the hostile Pharisees, and on that account mentions the miracle again, only that now the sick man is also blind (Matt. xii, 22). Finally, Matthew knows also of the healing of the blind and lame in the temple at Jerusalem (Matt. xxi, 14). One can hardly deny, therefore, that the Evangelist Matthew treats the miracles quite arbitrarily, and multiplies them, particularly when he makes two out of one, and when, from motives touching the arrangement of his material, he repeats what he has already narrated on a larger scale."[1]

These, then, are the so-called progressive stages in the synoptists, of which, moreover, Strauss has already spoken.[2]

[1] *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 97.
[2] *Das Leben Jesu,* ii, 23 ff. (1836).

Strauss points out still more wonderful progressive stages visible between the synoptic and Johannine representations. He writes: "The remark has been already made by others that the Fourth Gospel narrates fewer miracles of Jesus, it is true, but so much the greater ones.[1] Thus, if the other Gospels have simple paralytics healed by Jesus, the Fourth Gospel mentions one who has been paralyzed thirty-eight years; if Jesus in those Gospels calls again to life one who has just died, in the Fourth Gospel he resuscitates a man who has already lain in the grave four days, and in whom the beginning of decay was already to be anticipated; here also, instead of simple cures of the blind, the healing is of one who was born blind—an extension of miracles quite in keeping with the apologetics and dogmatic tendency of this Gospel.[2]

It needs, however, a strong faith in the assertions of criticism, in order, out of all these remarks and observations, to discover an increase in the miraculous in the Gospels. In fact, there are not found in them differently graded representations of the same events, but either the same occurrences are portrayed by the separate Evangelists from different points of view, so that one relates what another has passed over, or it is sometimes a matter of two or more occurrences which are arbitrarily explained by our opponents as duplicates. But are all the Evangelists obliged to report only the same miracles, and these also in a wholly uniform, almost stereotyped way? We could rather infer the historical truth of the Gospel narratives of miracles from the very fact that all four Evangelists proceed independently, each in his own way, without contradicting one another.[3]

Moreover, it is almost comical to bring our opponents face to face with one another in respect to this point of the "increase of the miraculous." Strauss makes the synoptic Gospels follow each other in the order Matthew, Luke and Mark, for which reason also the increase ought to become intensified from Matthew to Luke and from Luke to Mark. O. Holtzmann and most of the modern investigators, however, place Mark first in order, followed by Luke and finally by Matthew; and now the legendary progression is accomplished from Mark to Luke and from Luke to Matthew. Then, however, come still other critics, who declare that of all the synoptic Gospels Mark abounds most in miracles, and is not surpassed in reports of them even by John, who is recognized as the latest. Finally, Gottfried Naumann[4] writes to his

[1] Köster, *Emmanuel,* 79; Bretschneider, *Probab.,* 122 (quoted by Strauss).
[2] Strauss, *l.c.*, 82.
[3] See what has been said before on this subject.
[4] *Wertschätzung des Wunders in N. T.*, 70.

liberal colleagues the memorable words: "It is not possible to prove any amplification in the records of miracles which we possess."

These records, moreover, present themselves with an astonishing sobriety and simplicity such as we should never understand in fantastic historical flourishes.

Our Gospels, even in the portions which treat most of miracles, are free from all poetical ecstasies and extravagance. Their style is dry, laconic, like a chronicle, and almost statistical. The personality of the reporters retires completely behind the facts. Even where we should fully expect a mingling of the personal temperament and judgement there remains the bare delineation of the facts. These men narrate miraculous cures, resuscitations of the dead, and miracles in the realm of nature without the slightest outcry of amazement. What an opportunity and what a temptation there was here for embellishment, for epic verbosity and for dramatic representation, from the "exposition" to the "deepening of the plot" and the wonderful "catastrophe." But there is not even a trace of all this. They narrate the happening of things briefly, concisely and clearly, and add with inimitable naïveté: "And he healed all. . . . And he drove the evil spirits out. . . . And many who touched him were made whole. . . . He gave sight to many who were blind. . . . And he said, Arise, and the dead arose. . . . And he commanded the wind, and there was a great calm." No poet, no maker of legends, no exuberant fantasy writes thus; only history does so. And I would like to see an historian of to-day who would understand how to portray such mighty, unheard-of events so simply, soberly and quietly.

In this, however, it is not a case (a new criterion of historical truth) of a pale, lifeless enumeration of events, sought for and made up with care, but of an extremely concrete and lifelike report. Now it remains content to adduce the essential, principal features of the affair, which yet are very characteristic and in the highest degree intelligible; or, again, there stand in connection with it small details, thoroughly secondary circumstances, and the like.

For example, the healing of the paralytic at Capharnaum is related as follows: "And again he entered into Capharnaum after some days. And it was heard that he was in the house. And many came together, so that there was no room; no, not even at the door. And he spoke to them the word. And they came to him, bringing one sick of the palsy, who was carried by four. And when they could not offer him unto him for the multitude, they uncovered the roof where he was; and opening it, they let down the bed wherein the man sick of the palsy lay. And when Jesus had seen their faith, he saith to the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven

thee. And there were some of the scribes sitting there, and thinking in their hearts, Why doth this man speak thus? He blasphemeth. Who can forgive sins, but God only? Which Jesus presently knowing in his spirit that they so thought within themselves, saith to them, Why think you these things in your hearts? Which is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven thee, or to say, Arise, take up thy bed and walk? But that you may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), I say to thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house. And immediately he arose, and, taking up his bed, went his way in the sight of all; so that all wondered and glorified God, saying, We never saw the like" (Mark ii, 1-12; Matt. ix, 1-8; Luke v, 17-26).

That is only one extract. There are similar ones, just as fresh in colouring, just as concrete and lifelike, in all parts of the Gospels, even in John, the latest, who is furthest removed from the events in point of time. Remember the miracle of Cana, the healing of the man sick for thirty-eight years, or of the man born blind, or the raising of Lazarus (John ii, 1-11; v, 1-16; ix, 1-38; Luke xi, 1-54). These cannot possibly be invented stories, exaggerated and distorted into the miraculous. All that has been experienced, acquired from reality.

This last observation leads us still further. It refers us beyond the reports themselves to the sources of information and the witnesses to the accounts of the miracles.

4. *The Gospel accounts of miracles go back to absolutely reliable witnesses.* As was just pointed out, the extremely concrete and lifelike style of reporting is a guarantee that the narratives of the Gospel miracles originate from well-informed persons perfectly acquainted with the facts. Indeed, we have to do with reports which either come from eye-witnesses or go back to the vouched-for utterances of direct eyewitnesses.

Above all, John, the latest Evangelist, stands as an eye-witness for his account of the life and especially of the miracles of Jesus. He very definitely assures us: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the word of life . . . that we declare unto you" (1 John i, 1, 3). And his wonderful Gospel concludes with the words: "Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of his disciples which are not written in this book. . . . This is that disciple who giveth testimony of these things, and hath written these things, and we know that his testimony is true" (John xx, 30; xxi, 24). Even if this personal observation does not refer to everything in the life of Jesus, it is nevertheless certain that it refers to all

the essential events in it. That, with a certain reservation, is also to be assumed in regard to Matthew. It is true, he was not an apostle from the first hour as was John, but he has nevertheless passed through the most important period of the life of Jesus with him and its most significant events. The accounts of the miracles contained in the first Gospel rest, therefore, for the most part, and those of the Fourth Gospel almost entirely, on the personal experiences of the reporters. Whoever, accordingly doubts their historical truth, accuses the Evangelists of deception, and runs again directly into the hands of Reimarus, whose criticism of the Gospels is unanimously condemned even by the moderns.

Mark and Luke, the other two Evangelists, did not belong to the immediate circle of our Lord's disciples. Yet they were associated with the apostles and disciples for many years. They were the best qualified earwitnesses of the miracles of Jesus. In particular, we know that Mark wrote the principal part of his Gospel after the instructions of Peter.[1] His effort was directed to "leaving out nothing which he had received from the Prince of the Apostles, and to saying nothing which he had not learned from his lips."[2] We recognize his teacher in many passages of his accounts of miracles. These contain such remarkably lively, almost portrait-like details as only so eminent an expert in the life of Jesus as Peter could impart (see Mark i, 33; ii, 2, 4; iii, 5; iv, 38; v, 13).

Luke bases his report on the instructions of St Paul, as we have seen in the first volume of this work. But, besides these, he investigated with the greatest care also the other witnesses to the life and deeds of the Saviour, whether written or oral. "Many," he says in the preface to the Gospel of Luke, "have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among us, according as they have delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having diligently attained to all things from the beginning, to write to thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mayest know the verity of those words in which thou hast been instructed" (Luke i, 1-4).

These words of Luke, as well as other passages of the Gospels, assure us that the New Testament accounts of miracles rest on a far broader basis. They are supported, not merely by the testimony of the four Evangelists and their

[1] Papias, in Euseb., *H.E.*, iii, 39; Clemens Alex., *Hypotyp.* on 1 Peter v, 13, and in Euseb., *l.c.*, vi, 14. The liberal school of criticism also accepts this tradition as correct. See Jülicher, *Realenzyklopädie für Prot. Theologie,* xii, 293; Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage,* 208-223 (1899).

[2] Papias, in Euseb., *H.E.*, iii, 39.

immediate vouchers, but stand upon the guarantee of all the contemporaries of Jesus, who were intimately associated with the omnipotent deeds of the Saviour.

These were, however, almost numberless. Jesus neither worked nor taught in secret. In him there was no thought of occult exclusiveness. Even if he at times forbade people to proclaim to all the world his miracles,[1] he is able, nevertheless, to appeal to the fact that his work was one of great publicity (John xviii, 20). At every opportunity he refers to his well-known miraculous works.[2] An immeasurable multitude of people followed him (Matt. xi, 5; Mark i, 32; ii, 3). Not only humble people, but the aristocracy of blood, of money, of social position, and intellectual education were witnesses of them (Mark iii, 22; John iv, 46). They arrested even the attention of the king (Luke ix, 9; xxiii, 8). From the inconspicuous villages of Galilee up to Judea and Jerusalem went from mouth to mouth the tidings of his miracles. The Jewish, Greek and Roman inhabitants of Palestine and of the adjoining pagan regions knew them from actually seeing them (Luke vi, 17; Matt. iv, 24). Moreover, the country was full of happy people whom Jesus had released from distress, sickness and death. They knew them, saw them, and informed themselves about the smallest details of the miracles which he had worked on them. Under such circumstances how could deception have been possible?

Such a thing is completely impossible if we reflect how both friends and foes acted in regard to these miracles. It would be an error to suppose that the disciples and the masses who believed in him had allowed themselves to be carried away by the powerful personality of Jesus to a blind, fanatical faith in miracles. "O ye of little faith," "slow to believe," the Master repeatedly calls them in reproof.[3] "Is your heart still always blind? Have you eyes and see not? Have you ears and hear not?" (Matt. xvi, 8-10; Mark viii, 17, 21). "O faithless generation! How long shall I be with you? How long shall I suffer you?" (Matt. xvii, 16; Mark ix, 18; Luke ix, 41). All this refers to the unbelief of the disciples in miracles.

And, first, the pharisaical foes of the Saviour. "The Pharisees and scribes watched him," it is said significantly again and again in the Gospel when his miracles are spoken of (Mark iii, 2; Luke vi, 7; xiv, 1). They persecuted his person, his teaching, and, above all, his miracles, not only

[1] Matt. viii, 2; ix, 30; Mark i, 43; v, 43; vii, 36; viii, 26; Luke v, 14; viii, 56. The reasons for this prohibition are given in vol. i of this work.

[2] John iii, 21; v, 20, 36; vii, 3, 21; ix, 3; x, 25, 32-38; xiv, 11; xv, 24.

[3] Matt. viii, 26; Mark iv, 40; Luke viii, 25; xiv, 25. See also Mark xvi, 8, 11, 13, 14; Luke xxiv, 11, 37; John xx, 25.

with sceptical acuteness, but with blind fanaticism and furious hate. Yet his ruin was their salvation, his work their condemnation. So they creep after him everywhere, and try all means of dissimulation and intrigue in order publicly to unmask him (see, for example, Mark xii, 13). They make his miracles a subject of official consultations (John xi, 47). They confront the man born blind who had been healed by Jesus, and his parents and acquaintances; conduct an official hearing and cross-examination about his cure; and, because in spite of all they cannot deny the miracle which has taken place, they inflict upon him the "Solomonic" sentence of excommunication (John ix, 13-35).

It is a matter also of at least weakening the impression the miracles made on the masses. For this purpose the law cavillers continually find fault with the fact that Jesus works miracles on the Sabbath,[1] or they raise the stupid pretext, designed to deceive the people, that he drives out devils through Beelzebub (Matt. ix, 34; xii, 24; Mark iii, 22; Luke xi, 15). All this because they were not able to deny the fact of his miracles. These are so plainly incontestable, and had such an overwhelming effect upon all classes of the population, that the embarrassment of the official party of the Pharisees rose to desperation. Hence they assembled in all haste, both "the high priests and the scribes, and held council, and said, What do we, for this man doth many miracles? If we let him alone so, all will believe in him" (John xi, 47). They go, therefore, to the very extremest course, and resolve to murder him in order to put an end to his miraculous power (Matt. xii, 9-14; Mark iii, 1-6; Luke vi, 6-11). And as he finally hangs upon the cross, they taunt him with his supposed helplessness, yet not without at the same time testifying once more solemnly to his former working of miracles: "He saved others; himself he cannot save. Let him come down from the cross if he be the Son of God" (Matt. xxvii, 42; Mark xv, 31; Luke xxiii, 35).

The miracles of Jesus, therefore, were wrought in the presence of a widespread public. Hence there can be no doubt that the Evangelists, apart from their own testimony as eyewitnesses, could appeal to the experiences of a very large circle of the friends and enemies of Jesus. It was these same circles also which examined and tested the accounts of the miracles of Jesus.

5. *The Gospel records of miracles have been chronicled and handed down under the strictest supervision.* Our opponents' legendary theory incorrectly presupposes that the words and deeds of Jesus have been exaggerated by primitive Christian tradition and literature into grotesque stories of

[1] Matt. xii, 9-14; Mark iii, 1-6; Luke vi, 6-11; xiii, 10-17; xiv, 1-6; John v, 1-17; vii, 21-23; xi, 1-38.

miracles without anyone having called a halt on this sacrilegious comedy and without having exposed the audacious historical lies. Considered in the light of the actual conditions, this presupposition is simply unthinkable. It could at most be taken seriously only if together with Christ the whole generation of those contemporaries who had known him, seen him, and heard him had died out, and had given place to another generation which knew of him little that was certain. But this was not so. A great number of those who had known the Saviour, his public work, and his whole life from their own daily experience, lived also subsequently until the composition and publication of the New Testament writings.

When the last Gospel appeared, towards the year A.D. 100, the generation of the contemporaries of Jesus had certainly not yet died out.[1] Decades before, when the synoptists wrote, the survivors of those of the same age as Christ were in their sixties. The somewhat younger contemporaries and hearers of the Saviour had not yet grown to manhood. Moreover, according to the acknowledgement of our opponents, records of miracles stood already in the older pre-Gospel documents about Jesus—in the "Source of the Discourses" and in the "original Mark." The miraculous portrait of Christ meets us already in the Epistles of Paul, which originated as early as the fifties. The Apostle to the Gentiles can expressly point to the fact that then, out of the five hundred eyewitnesses of the principal miracle of Jesus—namely, the resurrection—the majority were still alive (1 Cor. xv, 6).

How could the legends of the miracles have been formed in the face of these surviving eyewitnesses, believers and non-believers? Some based their faith on the reality of the Lord's miracles, and were ready to sacrifice for it their property, their blood and their lives. Others saw precisely in these miracles a standing reproach, a loud, solemn accusation against their unbelief. And should they all have idly looked on at the origin and circulation of the legends of the miracles of Jesus, and have even expressly testified to their reality? (1 Cor. xv, 6).

Harnack wishes to escape the difficulty by putting the question which, unfortunately, has nowhere been answered by him: "Why should not thirty or forty years have sufficed to produce the historical result in regard to the words and deeds of Jesus which we find in the synoptic Gospels?"[2] The reason why such an immense formation of legends could not take place in so short a time lies in the fact that the same eyewitnesses who had personally known the real history of Jesus would have now distorted it, against their own know-

[1] See Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii, 32; iv, 3.
[2] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, ii, 1, x.

ledge and will, into a book of fairy tales. This problem how, already in the first thirty years, the legendary traditions of Christ have been formed in the primitive Church, under the very eyes of the eyewitnesses,[1] appears even to Harnack himself since then to have happened in an incomprehensible manner. That it is historically inadmissible, H. J. Holtzmann—certainly a good liberal theologian—has frankly acknowledged. "At the present time," he writes, "a serious historian, who is accustomed to judge phenomena according to analogies, will hardly tell us any more that in the thirty years which lie between the primitive facts of Christianity and the formation of the Gospel sources of information there ever actually took place that total perversion of the real facts, and that offspring of a wonderfully prolific, unusually abundant and richly coloured world of myths. That to Livy the ancient history of Rome appeared in a magnificent series of mythical pictures is, at that appropriate distance in time, just as pertinent as it is simply unhistoric and arbitrary to allow the same condition to take place here, where we have to do with a light which flamed up in the year 30, and in the year 60 was reflected in literature."[2]

But we must go still further. The original Christian accounts of miracles were not only subjected to a continual and thorough control by friends and enemies, but the reporters themselves do everything to make this control possible and more severe.

The hearers and readers of the stories of the miracles are taken directly to the scene of the activity of Jesus so that they can verify the correctness of the reports. The place and time of the reported episodes are very definitely given, and the persons participating in them, who for the most part were still alive, are often delineated in detail.[3] It was, for example, in Corozain, Bethsaida and Capharnaum that his divine power of working miracles was demonstrated in broad daylight and before all the people. In the synagogue of Capharnaum, still used by the Jews, he drove out devils (Mark i, 21; Luke iv, 31); in the house of Simon, the occupants of which were still there, he relieved the mother-in-law of the house-owner of fever; to this house on Saturday the people brought their sick and he healed them (Matt. viii, 14; Mark i, 29; Luke iv, 38); under minutely described circumstances it is reported how Jesus at Capharnaum healed the paralytic man and the servant of the centurion, and resuscitated the little daughter of Jairus, the head of the synagogue (Matt. viii, 8; ix, 1, 18; Mark ii, 1; v, 21; Luke v, 17; vii, 1; viii, 40). The apostles and their disciples themselves even

[1] Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 128 (1908).
[2] *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 420, 504.
[3] Böse, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit unserer Evangelien*, 114 f. (1895).

produce the real "material for the miracles"—the sick whom Christ had healed, and the dead who had been restored to life by him, and who down to the beginning of the second century, as living witnesses, confirmed the dead letter of the Gospel accounts of the miracles irrefutably before all the world.

But the disciples do not even leave things there. They turn directly to their enemies themselves, and challenge them energetically and emphatically to verify and confirm the reports of miracles. They dare them boldly to contradict them. Capharnaum and its neighbouring cities are reminded of the miracles wrought in them, and on that account the most terrible accusations, reproaches and punishments are justified. "Woe to thee, Corozain! Woe to thee, Bethsaida! For if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in you, they had long ago done penance in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgement than for you. And thou, Capharnaum, shalt thou be exalted up to heaven? Thou shalt go down even unto hell. For if in Sodom had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in thee, perhaps it had remained unto this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgement than for thee" (Matt. xi, 21; Luke x, 13).

As thus to the country towns and people in Galilee, so do the Apostles, and with them the New Testament writers, make reproaches to the leaders of the nation at Jerusalem, and to the scribes and Pharisees for their unbelief and the judicial murder which they committed against Jesus, although the latter had proved his claim to be the Messiah by miracles. In a public, solemn speech to Christians, Jews and pagans Peter dares to point out the fact: "Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as you also know; this same . . . you by the hands of wicked men have crucified and slain. . . . You know the word which hath been published through all Judea; for it began from Galilee, after the baptism which John preached. Jesus of Nazareth: how God anointed him with the Holy Ghost and with power, who went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things that he did in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem" (Acts ii, 22; x, 37-39).

And the challenged contemporaries, Jews, pagans and Christians, recognize the truth of all this. Also the enemies of the Saviour are compelled to testify to the fact that the Apostles still work miracles in the name of Jesus. Even

the Supreme Council, after a thorough investigation of the act of healing wrought by Peter in the case of the man born lame, declares: "What shall we do to these men? For indeed a miracle hath been done by them, known to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem. It is manifest, and we cannot deny it" (Acts iv, 16).

That is certainly such an infallible verification of miracles, that even the severest criticism can reasonably demand no sharper, surer test. It is, therefore, a thoroughly uncritical procedure to speak of legends and of fables, formed by believers, in dealing with the Gospel accounts of miracles. And it is precisely an unpardonable act of frivolity when, in order to justify this legendary hypothesis, they point to "religious-historical" marvellous tales as analogies to the early Christian narratives of miracles. The historically absolutely unusable reports of the life of the Pythagorean philosopher and itinerant preacher, Apollonius of Tyana; the mythological stories about the god of medicine, Æsculapius; the fantastic fables about Buddha, Zarathustra and Confucius; the Moon-miracles of Mohammed; the superstitious fables which the Negroes, the Tartars, the Eskimos, and the Indians report of their magicians and idols;[1] and the unhistorical "Jewish stories of miracles of the New Testament times"[2] are evidently not to be compared with the miracles

[1] K. Furrer calls all this to mind: *Das Leben Jesu Christi,* 2nd ed., 119-122. *Cf.* Traub, *Die Wunder im N. T.,* 2nd ed., 27; W. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research,* 206 f.; Naumann, *Die Wertschätzung des Wunders im N. T.,* 78-85; Van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen* (1903); Lembert, *Der Wunderglaube bei den Römern und Griechen* (1905); W. Soltau, *Das Fortleben des Heidenwesens in der altchristlichen Kirche,* 126-154 (Berlin 1906); Weinreich, *Altklassische Heilungswunder* (1910). Whoever is seeking a refutation of the non-christian analogies to the miracles of Jesus (unnecessary though it be) will find it in P. de Broglie, *Problèmes et conclusions de l'histoire des religions,* 340-351 (1897); K. Beth, *Die Wunder Jesu,* 31-40 (1905); L. v. Gerdtel, *Die urchristlichen Wunder vor dem Forum der modernen Weltanschauung,* 62-71 (1908); J. Klug, *Gottes Wort und Gottes Sohn,* 283-302 (1909); Fillion, *Les Miracles,* i, 120-128.

[2] Under this title Fiebig, in 1911, published a collection of the "marvellous" sayings of Rabbis of the time of the Tannaim and Amoraim, from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 500. Fiebig works here with a bias powerful enough to remove mountains. This leads him (1) to confound boastful marvellous sayings with records of miracles and with miraculous deeds; (2) to locate these marvellous sayings in the New Testament period—erroneously, however, since they are distributed over a space of six hundred years; (3) to select these marvellous sayings with such partiality that, according to the most competent judge of the matter, Strack, they do not represent the rabbinical tradition about miracles anywhere near correctly; (4) to present these marvellous sayings as counterparts to the Gospel miracles, whereas in reality they form the greatest possible contrast to them. See H. Strack in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1912) Part V; Esser, *Jesus Christus, der göttliche Lehrer der Menschheit,* 146-148 (1913).

of Jesus, which were wrought in the clear light of history and were chronicled under the eyes of the contemporaries of the Worker of the miracles and of the miracles themselves.

II.—Christ's Miracles: Supernatural, Extra-natural and Natural Explanations of the Miracles of Jesus.

We have thus far proved the historical truth, or actuality, of the miracles ascribed to the Saviour. The question now is, how these historically assured facts are to be explained philosophically. Was Jesus able to perform them by means of purely natural powers? Or did the Wonder-worker take refuge in extra-natural factors, which nevertheless are remote from God? Or are his miracles explicable only as supernatural, thoroughly divine works?

1. Jesus himself, and with him his disciples and the whole New Testament, assert the last unreservedly. Also in the period following no one who boasted of the Christian name doubted the absolute supernaturalness of the miracles of Jesus. Not only the Catholic Church, but also the heretics adhered to them in so far as they adhered at all to the Christianity of the New Testament. Protestantism has shaken this conviction only since the seventeenth century, after it had become, with the exception of the strictly orthodox party, the prey of "enlightenment" and Bible-rationalism.

2. Very near to the supernatural conception of the miracles of Jesus ran from the very beginning, however, another, extra-natural explanation of miracles. The Jewish contemporaries of Jesus deduced his miracles from an alliance with the devil. The Pharisees issued the popular catchword designed to deceive the masses: "He casteth out devils by the prince of devils" (Matt. ix, 34). "He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of devils he casteth out devils" (Mark iii, 22).

It is true the Saviour himself at once shows the absurdity of this view. He has come into the world precisely for the purpose of destroying the works of the devil (1 John iii, 8), and to cast out of his kingdom the prince of this world (John xii, 31). In particular his casting out devils, or healing those possessed of devils, furnished clear proof that a complete opposition exists between him and Satan (Matt. xii, 25; Mark iii, 23; Luke xi, 17). And he attaches to this the following striking conclusion: "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand. And if Satan cast out Satan he is divided against himself; how then shall his kingdom stand?" (Matt. xii, 25). How is it conceivable that he, whose

whole activity is directed to the overcoming and destruction of demoniacal supremacy and to the strengthening and glorification of the kingdom of God among men, should acquire for this purpose power from the devil? And where also would Satan gain the power to work miracles, which are in themselves absolutely divine acts of omnipotence? Think of the raisings from the dead, of the miracles in the domain of nature and of the miraculous instances of healing which followed on the immediate, instantaneous voluntary command. Nevertheless, even in later Jewish tradition, both written and oral, there persisted the assertion of Satan's alliance with Jesus for the purpose of working miracles. Later this culminates in the reproach of magic and that Jesus learned the Black Art in Egypt. The additional words "in Egypt" mean that Jesus has been the interpreter of a most unusual kind of magic. In the Talmud it is said of Egypt, the classic land of the art of magic: "Ten measures of magic have come down into the world. Egypt has received nine measures, and all the rest of the world one.[1] The reproach, therefore, that Jesus learned his magical art, not from local, but from Egyptian magicians, is an energetic affirmation that he was an extraordinary magician.

Justin Martyr, in the second century, is obliged to refute this accusation in reply to the Jew, Tryphon.[2] Origen, in the third century, contests the same charge in reply to Celsus, who derived it from Jewish sources.[3] At the commencement of the fourth century Arnobius must again controvert the "calumnious and childish" objection that Jesus "had been a magician, who had done all his works by occult arts, and who had stolen powerful names from the shrines of Egyptian angels."[4] Eusebius,[5] also Jerome[6] and Augustine[7] mention this senseless Jewish report.

This had already at that time passed into the Talmud,[8] and had, therefore, become a dogma of the whole Rabbinical Judaism. The later Jewish polemical writers developed still further this falsehood, as foolish as it was contemptible. In the vituperative work *Toldoth Jeshu* (*History of Jesus*), especially, the story is told that Jesus, in the temple at Jerusalem, sneaked craftily to the sacred stone covering [of the Ark of the Covenant], stole the name of God placed there and performed miracles by means of its magical power.[9]

[1] *Qiddushin,* 49 b.
[2] *Dialog. c. Tryph.,* n. 17, 108.
[3] Orig., *C. Celsum.,* i, 28, 38; *cf.* i, 6, 68; ii, 49; viii, 9.
[4] *Adv. Gentes,* i, 43; Migne, *P.L.,* VI, 773.
[5] *Demonstr. evang.,* iii, 6; Migne, *P.G.,* XXII, 224 ff.
[6] *Tract. de Ps.,* 71, ed. Morin; *Anecd. Mareds.,* iii, 2, p. 80.
[7] *De consensu Evang.,* i, 9-11; Migne, *P.L.,* XXXIV, 1049 ff.
[8] *Tract. Shabboth,* f. 104, b.
[9] Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen,* 53 f., 93 f., 123 f. (Berlin 1902).

The whole fable is so nonsensical that only the blind rage of fanatical Judaism, for which even the lowest means were good enough to bring the person of the abhorred Nazarene into defilement, could believe and circulate it. Of course, no one now wants any proof that Jesus was not a magician.

Nevertheless, even in modern times, an equivalent opinion concerning him has been expressed. In the days of extravagant occultism Jesus was, of course, declared to be a Spiritist. The Leipzig professor, Johann Karl Friedrich Zöllner, puts the miracles of Jesus into the domain of "transcendental physics." According to this learned man they are in part the emanations of magnetic-psychical forces, and in part spiritistic manifestations of spirits, which, invisible to us, live in the fourth dimension of space, but also temporarily extend their influence down into our third dimension.[1] Maxilian Perty[2] also, and John Kreyher,[3] have advocated a spiritistic explanation of the miracles of Jesus, in so far as these will not let themselves be explained naturally. Yet, while Perty gives up the entirely imaginary fourth dimension space for spirits, Kreyher, to the astonishment of the scientific world, has returned to this preserve for spirits. To-day there can hardly be any longer found a scholar who would regard the miracles of Jesus as spiritistic phenomena in the above-named sense.

We emphasize the words "in the above-named sense." In so far as spiritism coincides with suggestion and sub-conscious suggestion it does not interest us here at all. It does not in the least deserve the name of spiritism, but belongs to the sphere of hypnotism, purely natural psychosis, of which we shall speak later. But in so far as that there is understood by the term spiritism that modern form of magic which fancies that it is in correspondence with supermundane beings, and with spirits in the other world, and entices them to make spectral manifestations, no educated man will any more seriously wish to bring the person and the miracles of Jesus into relation with it.

Fechner, the colleague of Zöllner and participant in spiritistic séances, through the support of which Zöllner has thought himself justified in combining Christian and spiritistic miracles in one category, censures this undertaking as a malicious perversion: "For between the two there exists such a contrast in character that it appears like a blasphemy to bring both under the same heading and to wish thereby to render a service to Christianity by declaring Christ to have

[1] *Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Leipzig 1878-1879); ii, 1187; iii, 612.

[2] *Der jetztige Spiritualismus* (Leipzig 1879).

[3] *Die mystischen Erscheinungen des Seelenlebens und die biblischen Wunder*, vol. II (Stuttgart 1880).

been the most gifted of mediums. It is a difference, like that born of light and darkness, between a power exceptionally increased but essentially sound, and a power abnormally mad. Christ did not throw himself wildly about in the accomplishment of his miracles, did not fall into complete or semi-unconsciousness, did not invoke strange spirits, did not declare himself possessed of such, did not claim the assistance of darkness or partial darkness as our mediums do to-day, but went about in broad daylight as a healthful man, controlling perfectly his senses, his intellectual and his bodily powers, and, as such, made others well. He did not lift tables or throw chairs about, did not perform conjuring tricks which might be confounded with prestidigitation, and did not let himself be paid for them, but healed the sick with a power which no medium has ever shown."[1]

Only quite superficial and naïve occultists can oppose spiritism to Christianity as a new Gospel, and spiritistic manifestations as the miracles of this Gospel. One of the principal spiritistic writers of recent times, Karl Kiesewetter, himself ridicules this enormous error. "This eulogy of the new Gospel, brought by the dear spirits, is now being faithfully repeated by all Spiritists, who are too ignorant or too fanatical to know, or to wish to confess, that the goings on at Hydesville, Rochester, Stratford, and the like, on which the alleged message of salvation is based, are nothing but so-called spirit manifestations known from time immemorial; which have taken place by dozens and by hundreds, and could make a sensation only in unhistorical America, and by means of an uninformed Press and of learned men, who examine them practically indeed, but not historically, have attained an unmerited importance as something new. Spiritism—or, to use the word better known to the Anglo-American school of thought, Spiritualism—does not possess either theoretically or phenomenally the slightest justification for giving itself out as a new Gospel which is to reform the world."[2]

[1] *Die Tagesansicht gegenüber der Nachtansicht*, 265 (1879).

[2] Kiesewetter, *Geschichte des neueren Occultismus*, 2nd ed., 500. *Cf.* the book of the metaphysical occultist Jules Bois, *Le miracle moderne*, 5th ed., 87 f., 91 f., 103 f., 352, 364 f., 401, who designates every pretended intercourse of the spiritists with the spirit world as lies and deceit, and sees in spiritism nothing more than suggestion and auto-suggestion. That spiritism, wholly apart from the miracles of Jesus, has nothing to do with miracles anyway, is not to be proved here. See for that J. E. Wieser, *Der Spiritismus und das Christentum*, 109-144 (1881); C. Gutberlet, *Der Spiritismus* (1882); W. Schneider, *Der neue Geisterglaube*, 2nd ed.; Bonniot, *Wunder und Scheinwunder*, 227-255 (1889); F. G. Lee, *Lights and Shadows;* Lapponi, *Hypnotismus und Spiritismus* (German ed., 1906) 101-162, 192-250; J. Bertrand, *La religion spirite*, 8th ed.; Désiré Lodiel, *Les phenomènes télépathiques et le secret de l'Au-delà*, 5th ed.; Flournoy, *Esprits et médiums* (Genève 1911).

Thus, at the very outset, every extra-natural explanation of the Gospel miracles disappears. Jesus in alliance with Satan, a magician in the sense of ancient or modern occultism —that is out of the question. There remains only the choice between a supernatural and a natural explanation of Jesus' miraculous activity.

3. The whole school of sceptical criticism, since the seventeenth century (a few Spiritists, whom we have named, excepted, who indeed make no claim to the title of critical investigators of the Gospels), decides for the natural explanation. All their forces are concentrated on finding some practicable way to such an explanation. Three of these are proposed, and all the thousand windings of the footpaths, pursued by individual deniers of miracles, run at last into one of these three principal highways. First, the attempt was made to throw aside the Gospels, or at least the distinctly miraculous portions of them, at once as unhistorical—certainly the most radical means of getting rid of the miracles of Jesus. Reimarus, Lessing, Strauss and Baur are the milestones on this route of Gospel criticism now well-known to us.

Then the effort was made to hold fast to the historical truth of the Gospels and their reports of miracles in general, yet so to weaken and re-interpret them that the miraculous, the purely supernatural, vanished from them. Gottlob Paulus is the father of this line of thought, and his "natural explanation of miracles" found much favour, not only in the rationalistic camp, but made itself noticeable even in pietistic circles.

In contrast to the above two methods stands the new historical-critical school. It found that it is just as inadmissible bluntly to deny all the accounts of miracles as it is impossible to interpret them all from natural causes. It adopted, therefore, a middle course. Its watchword is heard even to the present time: "Retain those texts about miracles which appear to admit of a natural explanation; strike out those accounts of miracles which exclude in advance a natural interpretation." We have already proved that this division of miracles into two classes is, from the historical standpoint, precisely a half-measure. The Gospel reports of miracles must be accepted all together as historical documents. It is a question only whether these documents, as they lie before us, permit a natural explanation, or whether, on the contrary, they imperatively demand the supernaturalness of the miracles of Jesus, and undoubtedly prove it. We must examine the Gospel accounts of miracles according to their principal categories—namely, the healing of the sick, the casting out of devils, the raising of the dead, the miracles in the domain of nature.

1. *Christ's Acts of Healing.*

(a) *Christ's Miracles of Healing and Medical Science.*

The "natural" explanation of Christ's miracles of healing lies in the fact that they are attributed to medical assistance, and the Saviour is supposed to work upon physical maladies with physical means as a "medicine man." So at least the older "natural" explainers understood the matter. Karl Heinrich Venturini, in his *Natural History of the Great Prophet of Nazareth,*[1] depicts Jesus always as a professional doctor, who carried with him constantly a portable medicine-chest. Gottlob Paulus also thinks the same, as is seen in his *Life of Christ, as the Foundation of a Pure History of Early Christianity.* Sedatives, diet and a special form of treatment suited to every temporary ailment, were part of the Saviour's daily programme. Jesus, indeed, says this clearly when he orders the disciples to anoint the sick with oil (Mark vi, 13), and indicates fasting and prayer as means for the casting out of obstinate devils (Mark ix, 28; Matt. xvii, 20).

We also find this view quite frequently among the later and even the latest critics of miracles. Jesus is said to have been a "Miracle-doctor," a "quack," a "people's doctor."[2] "always kind and ready to help, and a good physician among the sick,"[3] "wholly enmeshed in the ideas of his time, to some extent even not disdaining their curative methods."[4]

And are such hollow, vague phrases to prove that Christ healed his sick, as a physician, with natural means and medicines? A superficial view of the Gospel is sufficient to convince us of the contrary. Nowhere does Jesus appear in the role of a pharmacist; the notorious travelling medicine-chest exists only in the heads of the natural explainers; the Lord never resorts to means of healing which stand in any kind of relation to temporary maladies; he heals without

[1] Four vols. (Copenhagen 1800-1802). This notorious book, the type of all later romances of Jesus, is even now almost every year, in this or that form, republished. A certain Ferd. Schmidt, by profession an oculist, as late as 1911 composed out of it a work called *Who was Jesus Christ?* which is propagated among the masses with fraudulent advertising. The man puffs it up as an original report, originating from "an old Oriental library," which "solves finally the Christ problem," and in particular "explains at once all the mystical stories of miracles from quite natural causes."

[2] A. Neumann, *Jesus, wer er geschichtlich war?* 100 (1904); Wernle *Die Anfänge unserer Religion,* 2nd ed., xiii; W. Hess, *Jesus von Nazareth,* 18 f. (1906); Frenssen, *Hilligenlei,* 130th thousand, 519.

[3] Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* 16 (1903); *Die Schriften des N. T.,* i, 112 (Tübingen 1905).

[4] Wernle, *l.c.,* 66. *Cf.* J. W. Belcher, *Our Lord's Miracles of Healing considered in Relation to Medical Science* (1872); Ebstein, *Die Medizin im N. T. und im Talmud* (1903); Ed. v. Hartmann, *Das Christentum des N. T.,* 27 (1905).

herbs and chemicals, contrary to all medical art and usage. Th. Keim[1] and C. Weizsäcker[2] also find that the assumption becomes thus impossible that Jesus was a doctor and made miraculous cures by medicine.

But that is saying too little. In addition to the fact that his acts of healing are not to be really ascribed to the science of medicine, there is the impossibility of performing them by means of this medical science, or by means of any natural forces whatsoever. To perceive this we need only examine carefully the numerous and multiform miracles of healing in the Gospel, arranged in groups.[3]

Of the cures of the paralyzed, apart from whole troops of those who were healed (Matt. xi, 5; xv, 30; xxi, 14), two especially are minutely reported. The servant of the centurion at Capharnaum (Matt. viii, 5; Luke vii, 2; John iv, 76) suffers from palsy, most probably of a cerebral or spinal nature, and is cured by Jesus at a distance, and indeed by a single word. To a paralytic Jesus says simply: "Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house;" and it takes place, so that the Pharisees withdraw in rage, while the people glorify God for such miraculous power, and cry: "We never saw the like" (Matt. ix, 2; Mark ii, 3). We do not need to say that no physician can heal paralytics in this way.

Of the numerous cases of healing of the blind (Matt. xi, 5; xv, 30; xxi, 14; Luke vii, 21) we mention three. On one occasion two blind men call aloud to the Saviour: "Thou Son of David, have mercy upon us," and Jesus heals them merely by a touch, with the addition of the words: "According to your faith be it done unto you" (Matt. ix, 27-31). Another time two blind men from Jericho implore him: "O Lord, thou Son of David, have mercy upon us." And Jesus touched their eyes and opened them, and they saw and followed him (Matt. xx, 29; Mark x, 46; Luke xviii, 35). St John gives a very detailed account of the healing of a man born blind by the spreading of spittle and clay upon his eyes and the washing in the pool of Siloam, whereat the Pharisees must officially establish the fact that the young man had been as really blind from his birth, as he now was really healed (John ix, 1-41).

In all these three cases the healing, as it is effected, is miraculous; the touching, anointing and washing have no ophthalmic importance. What is to be said, then, if Jesus accomplishes instantaneously and merely by a word of command that which medicine can attain to only rarely and by

[1] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazareth,* ii, 157 (1867-1872).
[2] *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte,* 2nd ed., 236.
[3] Where medical opinion comes into consideration, we rely on the monograph of Dr. K. Knur, *Christus medicus? A word to colleagues and the academically educated* (1905).

means of painstaking therapeutics? The healing of the man born blind, in particular, was not in any way attainable by a physician's skill. This is true even of fortunate cases, where it is a matter of congenital cataract, which can now be sometimes removed by an operation. "This operation is, however, an achievement of modern times. Now Christ has neither pierced nor extracted the cataract. Even the boldest imagination has not gone so far as to put in this case a scalpel into his hand. Where, then, remains also the preliminary and subsequent treatment, the use of aseptics and the trained assistants?"[1]

Jesus has healed the deaf and dumb also in great numbers (Matt. xi, 5; xii, 22; xv, 30). The cases especially mentioned in the Gospel were usually combined with demoniacal possession. Mark only (vii, 32) tells us of a deaf mute, without mentioning such possession. Christ puts his fingers into the ears of the deaf mute, touches his tongue with saliva and says: "Open," and the deaf mute hears and speaks perfectly. Jesus also heals from dumbness a deaf mute possessed of a devil (Matt. ix, 32; Luke xi, 14), and a dumb boy, who, according to the testimony of the father, had been a lunatic from his birth (suffering perhaps from an epileptic condition), and was thrown by the evil spirit sometimes into the water, sometimes into the fire; and these cures Jesus effects by exorcising the devil (Matt. xvii, 14; Mark ix, 16; Luke ix, 38). If we leave aside the demoniacal possession entirely the sudden cure of dumbness, without medical treatment, in these two cases is as certainly a miracle as in the case quoted first, where Jesus heals the deaf mute by touch and word of command—in a way, therefore, which has nothing to do with medical therapeutics.

Of the lepers whom Christ healed a detailed report is given in two cases especially. After the Sermon on the Mount a leper comes to Jesus, adores him, and says: "Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean." Jesus stretches forth his hand, touches him, and says: "I will, be thou clean." And the leprosy departed from him (Matt. viii, 1-40; Mark i, 40-43; Luke v, 12). At another time, as Jesus enters a city, there run to meet the Master ten lepers who evidently dwelt in the lepers' quarter before the town, and cry out: "Jesus, Master, have mercy upon us." Jesus says to them merely: "Go, show yourselves to the priests." And while they went they were made clean (Luke xvii, 12-19).

In both cases Jesus sends the healed men to the Jewish priests, because, in accordance with the Old Testament law (Lev. xiii and xiv), the priests had to pass judgement on the lepers, and separate them from human society; and they

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, p. 27.

alone, after an effective healing, could again remove the ban of isolation. The Jewish priests, on their side, though the enemies of Jesus, must testify to the perfect cure.

That this act of healing was a miracle cannot be reasonably doubted. Even modern medicine has still no approved means of curing distinct leprosy. Medicine possesses no remedy against this disease, and should it ever succeed in establishing such a one, a serum or the like, it will, nevertheless, always remain equally helpless before the ravages which advanced leprosy has once caused.[1] Jesus heals not only the leprosy, but he heals it perfectly, instantly and at a word, without relying on modern aseptic and antiseptic means, or even on the prophylactic and hygienic rules of the Old Testament. God alone heals thus.

We have thus briefly touched upon the principal groups of the maladies removed miraculously by Jesus. There still remain, however, a number of other typical individual cases of healing in the Gospel, of which at least the following may be mentioned. A woman who had suffered for twelve years from an issue of blood, and who had expended without success her whole fortune on medical cures, is made well in an instant by merely touching the hem of Jesus' garment (Matt. ix, 20; Mark v, 25; Luke viii, 43). Never will this malady be instantly cured by medical treatment. Besides, in such obstinate cases as this, medicinal therapeutics break down completely. Only an operation, which modern aseptics alone make possible, can here be helpful. This case, therefore, could neither be cured by natural power, as Jesus cured it, nor was it at that time curable at all.

One Sabbath day, to the great scandal of the Pharisees in the synagogue, Jesus turns in pity to the man with the withered hand, and says to him: "Stretch forth thy hand," and he stretched it forth, and it was restored to health even as the other (Matt. xii, 10; Mark iii, 1; Luke vi, 6). This sort of paralysis, connected with atrophy of the muscles, is very seldom curable, in any case never instantaneously. We stand again before a miracle.

On another Sabbath day Jesus calls to him a woman who had been ill eighteen years, and was so bowed down that she could not look up (a case of chronic affection of the joints, with a gradual resorption of the bones and bony excrescences). He saith to her: "Woman, thou art delivered from thy infirmity." He lays his hand upon her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God (Luke xiii, 11-13). On another Sabbath day Jesus touches a man with the dropsy, and he is healed (Luke xiv, 2-4). Then the Saviour visits, on a feast day, the halls for the sick at the pool of Bethsaida,

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, 63.

finds there an unfortunate who has already suffered thirty-eight years, and has vainly tried to reach the healing water. Jesus saith to him: "Arise, take up thy bed, and walk." And the man is restored to health (John v, 5). In all these cases natural medicine must confess its impotence. It cures such troubles only rarely, never cures them completely, and, above all, never instantly, by a mere word or a motion of the hand. Only the Lord of health, of sickness and of death can thus cure.

(*b*) *Christ's Miracles of Healing and Psychic Medical Science.*

Psychology and psychic therapeutics have seemed to indicate a way out of this insurmountable difficulty. That there can be no question of a bodily influence and, conformably to that, of cures of the sick on the part of Jesus by physically medicinal means, is acknowledged by intelligent critics of former times and by almost all modern ones. They have, therefore, inclined, and still incline, to the view that the Saviour had to do with those who were psychically ill, and cured them by means of psychic, suggestive or hypnotic influence.

Already Dr. Paulus occasionally, when nothing else was possible, characterized such sick people mentioned in the Gospel as, for example, the man who was palsied and the woman suffering from an issue of blood, as people who imagined themselves ill and as hysterical persons, and declared that these recovered, or at least fancied that they recovered, in consequence of their confidence in Jesus and of the natural, psychical influence which Jesus exercised over them.[1] Almost at the same time Schleiermacher, the "pioneer of the newer Protestant theology," defined the curative miracles of Jesus as "benevolent and charitable actions, whereby Christ, with the power indwelling in him," and by means of the "dignity peculiar to him," relieved the sufferings of men.[2]

The mesmerism,[3] magnetism or hypnotism which increased rapidly at the beginning of the nineteenth century gave to the psychical explanation of miracles a new impetus, or, more accurately, a psycho-physical tendency. Mesmer and his pupils believed that hypnosis and the effects of hypnotism connected with it are to be attributed to animal magnetism—that is, to a force existing in the animal organism, which resembles that of a magnet, and is transferred by the magnetizer to the person to be magnetized.

[1] Paulus, *Kommentar*, i, 517, 562-3, 589, 792.
[2] *Das Leben Jesu*, 217 f. (1864).
[3] So called after the Vienna physician Mesmer, † 1815.

Christian Hermann Weisse seized upon this view, and applied it exegetically. He ascribed Jesus' curative miracles to an "organic endowment peculiar to Jesus,"[1] and interprets this as an unusual magnetic curative force, which "bears some such relation to the natural curative force of a magnetizer, as the artistic genius of a Mozart does to the talent of an ordinary virtuoso."[2] But not only did Jesus have nothing in common with magnetic cures, but it soon turned out that there is nothing in the theory of a magnetic fluid as an organic force, and that the hypnotic-magnetic conditions are called forth merely by psychic suggestion or auto-suggestion.

Criticism, therefore, returned from the psycho-physical to the purely psychic explanation of miracles. Strauss speaks of "Curing by exciting the power of imagination,"[3] and Daniel Schenkel of "effects of the personal human mind," of "personally quieting moral influences of the bodily and spiritually healthful" Lord on those who were nervously excited or mentally disturbed.[4] Theodor Keim derives the curative miracles from the "compassionate, sympathetic mental force" of the Lord.[5] Karl von Hase[6] derives them from the power of a "pure, morally religious, energetic mind over certain morbid conditions, a power specially developed in Jesus, with some regard to Jewish methods of healing." Heinrich Julius Holtzmann finds "the inward conditions for the miracles of healing partly in the peculiar mental organization of Jesus, partly in the state of mind and disposition of those who were to be healed."[7]

A. Harnack knows also only "of surprising cures effected by the mental power of Jesus."[8] Christ performed them, as Oskar Holtzmann declares still more clearly,[9] by means of "suggestion," "through the powerful mental impression of his personality." "Such a personality in its quiet, self-conscious way is especially adapted to influence others through the mental effect produced on bodily conditions. This assured stability and the energetic will to help can, according

[1] *Die evangelische Geschichte, kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet*, i, 369 (1838).

[2] *id.*, i, 352; *cf.* 145-149, 350, 370; ii, 141, 259, 263; also his *Philosophische Domatik*, i, 113-119 (Leipzig 1855).

[3] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 136.

[4] *Das Charakterbild Jesu*, 3rd ed., 48-51.

[5] *Geschichte Jesu nach den Ergebnissen Ineutiger Wissenschaft*, 2nd ed. (1875).

[6] *Geschichte Jesu nach akademischen Vorlesunger*, 2nd ed., 432.

[7] *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 2nd ed., 510. Similarly inclined are A. Hausrath, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 2nd ed., Part I, 375 ff.; Karl Wittichen, *Das Leben Jesu*, 54 (1876); Albert Dulk, *Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu*, i, 265-319 (1881).

[8] *Wesen des Christentums*, 19.

[9] *Das Leben Jesu*, 149 f. (1901).

to repeated experiences, sometimes for a short time, sometimes permanently, effect a cure in the body of another."[1]

Also, according to Weidel, the curative miracles of Jesus are "nothing else than the public effects of an overpowering energy of will on minds in need of help, yielding themselves to him with perfect confidence. . . . The simple words: 'I will, be thou healed,' actually work here as a word of command; they impart to the weak will, through the power of auto-suggestion, the energy to overcome the sufferings of mind and nerves."[2]

Bousset informs us that "his method of healing was a psychical one; he set in motion the forces of his inner life so powerfully that they worked outwardly into the bodily life of others. He healed the sick by his unshakable confidence in his heavenly Father and through the divine force working within him, inasmuch as he knew how to awaken in the sick and suffering the same confidence in himself as the divine ambassador. Thus Jesus' method of healing lies entirely within the limits of the psychologically comprehensible. . . . The history of religion offers numerous analogies of this, even down into modern times. . . . Modern science speaks in such cases of the remarkable results of suggestion, auto-suggestion and hypnosis. We shall do well, precisely in regard to these analogies, to stretch very widely the limits of the possible. We have to reckon with the quite exceptionally powerful impression which the person of Jesus was capable of making; with the almost incalculable force of an indescribable confidence of the masses in an always successful physician; and with a childlike, naïve populace."[3]

With these we close the series of citations from the psycho-therapeutic explanation of miracles.[4] The foregoing samples are sufficient to give us an historical survey of, and at the same time a practical glimpse into, the thoughts of our opponents. The psychical interpretation, proposed by them, of the miraculous works of Jesus would, however, evidently be justified only under two conditions: (1) that the

[1] *id.*, 149. See O. Holtzmann, *Christus*, 42 ff. (1907).

[2] *Jesu Persönlichkeit*, 17 (Halle 1908).

[3] *Jesus*, 3rd ed., 22; similarly Bousset in *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* 2nd ed., 55 f.

[4] The list may be enlarged at will. We may refer still only to Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, 2nd ed., i, 351 ff.; *Entstehung des Christentums*, 79 (1905); Crooker, *The Supremacy of Jesus*, 87-89 (Boston 1904); A. Neumann, *Jesus, wer er geschichtlich war?* 100-107 (1904); W. Soltau, *Hat Jesus Wunder getan?* 54-84 (1905); *Das Fortleben des Heidentums in der altchristlichen Kirche*, 133 ff. (1906); R. Otto, *Leben und Wirken Jesu*, 4th ed., 36-39; Furrer, *Leben Jesu Christi*, 129 (1905); Mehlhorn, *Wahrheit und Dichtung im Leben Jesu*, 52 ff. (1906); Hess, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 20 f. (1906); Weinel, *Jesus im XIX Jahrhundert*, 98 (1907); Traub, *Die Wunder im N. T.*, 2nd ed., 39 ff.; P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu erzählt*, 71 (1909); H. Schäfer, *Jesus in psychiatrischer Beleuchtung*, 56 (1910).

sick mentioned in the Gospel were curable by suggestion or hypnosis; and (2) that Jesus actually healed them as a "suggester" or a hypnotizer. These two conditions, however, are not in evidence.

The defenders of the psycho-therapeutic explanation of miracles presume as much on the power of suggestion as if this were able at once to remove all maladies. The contrary is the case. Suggestion, after all, cures no bodily sicknesses, but only psychic ones. It limits itself to the sphere of functional disorders of the nervous system, so far as these are due to imagination and fixed ideas, and so long as they have not yet affected sympathetically the organism itself. These maladies, which come under the collective name of neurosis or hysteria, can be talked out of the patient, because he has merely talked himself into them, imagined them and pictured them to his mind.

But the power of suggestion goes no further. Only what has originated through an idea can be banished by an idea. Direct bodily organic maladies, psychical influence, through suggestion, cannot remove. Suggestion, the inspired confidence in a cure, curative means and a physician may, indeed, give support to medicinal treatments; suggestion—especially in its highest degree—that is, in hypnotic states of waking and profound sleep—may also for a time spirit the sickness away. But no more. In it there can be no talk of a genuine cure of real maladies. Hypnotic suggestion, says Dr. Knur, "lifts no stone from the ground." "Hypnosis cures, therefore, no organic sicknesses whatever; it gives only the illusion of a cure. Whoever says that hypnosis heals must also say that the intoxication caused by alcohol or morphine, or the narcosis of chloroform heals. As is well known, they do not do this; they only cause pain to be forgotten. They can create a certain comfortable feeling, but that does not remain, and makes little impression upon those who witness it."[1]

Even implacable opponents of miracles among the neurologists and advocates of psycho-therapeutics state this emphatically. Not to mention Charcot, Adolf Strümpell and others, we adduce only Dr. Bernheim, the celebrated founder of the psychological school of Nancy, who certainly has fairly endeavoured to ascribe all miracles to suggestion. Bernheim writes: "Suggestion is not able to set right again a dislocated limb, nor to reduce a joint swollen by rheumatism, nor to replace brain tissues which are destroyed. . . . Let us not exaggerate! The direct influence of psycho-therapy on organic wounds is limited. One cannot remove an inflammation by means of it, or check the development of a tumour or a sclerosis of the veins. Suggestion cannot destroy

[1] Knur, 64, 65 f.

microbes, or cure a wound in the stomach, or remove tubercles."[1] In these and other bodily ailments Bernheim allows to psycho-therapy a role only so far as it can occasionally suggest away coughing, insomnia and depression. "By this I bring relief to the patient, since I cannot cure him; sometimes even I strengthen thereby his capacity of resisting microbes, and check, where I do not prevent, the development of the disease. . . . But one can cure only that which is really [by suggestion] curable. Suggestion cannot restore what has been once destroyed."[2] Even in regard to nervous disturbances suggestion, according to Bernheim, is not always effective. It works only so long as the nervous functional disturbance has in no way affected the organism sympathetically. It cures only in so far as the nervous disturbance has not yet become chronic, and even then the improvement is often only temporary, and appears only after long attempts, lasting weeks and months.[3]

Whoever, therefore, wishes to derive the Gospel's instances of healing from suggestion must first of all prove that Jesus had to do exclusively with psycho-pathological and hysterical patients. But we seek in vain for a proof of this. No partisan of the psycho-pathological explanation of the miracles has proved in regard to one single representation of sickness that it was a case of mere functional nervous trouble or hysteria. All these critics indulge in assertions, as extravagant as they are meaningless. According to Conrad Furrer, for example, almost the whole Jewish nation had been nervously broken up, as we laymen in medical science say—that is, hysterical, as specialists in medical science express themselves. Jesus "stands in the midst of a race, excited to the utmost. As we know, the people at that time were awaiting with feverish impatience the coming of the Messiah. The long hoping and waiting from day to day had shattered the nerves of thousands, and had produced a great number of forms of sickness, which were caused by a mysterious, profound disturbance of the nervous system. Such maladies obstinately resist medicinal treatment, and defy for years all attempts to cure them. But what does not succeed under medical skill a strong psychic convulsion may effect."[4] "What a mighty impression this thoroughly healthy, hallowed personality of Jesus must have made upon these nervous sufferers! Yes, we understand how hundreds and hundreds have gone away from him cured!"[5]

[1] Bernheim, *Hypnotisme, suggestion, psychothérapie,* 2nd ed., 321, 325.
[2] *l.c.*, p. 352.
[3] *l.c.*, pp. 327, 343, 355.
[4] Furrer, *Leben Jesu Christi,* 2nd ed., 129 f.
[5] Furrer, *Vorträge über das Leben Christi,* 128 (1902). In the second edition, which appeared under the title *Leben Jesu Christi,* the last passage is not found.

These are nothing but groundless, commonplace statements, which draw from a student of the subject at most a pitiful smile. However remarkable the phenomena may be which hysteria can produce, the Jewish nation was certainly not the victim of an hysterical epidemic, to the exclusion of all other real sicknesses. In no case may the manifestations of disease which appear concretely in the Gospel be designated by a stroke of the pen as hysterical. Dr. R. J. Ryle,[1] an English specialist in nervous diseases, comes, after a thorough examination, to the conclusion that "there is absolutely no reason to suppose that the [Gospel] cures have been effected by religious excitement. The cases are too numerous, and they do not belong to that category in which we might expect a cure by means of religious agitation."[2] Also Dr. Knur does not concede hysteria in a single case. In most instances hysterical nervous depression and morbid imagination are so evidently absent that only prejudiced critics can think of hysteria. Think, for example, of a fatally hysterical, paralyzed servant of the officer in Capharnaum, of a case of hysterical dropsy, an hysterically withered hand, hysterical leprosy with cancer, and an hysterical Malchus with his ear cut off and again healed. The sick people of the Gospel were, therefore, not hysterical, and hence also not curable by suggestion.

If, therefore, the possibility of suggestive cures of Jesus can be contested, much more so the actual fact of such cures.

In proof of the fact that Jesus healed by suggestion, an appeal is always made to the circumstance that the Saviour demanded from the person about to be healed faith. But faith, confidence in the power and skill of the physician are the conditions of suggestive cures, which on that very account are also called "faith-cures." Especially since Charcot in an English review and later in his own book[3] gave the cue, faith-healing, or religious suggestion, is continually commended as the key to the psychical explanation of the Gospel curative miracles.

Now, it is true, Jesus usually demanded faith previous to his miracles (Matt. ix, 22, 28; xiv, 31; Mark v, 34; Luke viii, 48; xviii, 41 f.). Faith and confidence on the part of those seeking help are a *conditio sine qua non* of his miracles. Therefore it is said: "Jesus could not do many miracles in Nazareth because of their unbelief" (Matt. xiii, 58; Mark vi, 5). But he demanded faith and confidence for moral, not for medical reasons. The bodily benefits conferred by Jesus aimed always practically at promoting the salvation of the soul (Mark ii, 1-13; Luke vii, 47; John v, 14; viii, 11).

[1] *The Neurotic Theory of the Miracles of Healing,* in the *Hibbert Journal,* April 1907, 572-586.

[2] *l.c.,* p. 583.

[3] *La foi qui guérit* (1893).

And, above all, the miracles were to lead to faith in his divine mission and divine sonship (Matt. xiii, 58; Luke iv, 23 ff.; John xi, 26 f.). If the promotion of faith in this sense and for this moral purpose were impossible, the working of miracles no longer lay in the line of the divine-human vocation of Jesus; he had then to renounce the desired miraculous proofs; there was wanting for that the preliminary moral condition.

On the other hand, faith and confidence are not to be regarded as the producing cause of the miracles of Jesus. It was not faith that healed the dumb, blind, lame, in short, all the sick spoken of in the Gospel. The confidence, full of faith, demanded by Jesus has nothing whatever in common with the confidence of the hysterical, to which suggestion is restricted. That is shown plainly by the fact that in many cases faith and confidence are demanded, not from the sick, but merely from their relatives. The daughter of the Canaanite woman was healed by Jesus at a distance, and in response to the humble belief of her mother, without the sick girl being informed of the occurrence (Matt. xv, 21). He restores to health also the officer's pagan servant at Capharnaum from a distance and instantly, since his master, without the previous knowledge of the dying patient, with faith begs for help (Matt. viii, 5). He heals the servant Malchus amid the crowd of bailiffs who come to arrest him, although he was very far from believing in Jesus (Luke xxii, 51). But also his disciples often experience the miraculous power of Jesus at a moment when, with their little faith, they have doubts of it, as in the case of Peter walking on the water, and in that of the other disciples in the storm on the lake (Matt. xiv, 28; and Matt. viii, 26).

Like Jesus' method of procedure, so also are his results fundamentally different from those of healing by suggestion. Bernheim has already explained to us, and every psychopath will confirm it, that cures by suggestion are not successful in very many, indeed in most cases; and if they do succeed the cure comes mostly only after prolonged efforts and patient, assiduous sessions, and even then relapses constitute the rule. "If Jesus had been a psycho-therapeutic healer it would have been quickly found out that his power of healing proved salutary not in all, but only in a small, limited group of cases. For, if in an assembly of sick people one or two are susceptible to psycho-therapy, the majority, nevertheless, are never amenable to it."[1]

And even the few persons who were susceptible would have left the "private hospital" of the miracle-doctor of Nazareth only after an extensive and lasting treatment, and

[1] Ryle, *l.c.*, 577.

the multitude of those who relapsed must have returned to him. We know how diametrically opposed all this is to the Gospel. Jesus cures every kind of sickness without first making a diagnosis, whether the sufferers are susceptible to psychical treatment or not. "He healed them all." He healed without exhausting time and patience. A word, a sign, a command of the will, and the miracle has taken place. And where in the Gospel do we find one who has been healed suffering from a relapse? They would have put a speedy end to the fame of the miracle-worker. Jesus would then stand before us as a quack, instead of as a miraculous Saviour.

Thus the psycho-therapeutic explanation of the cures of Jesus turns out desperately badly. So badly indeed that some individual critics venture to make the amusing observation that the people healed in the Gospel were not really healed, but had only imagined they were healed. The leper who inspects his healthy hand with the cry: "I am clean," the blind who see, the lame who leap, the dumb who praise God, Malchus, both of whose ears remain in place for life: all these are nothing but cures of the imagination. Here truly all serious discussion and fair investigation end.

Whoever, on the contrary, considers the Gospel miracles without prejudice sees without difficulty that they were wrought neither by psychical influence nor by physical treatment, and could not be so wrought.

(2) *Christ's Casting out of Devils.*

The critics who oppose miracles reckon at once among the psychically ill the persons described in the Gospel as demoniacal or possessed of devils. Only these stand one step lower than the sick, of whom we have thus far spoken. While the latter are to be regarded as hysterical or imaginary nervous sufferers, who were cured by psycho-therapy, the demoniacal patients are to be considered as insane or as hysterical epileptics. They form the proper clientèle of psychiatry, and Jesus helped them in his capacity of alienist. The so-called demoniacs had of course nothing to do with possession by the devil. They could be designated as possessed persons only by a superstitious age which saw in insanity the spirit and work of the devil. Thus speaks modern criticism on miracles.

The Bible-rationalist, Semler, was the first to advocate this theory thoroughly.[1] He was joined about the end of the eighteenth century by G. Paulus, A. Feller, Bahrdt, Hauber,

[1] Semler, *Commentatio de daemoniacis quorum in N. T. fit mentio* (1779).

and Schelling, according to whom Satan is only an abstract principle, and consequently has no personal existence, either in himself or still less in possessed human beings. The rationalists of the nineteenth century all shared this view, among whom were De Wette, Schenkel, Schleiermacher, Strauss, Renan and Hase.

Hase, in particular, is pointed out as authoritative and a pioneer in the psychiatric interpretation.[1] The essential passages of his argument are the following: "Never in such a malady [possession by the devil] has a personal, supernatural being stood the test of a strict, unprejudiced investigation as the author of it. This form of disease proceeds only from a fantastic popular notion. We deny it, therefore, not because demoniacal possessions no longer occur; rather, because these psychical disturbances are still always occurring, only without this personification of insanity and epilepsy, which common linguistic usage calls the Evil One. And as soon as this notion becomes alive again in the popular imagination, then are found once more demoniacal possessions, as in the Middle Ages, in the Orient, and towards the end of the last century, when the ex-Jesuit, Gaffner, cast out devils in Bavaria, and decades ago in Swabia, where the poetical Venusberg was the Hades out of which the demons came. Our physicians, so far as human help avails against insanity, understand how to cure psychical disturbances like Hippocrates and Plotinus, who was no luminary, by diet, bleeding and purgatives."[2]

Now, in regard to this therapy, Hase and his vouchers in modern medicine might find no agreement, but several psychiatrists, like Charcot, Charles Daremberg, Charles Richet, and recently J. Preuss[3] think they may bluntly designate the demoniacs of the Gospel as crazy, and Jesus as an alienist. In doing so, they rely, on the one hand, on the fact that in very early times insanity was often confounded with demoniacal possession and that the demoniacs of the Gospel show morbid symptoms which are peculiar to insanity.

Trusting in this assistance given it by pharmacology, the aforesaid liberal theology and criticism of the last decades interpret all cases of the exorcism of devils mentioned in the Gospels psychiatrically.[4] Even several investigators of the

[1] So also in Friedrich Rippold, *Die psychiatrische Seite der Heilstätigkeit Jesu,* 15 (1889).

[2] *Geschichte Jesu,* 350 f. (1876).

[3] *Nerven- und Geisteskrankheiten nach Bibel und Talmud,* in *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Psychiatrie,* 107 ff. (Berlin 1899).

[4] We refer, for example, to Keim, *Geschichte Jesu,* ii, 185-204; Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen,* 2nd ed., 240; A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth,* ii, 76-78 (1897); F. C. Conybeare, *The Demonology in the N. T.,* in *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1894-1897); O. Holtsmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 94; *Leben Jesu,* 150-152, 211; Hess, *Jesus von Nazareth,* 18;

more conservative and thoroughly Protestant "orthodox" school now recognize in the demoniacs only the insane, the frenzied and the epileptic,[1] or speak of the "casting out of the demons of pride, of avarice, of envy, of discord, and other bad passions," in order to escape the actual miracles of exorcizing devils.[2]

Curiously enough, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, even the Catholic theologian, Jahn,[3] shared the view that the demoniacs were only natural sick people, that the Jewish out of superstition looked upon them as possessed, and that Jesus adapted himself to this popular way of thinking. Although Jahn, on account of these assertions, was put on the Index, Hermann Schell repeated them in the sense that he represents the demoniacs as mere sick people who were cured by Christ in a miraculous way.[4] Schell's pupil, Florenz Chable, only half rejects this idea of his master, by observing: "Whether it does not, however, contradict the principles of sound exegesis, and do violence to the text, seems to us a question that must be answered rather in the affirmative than the negative."[5]

In reality, this is a hybrid sort of sentence, which is as little just to the Gospels as it is satisfactory to modern criticism. The Evangelists and Christ in the Gospels speak of actual demoniacal possession and of actual casting out of devils; and, indeed, in such a way that they express their own view of the demoniacs, very far from merely adapting themselves to a conception of the people, whether correct or incorrect.[6] This halfway course also would not at all propitiate sceptical criticism, which insists upon the purely natural, psychiatric conception. It recognizes in the demoniacs, not really sick persons, but merely insane people; it therefore repudiates also every miraculous cure, and sees

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P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu erzählt,* 16 ff.; Traub, *Wunder im N. T.,* 32 ff.; A. Neumann, *Jesus, wer er geschichtlich war?* 99-104; Baumann, *Die Gemütsart Jesu,* 40 (1908); Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 207-208.

[1] Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu,* 3rd ed., i, 308-313; Barth, *Hauptprobleme,* 3rd ed., 128-137.

[2] Ménégoz, *Der biblische Wunderbegriff,* 24 f.

[3] *Biblische Archäologie,* sect. 194 ff.

[4] Schell, *Christus,* 43 (1903).

[5] Chable, *Die Wunder Jesu,* 59 (1897). "That is the least and the mildest that can be said about such views," writes Fonck very justly concerning this in *Leben und Lehre Jesu in der neuesten Literatur,* in *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie,* xxvii, 318 (Innsbruck 1903).

[6] This is evident at once from the Gospel texts. A more detailed presentation of the case in Alfred Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,* 5th ed., ii, 770-777; B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* 4th ed., 438-441; Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels,* 172-192; Seitz, *Das Evangelium vom Gottessohn,* 365 f. (1908); Fillion, *Les miracles de N.S. Jésus-Christ,* ii, 255-261 (1911).

in Jesus only a guardian of the insane working by suggestion. The following extracts from Harnack, Bousset and Nippold portray with perfect clearness this position of the latest phase of modern unbelief.

Harnack lays great weight upon the fact that not only do the Gospels give accounts of demoniacally possessed people, but that quite similar stories are found in many writings of that time in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The notion of "possession" was a common one everywhere, and even the science of that time interpreted thus a great number of morbid phenomena. . . . They (the Gospels) merely share in the general notions of the time. To-day we meet with these forms of derangement only rarely; yet they have not yet died out. Where they appear, however, the best means with which to confront them is still to-day, as then, the word of a powerful personality. This is able to threaten "the devil" and overcome him, and thus cure the patient. "Demoniacs" must have been especially numerous in Palestine. Jesus recognized in them the power of evil and wickedness, and by his wonderful power over the souls of those who trusted him, he banished the malady.[1]

Still more significantly writes Bousset: "In the demoniacally ill we recognize with perfect clearness the insane. We can still plainly determine even the separate forms of insanity or of nervously conditioned maladies. The popular notion attributed the uncanny manifestations in these diseases to the direct effect of evil spirits and demons, by whom the sick people were thought to be possessed. Jesus, thoroughly a child of his time in these external notions, shared this view. He cast out the devils dwelling in the sick. What actually was effected in such cases was the quieting, healing power of his extraordinary psychic energy."[2]

Nippold has expressed this laconically in one sentence: "In all the various forms of [demoniacal] sickness we recognize clearly just as many kinds of temperamental, mental and nervous disturbances of our time, and in the way in which our Lord treats them we perceive a masterful psychiatric superiority, acknowledged even by his enemies in their most malicious accusation."[3]

Before we compare this psychiatric explanation of demoniacal possession with the Gospel records, we must point out a misunderstanding on which our opponents' criticism is based and with which it falls. Its only supporting point is the observation that the demoniacs of the Gospel show symptoms of mental derangement. Fritz Barth may be regarded as a mouthpiece for the whole psychiatric school when he writes:

[1] Harnack, *Wesen des Christentums*, 37.
[2] Bousset, *Jesus*, 3rd ed., 23 f.
[3] Nippold, *l.c.*, 28.

"What perplexes us in all the stories of the possessed is the circumstance that none of the symptoms shown by these people is of any other sort than that which we recognize and treat psychiatrically to-day, as symptoms of mental diseases, or better, brain and nervous maladies."[1] From this it is concluded not only that they were simply insane, but also that the whole world then, Christ included, regarded insanity as demoniacal possession.

But the above view, that all the demoniacs of the Gospel were mentally deranged people, is unproved and unprovable. It originates merely from the preconceived opinion that belief in demoniacal possession is itself altogether a delusion and madness. The student of history does not know what to do with such presuppositions. His duty is to pass judgement on the actual cases of possession in the light of what the Gospels state. Now these do not at all allow that all demoniacs are to be designated as insane. It will be soon shown that of all the possessed people whose cure the Gospels report only one, the maniac of Gerasa (Mark v, 1-5; Matt. viii, 28; Luke viii, 26), was a madman. In the case of the possessed man in the synagogue of Capharnaum, it is at least doubtful. The convulsions of these demoniacs "do not appear as symptoms of the disease, but indicate rather the coming of the curative crisis."[2] In all the other cases, the assumption of the insanity of the demoniacs rests merely on conjectures. The psychiatric thesis cannot, therefore, be logically carried out, and breaks down in respect to most of the records of demoniacal possession.

If, nevertheless, we were willing to concede that the symptoms of insanity in the demoniacs played a much greater part, it would by no means follow that the demoniacs of the Gospel were only insane. It is true rather that insanity agrees very well with possession; indeed, it is even a matter of course that possession is united with psychical sufferings, whether they are genuine insanity or only related to it. Without a disturbance or an entire destruction of the psychical equilibrium, and of the psycho-physical function connected with it, demoniacal possession is wholly inconceivable.

The analogy with hypnotic conditions makes this comprehensible. The person hypnotized is absolutely in the power of the hypnotizer; the latter dictates to him his own thoughts and forces upon him his own will. The psychical Ego of the person hypnotized is entirely eliminated and replaced by that of the hypnotizer. The latter, therefore, conducts also the whole nervous system, dependent on the psychical Ego, and causes nervous manifestations and even temporary dumbness, blindness, rigidity and the like, just as it pleases him. The

[1] Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 131.
[2] B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, 4th ed., i, 442.

possession is now, so to speak, a devilish hypnosis, only that it is the hypnotizer who in this case dwells in the hypnotized, and does not exert an influence upon him merely from without. On that account, the psychical and psycho-corporeal phenomena of hypnosis make themselves conspicuous in a possessed person in an increased degree and in the most weird forms. The demoniacs are in the power of evil spirits. The latter think, will, speak and act by them and through them. The demoniacs no longer belong to themselves, but to that mysterious other being with whom they share their double life, and whose plaything they have become. This overpowering evil spirit forces the weaker human mind, checks the activity of the soul, and disturbs its guiding influence on the nervous system, and thereby also the whole bodily organism. The consequences of such a violent attack are a depression of the nervous system, nervous convulsions, nervous weakness, paralysis of the nerves, epileptical conditions, even a total breakdown of the sensitive nerves, and resultant deafness, blindness and dumbness, which we also can observe among the insane.

The physical presence of the devil in the possessed person produces what the subjective delusion causes in the insane. and what the psychical suggestion of the hypnotizer produces in the hypnotized, or, at least, something similar. Although the possessed people do not need to be insane in the formal sense of the word, possession, nevertheless, easily brings with it conditions which recall psychical or psycho-corporeal maladies.

Accordingly, it is not admissible to declare that the demoniacs in the Gospel are insane merely because they show (in some cases scarcely at all) symptoms of sickness which also appear in deranged patients. It is rather a question, above all at the present time, whether the condition of the demoniacs can be derived from merely subjective delusions or not. If it can be, then the demoniacs may be characterized by the psychiatric critics as hysterical epileptics or insane people, and their cure as the natural effect of suggestion; if it cannot be so derived, the question is one of real demoniacally possessed persons, whom Jesus by his miraculous power freed from the devil. We will investigate, in dealing with this question, first all Gospel records of possession, and then those separate cases of demoniacs which are portrayed more in detail by the Evangelists.

Here are the brief records of demoniacal possession:

"And his fame went throughout all Syria; and they presented to him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and such as were possessed by devils, and lunatics and those that had the palsy: and he cured them" (Matt. iv, 24).

"They that were troubled with unclean spirits were cured" (Luke vi, 18).

"He was preaching in their synagogues, and in all Galilee, and casting out devils" (Mark i, 39).

"And when evening was come, they brought to him many that were possessed with devils: and he cast out the spirits with his word; and all that were sick he healed" (Matt. viii, 16).

"They brought to him all that were ill and were possessed with devils. . . . And he healed many that were troubled with divers diseases. And he cast out many devils, and he suffered them not to speak, because they knew him" (Mark i, 32 and 34).

"And the unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him: and they cried, saying: Thou art the Son of God! And he strictly charged them that they should not make him known" (Mark iii, 11 and 12).

"And devils went out from many, crying out and saying: Thou art the Son of God! And rebuking them, he suffered them not to speak; for they knew that he was Christ" (Luke iv, 41).

"There came some of the Pharisees, saying to him: Depart and get thee hence, for Herod hath a mind to kill thee. And he said to them: Go and tell that fox: Behold I cast out devils and do cures to-day and to-morrow, and on the third day I am consummated" (Luke xiii, 31).

Psychiatric criticism makes short work of these reports of demoniacal possession *en masse*. "Hysterical epidemic of possession by devils. The demoniacs suffered from an insane idea of diabolical possession, and were cured of their delusion by suggestion on the part of Jesus."

But only those can speak thus, who in this domain are very ill-advised. Every expert will, on the contrary, confess that in those circumstances there can be no possibility of an hysterical epidemic of possession by devils. "The epidemical delusion of diabolical possession is opposed by the fact that in not one single case mentioned in the Bible do the parties concerned represent themselves as possessed, in a way corresponding to the definition. Also it is nowhere a question of people living in a close community; whereas the well-known epidemics of hysteria (all of a very obstinate character) have been observed in schools, prisons or cloisters, but not among vagrants and similar people."[1]

But even apart from this an epidemic of diabolical possession of such an extent is inadmissible. Not to mention the fact that, at the time of Christ, there occurred also many cases of such possession outside Palestine (Harnack appeals to this), the Saviour encounters them throughout all Galilee

[1] Knur, *Christus medicus?* 43.

and Judea, wherever he sets foot. History knows no example of such a widespread mental derangement, and medical psychology finds no explanation for it. Even Kalthoff remarks in this connection: "The enormous scale on which these demoniacs everywhere make their appearance, in cities as well as in villages, must excite some suspicion against the common supposition that among these are to be understood only nervous or absolutely crazy people."[1]

On the other hand, we easily understand the number of demoniacs at the time of Christ,[2] if we see in them people possessed with devils. Jesus came to subdue Satan and to free mankind from the slavery of devils. It is no wonder, therefore, that Satan also defends his power with extraordinary tenacity, and contests the prize at stake with his powerful enemy. At the time of Jesus it was a question of the decisive, gigantic struggle between Satan and the Son of God, between the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of God, as the Lord says: "Now is the judgement of the world; now shall the prince of this world (Satan) be cast out" (John xii, 31).[3]

If, however, it be assumed that the immense number of demoniacs in the Gospel is to be ascribed to an epidemic of the delusion of possession, this epidemic of madness could not be removed by natural means, as Jesus removed it merely by a word of command. "The champions of the natural hypothesis," writes Dr. Ryle, "assume that a mental disease is curable at once by moral influences, just because it is a mental disease. Unfortunately this assumption is diametrically contradicted by experience. The people who constitute the great mass of the demoniacs do not belong to the number of those who can be cured in a moment and by means of a mere word."[4] "This picture drawn by psychiatric criticism," adds Dr. Knur, "does not correspond to experience. There are hysterical epidemics with convulsions, cries and delusions, but their cure is not so simple; whole troops of my colleagues exhaust themselves in the attempt. The cure is effected scarcely ever otherwise than by the isolation and special treatment of the psychically diseased person. An instan-

[1] *Das Christus-Probleme,* 2nd ed., 22.

[2] Concerning demoniacal possession in the time before and after Christ, see Franz Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie,* 2nd ed., 305; Leistle, *Die Besessenheit mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Lehre der heiligen Väter* (1887); Bonniot, *Wunder und Scheinwunder,* 401-429 (1889); Harnack, *Medizinisches aus der alten Kirchengeschichte,* in *Texte und Untersuchungen,* viii, 4 Heft, 37, 104 (1892); Dausch, *Ueber Besessenheit im N. T.,* in *Theolog. Monatsschrift,* xxii, 318 (1912); Fillion, *Les Miracles,* ii, 245-247.

[3] See Arnaud Polz, *Das Verhältnis Christi zu den Dämonen,* 27-125 (1907).

[4] *The Neurotic Theory of the Miracles of Healing,* in the *Hibbert Journal,* 579, April, 1907.

taneous cure *en masse* in the public street is unknown in the annals of hysteria."[1] Every alienist will willingly testify that the capacity for receiving suggestion in the case of mental derangement is in most instances equivalent to zero, and precisely for the reason that it is a question of brain-disturbance. Suggestion in their case first effects at best a temporary tranquillity, but hardly ever a cure. If, therefore, the demoniacs are declared to be insane and their cure to have been effected by moral suggestion, by the "word of a powerful personality" (Harnack), psychiatric criticism with this explanation annuls itself.

A glance at the summarized records of diabolical possession shows, furthermore, that Christ and the Gospels distinguish very clearly between demoniacs and all kinds of sick people. Those who are diabolically possessed are constantly placed in contrast to the ordinarily sick, to those "who were diseased," to those "who suffered from many diseases" and were afflicted "with all sorts of sickness and suffering." This contrast is expressly extended to the "lunatics" (epileptics) and the "palsied" (paralyzed), who yet could have soonest of all the character of psychic and psychophysical or nervous invalids. Where merely natural diseases are cured—the blind, deaf, lame and epileptic—there is nothing said of demoniacal possession. Yet in other cases the same sicknesses are represented as combined with possession (Matt. ix, 32; xii, 22; xvii, 14; Mark ix, 16; Luke ix, 38; xi, 14). The temporary sickness is then introduced, either as a cause or a consequence, or simply as an accompanying manifestation of the possession. The latter is, therefore, thoroughly different from all merely natural infirmities, whether they are of a physical or a psychical nature.[2]

Finally, to this must be still added the fact that in the demoniacs a thoroughly superhuman being speaks. While the surrounding Jews—how far this applies to the better-informed disciples may be waived for the present—see in Jesus hardly more than an important Rabbi, or at most a prophet, the demoniacs loudly proclaim the Messiahship and divine sonship of the Mighty One who approaches them. That cannot be psychologically understood if it were a question only of mentally deranged people, unless indeed the insane are to be placed above the mentally sound. Only if we recognize in the demoniacs that mysterious double life of man and devil does all become clear. As men, they share the insufficient and incorrect knowledge of Christ held by their

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, p. 42.

[2] *Cf.* the arguments of A. Seitz, *Das Evangelium vom Gottessohn*, 374 f. (1908), against E. Schürer, *Zur Vorstellung von der Besessenheit im N. T.*, in *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, 633-640 (1892).

fellow-men. But the devils in them "recognize Jesus at once perfectly. For they themselves are supernatural beings familiar with the upper world, and therefore they comprehend immediately the celestial and divine connection of events. They know directly that their hour has now sounded, and they submit in fear to the Son of God."[1] "Not the human beings, but the devils dwelling in them, have this perception; it is the perception of supernatural beings. And the object of this perception is also supernatural; it is not the human Jesus, as such, but . . . the supernatural Jesus, the Son of God. A direct relation, independent of earthly instrumentalities, exists between him and them."[2]

These are the observations which we are able to make on the summarized records of demoniacal possessions. But still more clearly will the psychiatric thesis be rejected by means of those episodes in the Gospels in which separate cases of such possession are portrayed.

In the first such passage we come upon the demoniac in the synagogue at Capharnaum. Mark reports his meeting with Jesus as follows: "And forthwith upon the Sabbath days, going into the synagogue, he taught them. And they were astonished at his doctrine. For he was teaching them as one having power, and not as the scribes. And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know who thou art, the Holy One of God. And Jesus threatened him, saying, Speak no more, and go out of the man. And the unclean spirit, tearing him, and crying out with a loud voice, went out of him. And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What thing is this? What is this new doctrine? For with power he commandeth even the unclean spirits; and they obey him" (Mark i, 21-28; Luke iv, 31-37).

According to psychiatric criticism we have here a clear example of religious insanity. The man in the synagogue imagined that he was possessed, and Jesus "suggested" the mad idea out of him.[3]

This interpretation stands, however, in most flagrant opposition to the text. It is not a mad man who speaks from the demoniac, but a being with a superhuman knowledge of

[1] Johannes Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* 51 (1903).

[2] Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien,* 24 (Göttingen 1901).

[3] So Schenkel, *Das Charakterbild Jesu,* 3rd ed., 48; H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker,* 2nd ed., 74; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu,* 147; J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* 141 ff.; Chr. Rauh, *Das Messiasgeheimnis der Dämonischen,* in *Prot. Monatshefte,* 31 (1903); Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 450; and most liberal critics.

Jesus, as the radical Wrede emphatically says.[1] Without the man having first become acquainted with Jesus the devil knows that he is confronting the "Holy One of God," who has come to destroy the evil spirits of the devil. Moreover, the demoniac does not, as the cure by suggestion would require, give himself up confidingly to the Saviour, but struggles with all his might, raging with wild cries against meeting the Holy One of God and obeying him. And just as little does Jesus work upon the raving man by suggestion soothingly; but dominates, threatens and compels him. What a striking contrast to the psychiatric explanation of Harnack, who says of the cure of the demoniac by Jesus: "By means of his wonderful power over the souls of those who trusted him, he banished their sicknesses."[2] Wrede also concedes unequivocally that we must either arbitrarily refashion the whole episode or recognize its supernatural content: "If we wish to find here a scanty remnant of history we must first set to rights the report of Mark to suit ourselves . . . and it remains still uncomprehended. If we leave the report as it is we have in the supernatural view of the writer . . . immediately a comprehension of the whole thing."[3]

Another case of demoniacal possession occurs in the region of Tyre and Sidon, and has to do with the daughter of a pagan Canaanite woman. The mother comes to Jesus and cries: "Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou Son of David; my daughter is grievously troubled by a devil. Who answered her not a word." He puts the faith of the woman to a hard test. But as she persisted, he said to her: "O woman, great is thy faith. Be it done to thee as thou wilt. And her daughter was cured from that hour" (Matt. xv, 22-28; Mark vii, 25-30).

This was, therefore, a casting out of a devil at a distance, in which an act of suggestion and hence all psychiatric interpretation is excluded from the start. Dr. Knur remarks in regard to this: "The theory of hypnosis breaks down here completely. Even the makeshift of chance plays a sad role here. What physician would risk a similar prediction trusting to chance? Moreover, Christ is less of a physician here than almost anywhere else. He has not seen the patient, he orders no medicine, he cures her only from a distance, we know not how. Through the treatment of a mother by suggestion we do not cure an insane daughter. We must here confess that a medical analogy is wanting."[4]

With greater exactitude the circumstance of the possessed boy who was a "lunatic" is described.[5] His father depicts

[1] *Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 24. [2] *Wesen des Christentums*, 38.
[3] Wrede, *l.c.*, 31 f. [4] *l.c.*, p. 44.
[5] Matt. xvii, 14-20; Mark ix, 13-28; Luke ix, 37-43.

it thus: "Master, I have brought my son to thee, having a dumb spirit. Who, wheresoever he taketh him, dasheth him; and he foameth and gnasheth with the teeth." Brought before Christ, the boy is troubled by the spirit, thrown down upon the ground, where he rolls about foaming. The father gives now the further information that these attacks have come upon him from infancy, so that the spirit has often cast him into the fire and water to destroy him. Jesus thereupon threatens the unclean spirit, saying: "Deaf and dumb spirit, I command thee, go out of him, and enter not any more into him." Immediately the evil spirit departed, "crying out and greatly tearing him, and he became as dead, so that many said: He is dead. But Jesus, taking him by the hand, lifted him up." The amazed disciples thereupon said to Jesus: "Why could not we cast him out?" And he said to them: "This kind can go out by nothing but by prayer and fasting."

This case also makes every psychiatric explanation ridiculous. According to such an explanation, the boy must have suffered from a delusion that he was possessed, and in consequence of this must have become a victim of hysterical attacks. But the fact that he had been in this lamentable condition from infancy proves that there can be no question of a delusion of being possessed. How would it be conceivable that a mere child should delude himself with the idea that he had a devil? The kind of attack also proves that it is a question not of hysterical epilepsy, but of a certain epilepsy caused by a cerebral injury. Dr. Knur remarks in regard to this: "It has been wished to diagnose in this instance also, from motives of convenience, a case of hysteria, but in defiance of all probability. A boy has not, from infancy on, hysterical attacks which throw him sometimes into the water or the fire and bring him into danger of his life. The clouding of consciousness in an hysterical attack is not so acute that life is endangered in consequence. Many sufferers from hysteria have their attacks only in bed, or in a chair, to which they have always found time enough to retire (we do not speak here of simulation); they also have not injured themselves in the attack, unless consciously and intentionally, by having been incited to such a demonstration; while the epileptic carries about with him the marks of his attacks, and is able to state concerning the origin of his injuries only what he supposes or what others have told him."[1]

If the lunatic boy was not an hysterical epileptic, then the possibility of a cure by suggestion and indeed of any natural cure whatever ceases. Again this medical expert remarks:

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, p. 39.

"We know what it means to cure an epileptic at one stroke, we who often weary ourselves in vain with bromides and the like, and are satisfied, after a treatment of months and years, if we see the intensity of the attacks diminished with no assurance of having checked the intellectual deterioration."[1] It is also manifest from the whole procedure that Jesus in the case before us acted neither as a psychic nor as a physical physician. The cure of the lunatic remains a mystery unless we look upon it in the sense of the Gospel, as the casting out of a devil.

There now still comes the crucial test of psychiatric criticism—the story of the demoniac at Gerasa.[2] All the synoptists relate the incident (Matt. viii, 28-34; Mark v, 1-20; Luke viii, 26-39). Matthew mentions two possessed men; Mark and Luke, who evidently adhere to the chief personality in the affair, speak only of one. Moreover, the reports of all the Evangelists agree so well that the liberal psychiatric critic Nippold confesses: "Altogether the differences in the accounts are so unimportant that we certainly can add with confidence: nowhere in all literature, were it not a question about the Gospels, would it occur to anyone, on account of such subordinate variations in different reporters of the fact, to declare the incident itself as unhistorical."[3] We reproduce this incident as given by Mark.

When Jesus came into the country of the Gerasens "immediately there met him out the monuments a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs; and no man now could bind him, not even with chains. For having been often bound with fetters and chains he had burst the chains and broken the fetters in pieces; and no one could tame him. And he was always day and night in the monuments and in the mountains, crying and cutting himself with stones. And seeing Jesus afar off he ran and adored him. And crying with a loud voice he said: What have I to do with thee, Jesus, the Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not. For he said unto him: Go out of the man, thou unclean spirit! And he asked him: What is thy name? And he saith to him: My name is Legion, for we are many. And he besought him much that he would not drive him away out of the country. And there was there near the mountain a great herd of swine feeding.

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, p. 40.

[2] The name of the place is written differently—Gerasa, Gergesa, Gadara, Gazara. The town was situated in the district of Decapolis. This Decapolis, or union of ten cities, on the other side of the Jordan and the Lake of Tiberias, was a confederation of fortified, overwhelmingly Grecian frontier cities, which were in possession of their own communal constitution, and looked after the defence of the frontier of Galilee.

[3] *Die psychiatrische Seite der Heiltätigkeit Jesu*, 15.

And the spirits besought him, saying: Send us into the swine that we may enter into them. And Jesus immediately gave them leave. And the unclean spirits going out, entered into the swine. And the herd with great violence was carried headlong into the sea, being about two thousand, and were stifled in the sea. And they that fed them fled and told it in the city and in the fields. And they went out to see what was done. And they came to Jesus. And they see him that was troubled with the devil sitting clothed and well in his wits; and they were afraid. And they that had seen it told them in what manner he had been dealt with who had the devil, and concerning the swine. And they began to pray him that he would depart from their coasts."

Psychiatric criticism sees in the possessed man of Gerasa simply a maniac, who, frightened by the noise occasioned by the landing of several boats, ran to Jesus, and addressed to him the words which the Saviour ascribed to the devil supposed to be dwelling in him. As Jesus entered into the man's fixed idea of demoniacal possession, he succeeded in quieting him. In this way, almost all non-catholic exegetes interpret the incident. We may mention only the rationalist, Gottlob Paulus and Karl von Hase,[1] the liberals, E. Havet, A. Réville, Nippold, W. Hess, O. Holtzmann, Johannes Weiss,[2] the modernist, A. Loisy,[3] and the "orthodox" W. Beyschlag and E. de Pressensé.[4]

We agree with these investigators in this point, that the man of Gerasa was insane—indeed, a raving maniac. The description of his state of excitement leaves no doubt on that point. But we do not do justice to the text of the Gospel by supposing here a mere case of mental derangement and its cure by suggestion. It cannot be explained without supposing a real demoniacal possession.

The way in which the unfortunate man acted towards Jesus would alone prove this. Scarcely does he catch sight of the Saviour, when he runs to him and prostrates himself before him, evidently in the hope of finding help from Jesus. Yet, at the same time, he seeks to escape from his influence, and repels his action violently and with horror: "What have I to do with thee, Jesus, the Son of the Most High God? I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not." This opposition to the one he had himself sought out can have its explanation only in the inward contradiction in which the mental life

[1] Paulus, *Kommentar über das N. T.*, i, 482 ff. (1804); Hase, *Geschichte Jesu*, 443 ff. (1876).

[2] Havet, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 619 (April 1881); Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, ii, 497-499 (1897); Nippold, *op. cit.*, 15; Hess, *Jesus von Nazareth*, 40 (1906); Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 211 f.; Weiss, *Die Schriften des N. T.*, i, 109.

[3] *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 815.

[4] Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, 3rd ed., i, 311; Pressensé, *Jésus-Christ*, 454 f. (1865).

of the demoniac was passed. The tormented man longs for relief, but the tormenting devil rejects anything of the sort.

Only from his double life, partly human, partly demoniacal, can also the Gerasene's knowledge of Christ be derived. The insane man who had never yet seen the Man of Nazareth, recognizes him, and acknowledges him immediately with the utmost clearness as the almighty Son of the Most High God. This presupposes supernatural knowledge in the demoniac. Barth reaches the climax of naïveté when he accompanies this knowledge of the insane man with the proverb: "Children and fools speak the truth."[1] Yes, if they know the truth. But the question is precisely, Whence did this fool get his knowledge of the truth about Christ? "From what source should a fool, excluded from human society, in the remotest corner of the Holy Land, on the north-east frontier, on the other side of the Jordan, have any knowledge whatever of Jesus, and with this anticipating, in respect to time and its signification, all his 'countrymen' and even the chief of the apostles, Peter? Why should such a 'fool' feel himself, precisely in the person of Jesus, painfully threatened by the nearness of God? As a mentally deranged man, he had not the slightest reason for rushing especially to Jesus, and already from a distance, while he otherwise fled from the vicinity of men."[2]

Moreover, how is it to be explained that an insane man, interrogated as to his name, should answer: "My name is Legion, for we are many"? And what psychiatrist comprehends that a deranged person should request to be allowed to enter a herd of swine?[3] In the case of an "unclean spirit," however, we understand that easily. Cast out of the man, and fearing to be hurled back into the abyss of hell,[4] there is in the wilderness only one refuge for the devils—the herd of swine, which becomes indeed at once, by the permission of God, their fate.

As little as the psychiatric hypothesis can understand the condition of the Gerasene, no more can it explain his cure. Jesus is said to have cured him of his delusion of demoniacal possession by suggestive complaisance and a friendly sympathy with the fixed idea of the maniac. But when has a thoroughly insane person ever been cured by sympathy with his fixed idea? Every experienced psychiatrist will smile at such an utterance, since it contradicts his entire practice.

[1] Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme*, 3rd ed., 132.

[2] Seitz, *Das Evangelium vom Gottessohn*, 358.

[3] With this question the view of Stocks—that the demoniac fancied he was turned into an animal—is incompatible. See *Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 499 ff. (1907). *Cf.* A. C. Pettermand, *Geisteskrankheit und Dämonologie in der Bibel*, in *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift*, 152 ff. (1907).

[4] "And they [the evil spirits] besought him that he would not command them to go into the abyss" (Luke viii, 31).

And, then, where is a suggestive, friendly complaisance perceptible on the part of the Saviour? Does he not rather approach the demoniac harshly and with forceful power, so that the latter soon either whimpers and begs, or furiously resists and writhes? And if Jesus quieted the madman through mild suggestion, how comes it that, in consequence of the incident, the two thousand swine wildly and violently rush over the precipice and plunge into the sea? Did they also perhaps suffer from the delusion of possession, or, rather, had they not become really possessed by the legion which had gone out of the Gerasene?

No, declares Traub. "We have to do here with the panic of fear," by which the swine were attacked without a cause,[1] or else they plunged, as H. Zimmermann thinks, into the sea "from perhaps quite another and natural cause."[2] Dr. Paulus is able to inform us that in no way has the possessed man himself driven the swine into the sea.[3] "Nonsense," retort a dozen rationalists,[4] with the old master, Johann J. Hess, and again recently Nippold and O. Holtzmann; "it was not the devils, but the possessed man who has gone into the swine; and, terrified by his raving, the whole herd ran over the precipice, fell into the water and were drowned." But W. Hess is able to assure us that there is no question here of an accident, "either that some swine, which had run away, were followed, or that the madman, with the idea that he must drive the devils into the swine, himself rushed upon the herd."[5] Far from it. The precipitation of the swine is to be conceived as the infernal dance of the demoniacal powers, explains Pfleiderer.[6] What an idea! cries O. Schmiedel, confident of victory; the possessed man is the Apostle Paul, whose conversion is in the story of the Gerasene maliciously quizzed by Jewish Christians;[7] the episode of the swine, however, is "only comprehensible as a legend. . . . In any case, there lies in the story a mockingly contemptuous action of the Jews against their pagan neighbours of Decapolis, with their swine-breeding, on whom the devil has played a good trick for their 'swinishness.'"[8] Ferd. Christ. Baur, Bruno Bauer, E. Volkmar, L. Novack and H. J. Holtzmann warn us, however, against committing such a blunder; it is evidently a question only of an allegory; the possessed man

[1] *Die Wunder im N. T.*, 41 f.
[2] *Der historische Wert der ältesten Ueberlieferung von der Geschichte Jesu im Markusevangelium*, 162 f. (1905).
[3] *Kommentar über das N. T.*, i, 485.
[4] *Cf.* Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 30, and also 15 and 211 f.
[5] *Jesus von Nazareth*, 40.
[6] *Das Urchristentum*, i, 350.
[7] Schmiedel, *Die Hauptprobleme der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*, 114-117 (1906).
[8] *id.*, p. 114.

and the legion of swine are not to be considered as historical, but signify the heathen, who are converted to Christ from their idolatry and immorality.

And so, by some still wilder fantasies, perhaps a hundred more "natural" explanations of the Gerasene can be concocted, and all of them, like the ones just presented, would have only the one error of being products of the imagination which stand in the most violent contradiction to the text of the Gospel.

Thus does psychiatric criticism put itself entirely in the wrong. It asserts that the Saviour shared in the erroneous ideas of his time concerning demoniacs, took insanity for demoniacal possession, and represented the effect of personal suggestion as the casting out of devils. In fact, Jesus had no share in the often incorrect ideas of his time about devils, demoniacal possession and the exorcism of evil spirits.[1] However many different physical and psychical forms of sickness were present in the demoniacs cured by him, in all of them it was certainly a question of demoniacal possession. And Jesus removed this possession in such a miraculous way that his absolute power over Satan and hell was openly revealed: "And there came fear upon all; and they talked among themselves, saying, What word is this, for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they go out?" (Luke iv, 36; see Matt. xii, 23-29; Mark i, 28).[2]

3. *Miracles in the Domain of Nature.*

If we behold in the casting out of devils the power of Jesus over the spiritual forces of hell, the miracles in the domain of nature prove his direct divine supremacy over the involuntary

[1] In extensive Jewish circles the devil was considered to be the cause of all sicknesses, and many exorcists used for casting him out the silliest magical means and formulas, which were attributed to Noe and Solomon. Cf. *Book of Jubilees,* 10, 12 f.; Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum,* 7, 6, 3; *Antiq,* 8, 2, 5, where he describes an amusing superstitious exorcism of the devil; *Talmud, Tract. Shabbath,* 14, 3; *Aboda zara,* 12, 2. In addition, the representations and literary accounts in Ferd. Weber's *Jüdische Theologie,* 255-259 (Leipzig 1897); L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (1898); E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes,* 3rd ed., iii, 299-391; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im N. T. Zeitalter,* 326-336 (1903). That the Jewish idea of that time considered, as specific cases of possession, precisely and only cases of mental derangement, cannot be asserted on the ground of the sources referring to the subject. This assumption of the psychiatric critics is also a pure invention.

[2] Together with exorcisms by magic, the Jews sometimes undertook an actual casting out of devils in the name of God and also in the name of Jesus (Matt. xii, 27; Mark ix, 38; Luke ix, 49). That Jesus, however, commanded the devils by his own might and with unlimited power has been universally conceded, even by his most violent enemies, as unprecedented.

and unreasoning elements. These works make absolutely ridiculous all natural explanations. We can, therefore, limit ourselves to selecting the most obvious of them and also to portraying them briefly and concisely.[1]

At the marriage at Cana, Jesus turned water into wine (John ii, 1-11). Nature also does this, but entirely differently. Water within the space of a year is changed in the vine into grape-juice by means of a number of processes, which take place by reason of the physical temperature of the atmosphere, the chemical construction of water and soil, and the organic nature of the vine, through the harmonious co-operation of many natural forces, partly known and partly unknown, working to that end. What nature, under favourable conditions and with the assistance of all these forces, accomplishes in a year, Jesus accomplishes merely by his will, without binding himself to any natural power, and instantly without limiting himself to the working time of nature. Only the Lord of nature can work so immediately.

Moreover, Jesus produces miraculous multiplications of bread. On one occasion he feeds five thousand persons, exclusive of women and children, with five loaves and two fishes, and there still remain twelve baskets full of fragments (Matt. xiv, 13-21; Mark vi, 32-44; Luke ix, 10-17; John vi, 1-15). At another time, he feeds four thousand with seven loaves and a few small fishes, and there remain seven baskets full of fragments (Matt. xv, 29-39; Mark viii, 1-10).

Nature produces grain under very complicated conditions, and changes it, with the co-operation of man, into bread, which, enjoyed in a corresponding amount, can nourish a multitude like that mentioned in the Gospel. But that with five or seven loaves[2] such a multitude of hungry people can be fed, and that there should then remain even more than there was before, is naturally just as impossible as it is to produce from natural forces the material increase of bread instantaneously and by a mere act of will. This also is a manifestation of absolutely divine power.

Immediately after the first increase of bread, Jesus bade his disciples cross the Sea of Galilee, while he taught the people until evening, and then spent the night upon a mountain in prayer. When, however, towards morning the disciples were struggling in the midst of the sea with a violent storm, Jesus hastened to help them, walking thither upon the water, and kept Peter also from sinking through

[1] See, in regard to these and the other miracles in nature, Fonck, *Die Wunder des Herrn*, 2nd ed., i, 127-469; Fillion, *Les miracles de N.S. Jésus-Christ*, ii, 1-72; P. Dausch, *Die Wunder Jesu*, 46 ff. (1912).

[2] According to Oriental usage, the loaves consist of round cakes, about half an inch thick and eight inches in diameter, with a weight of from three to eight ounces.

the power of his personal command (Matt. xiv, 22-34; Mark vi, 45-53; John vi, 15-21).

By walking thus on the water, Jesus sets himself above the law of gravity—the most inflexible of all the laws of nature, and to which all matter is subjected. Natural objects, it is true, behave differently in the matter of gravity, according to their consistency of substance and specific gravity; but nothing can escape its power. Water especially is not able so to resist it that man, borne by it, can walk upon its surface. If Jesus overcomes gravity and compels the sea to serve him and his disciple for a pathway, he thereby overcomes the whole force of nature. And if he does this merely by an instantaneous, abrupt command of his will, the action is simply divine. We can only fall in adoration before him with the disciples, saying: "Indeed thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv, 33).

Also on the occasion of the stilling of the storm on the lake (Matt. viii, 18, 23-27; Mark iv, 35-40; Luke viii, 22-26), we see ourselves obliged to call out with the multitude of onlookers: "What manner of man is this, for the winds and the sea obey him?" No natural power subdues the might of a storm; and only he can at a mere instantaneous word appease wind and waves, whose power extends higher than the atmosphere, deeper than the sea, and who has created wind and waves, and holds them in the hollow of his hand.

Whoever wishes an *argumentum ex absurdo* for the impossibility of explaining the nature-miracles of Jesus by natural means should some time read the natural explanations given by the old and new Bible rationalism. They will certainly cool his ardour and desire for such exegesis.

Let us take, for example, *the miracle of changing water into wine.* Gottlob Paulus, the father of "natural explanation," considers the incident at Cana as a jovial wedding jest. In order "to help promote the gaiety of the party in an amusingly mysterious way," Jesus, "as a participatory wedding guest," has brought with him to the bridegroom and bride six jars of wine, hidden them secretly in a room, and served it at the right moment.[1] Venturini agrees with this, and adds that the Evangelist who relates the miracle of Cana "has been perhaps a little tipsy." No wonder, therefore, that the story of the wine appeared to him so wonderful!

Other exegetes claim that Jesus did not furnish real wine. According to B. Weiss, whom Neander had already anticipated here, the water was not changed into wine, but merely took on the taste and effect of wine, and thus only became wine in the opinion of the people."[2]

[1] *Kommentar,* iv, 150 f., 163.

[2] *Leben Jesu,* 4th ed., i, 353. Cf. *Innsbrucker Theol. Zeitschrift,* 304 f. (1903).

Dulk regards the whole "miracle" as a well thought out and well executed adulteration of the wine by Jesus,[1] Woolston thought a liquid was poured into the water; Ammon's idea was alcohol, Langsdorf's the essence of herbs and the like.

Others again give up water, wine and the whole episode, and interpret them as symbolical, allegorical fiction. Loisy sees in the Mother of Jesus at Cana the synagogue, in the water the faith of the Old Testament, and in the wine the blood of Christ, while the bride and groom, disciples and guests, are only poetical, ornamental features of the allegory.[2] Also K. Furrer writes very piously: "Truly not only our intellect, but also our heart demands that we should interpret this narrative symbolically. Who is the mother, the woman? It is the circle of those modest, slightly educated Jews, out of which the first community of disciples came. What are we to understand by the old wine? The peace, the consolation which the pious souls of the Old Testament enjoyed. And what by the new wine? The jubilation of the children of God."[3]

In order not to degenerate into such absurdities, most modern critics are absolutely silent about the miracle at Cana. Th. Keim had already eliminated this narrative given by John, solely because it can be understood only as a divine miracle: "If water becomes wine, and that without any attendant circumstances, without prayer, without a motion of the hands, without a word, without a command, and purely by an act of will—what is more uncanny? That is again an action of God, not of men."[4]

The miracle of the multiplication of loaves. G. Paulus comes out with the statement that the people had provisions enough with them, and that Jesus has only had to incite them by his example to eating and to charitableness.[5] Hase applauds this: "The facts may have been, as Paulus has thought—that it was a feeding of the multitude, according to the custom of Jesus, in hospitable largess—a great popular love-feast," at which the Saviour uttered the prayer at table.[6] W. Hess asserts that "what the disciples furnished, and what the multitude had brought with them, sufficed for a frugal meal."[7] According to B. Weiss, all were fed through the foresight of those "who were still provided with bread and vegetables," and who collected so much "that there was

[1] *Irrgang des Lebens Jesu*, i, 231-234.
[2] *Le quatrième Evangile*, 281-285. Similarly H. J. Holtzmann, *Hand-Kommentar*, 2nd ed., iv, 56-58; and Traub, *Die Wunder im N. T.*, 2nd ed., 65.
[3] *Leben J. Christi*, 2nd ed., 139 f.
[4] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, ii, 501.
[5] *Kommentar*, ii, 264-299; *Leben Jesu*, i, 1, 349-357.
[6] *Geschichte Jesu*, 456. [7] *Jesus von Nazareth*, 49.

enough and more than enough to satisfy the multitude."[1] "How simple is the picture," cries K. Furrer. "When Jesus had given out the last morsel of bread, then those who had bread did not wish to be backward, but also joyfully distributed from their own provisions, and the others showed themselves modest in taking it, so that all were fed. Some have," adds the Zurich professor, with his finger raised, "wanted to poke fun at this interpretation, but that is a very cheap jest."[2]

According to O. Holtzmann, the hungry people were much more modest in accepting food, since they finished their meal with the few loaves mentioned in the Gospel. Thereby "we shall have no reason to doubt . . . that Jesus, in such cases, showed the confidence of a courageous housewife, who cleverly understands how to provide for a large gathering of children with slender means."[3]

According to K. Fr. Bahrdt, the needed bread had been stored in a neighbouring cave; in Ludwig Strack's opinion, Jesus bought it from a boy—a sort of trading "camp-follower"; while Peter Rosegger thinks that the disciples had "only a small crust of bread," which made the round of the entire company and came back to the first intact, because each one gave up his share of it for the sake of the others.

However, if we are to believe Daniel Schenkel,[4] Karl Wittichen[5] and Th. Keim,[6] there was no need of bread at all; for they tell us that Jesus satisfied the hunger of the multitude with the spiritual bread of his preaching, which then, by subsequent tradition, had been transferred to its bodily needs. Johann Peter Lange, for his part, calls the miracles of the feeding "imaginary miracles." By the words of Jesus the thousands had been transported to such an infinitely lofty and powerful elevation of spirit, that they could be satisfied even without actual nourishment.[7]

The stilling of the storm on the lake by Jesus is declared to be simply impossible by all those who deny the divinity of Christ. Johannes Weiss asserts that "for us moderns, a Jesus who commands the wind and sea is a strange and unnatural manifestation."[8] "It is inconceivable how the storm is to be allayed and how this most unbridled element . . . is to be controlled by human will and words."[9] "That is an effect on the forces of nature and their activity which lie

[1] *Leben Jesu,* ii, 187.
[2] *id.*, 134. See Traub, *l.c.*, p. 62; and Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des N. T.*, i, 120.
[3] O. Holtzmann, *War Jesus Ekstatiker?* 99; *Leben Jesu,* 224.
[4] *Das Charakterbild Jesu,* 3rd ed., 86 (1864).
[5] *Leben Jesu,* 57 (1876).
[6] *Leben Jesu,* ii, 492-497.
[7] *Leben Jesu,* ii, 1, 308-310.
[8] *Die Schriften des N. T.*, i, 108.
[9] Hase, *l.c.*, p. 444.

outside the human sphere."[1] "Jesus, in the days of his incarnation, could not with divine omnipotence command the elements."[2] "Such a sudden and direct intervention in the events of nature . . . would be possible only for divine omnipotence. The human will is simply not able to command storms and waves."[3] This miracle, therefore, is rejected only because it would prove beyond a doubt the supernaturalness and divinity of Jesus.

But how is one now to manage with the Gospel narrative? For in the most varied forms of speech and in opposition to the Gospel it is declared that a sudden stilling of the sea by the word of Christ by no means took place. Paulus thinks that Christ did not speak to the wind, but spoke "about the strong wind," and said "that the sea must soon become calm again and, as it were, tamed. Since this occurred soon after, his disciples ascribed this result to his . . . words."[4] This absolutely "natural" explanation of the old rationalist is accepted by almost all the later opponents of miracles, especially by K. von Hase, W. Hess and K. Furrer.[5] "A causative connection between the word of Jesus and the cessation of the tempest is impossible," says Traub dogmatically.[6]

Nevertheless, according to Volkmar, it remains "possible that Jesus has put an end to a stormy passage by means of his mental tranquillity . . . to the helplessness of the disciples by his encouragement."[7] As B. Weiss with greater originality says: Jesus "in the midst of the raging of the elements . . . trusted with unwavering certainty to divine assistance."[8] In this way everything would be naturally explained. "It is wonderful only that the lake (at Jesus' command) did become actually quieter," adds O. Holtzmann[9] with incomparable naïveté.

The walking on the lake is regarded by the majority of modern critics as inexplicable by natural means, and therefore as unhistorical. Schleiermacher, consoled with the hope of a future clearing up of the affair, considers, however, the "purposeless walking on the sea . . . in the night time and under conditions of uncertain observation," as "something about which we must only wonder in simplicity."[10] Paulus finds in it nothing either wonderful or inexplicable. A Greek lexicon in his hands, he considers it possible that Christ did

[1] Schleiermacher, *Leben Jesu*, 130. [2] B. Weiss, *l.c.*, ii, 34.
[3] Schenkel, *l.c.*, 79.
[4] *Leben Jesu*, i, 1, 229; *Kommentar*, i, 344.
[5] Hase, *l.c.*, 439-442; Hess, *l.c.*, 39; Furrer, *l.c.*, 132.
[6] *l.c.*, p. 59.
[7] *Das Evangelium des Markus und die Synoptiker*, 311 (1876). In almost the same words also Pfleiderer, *Urchristentum*, i, 349.
[8] *Leben Jesu*, ii, 33.
[9] *Leben Jesu*, 209. [10] *Leben Jesu*, 235.

not walk on and over the lake, but only beside it.[1] On the other hand, B. Weiss[2] and Furrer[3] maintain that Christ wandered around the lake in a five hours' tramp at night, and waited there, according to agreement, at Bethsaida, on the shore, while the disciples, in the twilight of the dawn and moonlight, thought that he was walking towards them on the water.

The "walking on the sea" was, on the contrary, according to Julius Baumann, "a vision of the disciples and a sudden encounter with Jesus near the shore, so that he apparently went to meet them."[4] Johann Peter Lange, on the other hand, declares that Jesus was so wonderfully expert in the art of swimming that he quite naturally and with perfect equanimity could walk over the stormy waves, almost identified with the delighted element in harmonious, rhythmical movement.[5] According to Bahrdt, he went to the disciples only on a mighty floating beam, yet in such a way that the beam was not seen by them.

In the opinion of B. Weiss the walking on the water by Peter is "evidently nothing else than a completely transparent allegory of the story of the denial."[6] According to Paulus, it is a question of a hazardous swimming match on the part of the Prince of the Apostles, to whom Jesus stretched his hand from the shore.[7] Fritz Barth sees in it merely an unsuccessful swimming venture of Peter, during which it certainly is "curious" "that for a certain distance he went, like Jesus, on the water, although he was yet not Jesus."[8] According to others, Jesus waded with Simon Peter on a speed wager through the shallow places of the lake!

(4) *The Raising of the Dead.*

The instances of resuscitation from the dead refer us again to the omnipotence of Jesus over nature, as they, on the other hand, let us recognize his absolute supremacy over the human soul. In order to call the dead back to life Jesus had not only to restore the shattered and ruined bodily forces, but also to bring the human soul, which had passed into its eternal state, back to its temporal existence and its corporeal tenement. If such a work is already in itself only possible for God, Jesus, nevertheless, accomplishes it, and that, too, in a thoroughly divine manner, by means of a mere word, at an instantaneous sign and by a pure act of will. Thus the

[1] *Kommentar*, ii, 299, 330; *Leben Jesu*, i, 1, 359.
[2] *id.*, ii, 197.
[3] *id.*, p. 134.
[4] *Die Gemütsart Jesu*, 40 (1908).
[5] *Leben Jesu*, ii, 1, 288.
[6] *id.*, ii, p. 200.
[7] *Kommentar*, ii, 304.
[8] *Hauptprobleme*, 3rd ed., 147.

cases of resuscitation of the dead, as they are narrated in the Gospel, are supernatural divine achievements.

For scepticism to deny this, only one way[1] remained—namely, the assertion that it was a matter of the resuscitation of the apparently and not of the really dead. Criticism hostile to miracles here again proposes precisely the same universal reasons with which it tried to explain by natural means the healing of the sick and the casting out of devils by Jesus' suggestion. Those who were thought dead in the Gospel accounts were, it is alleged, only sick people who had fallen into a lethargy and were startled out of their apparent death or stupor by the powerful exhortation of the Saviour.

Gottlob Paulus[2] was the first to propose this way of escape; Daniel Schleiermacher entered upon it just as decidedly,[3] and since then all the sceptical critics tread it, in so far as they do not absolutely banish those portions of the Gospel to the domain of myths or legends.

The theory of apparent death appeals with great and blind confidence to the fact that in no one of the three reported cases of resuscitation was there a medical certification of death, and that the people could have very easily regarded stupor as death. Basing their theory on this, the critics then boldly assert that the little daughter of Jairus and the young man of Naim and Lazarus of Bethania were really only apparently dead.

Even if we now assume that this assertion is correct nothing is thereby gained for the denial of miracles. No victim of stupor comes back suddenly to normal life and perfect health merely by the effect of suggestion. The raising to life of the apparently dead requires artificial respiratory movements, strong olfactory stimulants, powerful friction, rubbing and brushing of the whole body, stimulating injections, mustard applications, and the like. And even then the cure comes only very slowly. "A stupor which leads to a mistaken supposition of death, and which then suddenly, at a simple word, passes into complete recovery, lies outside the sphere of medical experience."[4] To restore instantly someone who is apparently dead is a miracle as truly as a resuscitation from the dead, and differs from the latter only by a line. The hypothesis of apparent death only exchanges, therefore, one miracle for another.

The confounding of real death with apparent death, moreover, does not occur so easily and so often as our opponents

[1] It is true, another way would be the denial of the historical truth of the reports. To this we cannot here, of course, return.

[2] *Kommentar*, i, 565-568.

[3] *Das Leben Jesu*, 232 f. (Berlin 1864).

[4] Knur, *Christus medicus?* 72.

like to assume. "Even in the deepest stupor the heart still beats (even if very faintly); the breathing continues (even though very lightly); the rigidity of the muscles can at first simulate the rigidity of death, but there are wanting the pallor and chill of the corpse (the temperature of the body is indeed often above normal); also in most cases isolated expressions of life are noticed by the attendants—quivering of the eyelids, change in the direction of vision, and the like. A beloved relative will not easily, in such circumstances, be regarded as dead by his friends and family."[1]

Now by what chance can the dead of the Gospel always have been only seemingly dead? Can they indeed have been falsely reported dead by their nearest relatives without more careful observation? Can Jesus always have had to do, in consequence of most remarkable circumstances, only with cases of stupor? And with all this would he nevertheless have expressly said: "Dead, arise! Dead, come again to life!" (Matt. xi, 5; Luke vii, 22). "As the Father raiseth up the dead and giveth life, so the Son also giveth life to whom he will" (John v, 21).

Everyone can see the absurdity of such suppositions as the above.

A closer examination of the cases of resuscitation of the dead reported in the Gospel convinces us perfectly that in no instance was there only apparent death.

In the case of the little daughter of Jairus[2] the advocates of the hypothesis of apparent death can appeal at least to the fact that Jesus said, the maiden only sleepeth. But he also said of Lazarus "He sleepeth," and when the apostles understood that expression as referring to ordinary sleep, he added: "He is dead."[3] Jesus wishes, therefore, by this expression only to suggest that the child has not become irredeemably the prey of death, and that he can just as easily awaken her from the sleep of death as from the sleep of dreams. Even Strauss ridicules the critics, who suppose that Jesus did not believe the daughter was dead;[4] and Naumann concedes that "in respect to the resuscitation she is in all three (synoptic) reports regarded as dead."[5]

We are not, however, restricted to this. We are, on the contrary, able to follow the gradual approach of death by means of the unusually clear reports of Mark and Luke. First, the father only came to Jesus to implore the touch of Jesus' hand for the child lying in the last extremity that she

[1] Knur, *l.c.*, 73.

[2] Mark v, 21-24, 35-43; Matt. ix, 18-19, 23-26; Luke viii, 41-42, 49-56.

[3] John xi, 11-14. According to Hebrew linguistic usage, the expression "sleep" was, moreover, equivalent to death. See Lightfoot, *Horae hebraicae et talmudicae* on Matt. ix, 24.

[4] *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, ii, 138 f. (1836).

[5] *Wertschätzung des Wunders im N. T.*, 70.

might be saved from death (Mark v, 22; Luke viii, 41).[1] While Jesus was delayed on the way by the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. ix, 20-22; Mark v, 25-34; Luke viii, 43-48) the maiden died. On the way to the house of death the message of sad tidings met the inconsolable father: "Thy daughter is dead; trouble him not" (Mark v, 35; Luke viii, 49). For neither the messenger nor the ruler of the synagogue thought of the possibility of a resuscitation. But Jesus, who heard this speech, encouraged the father of the girl: "Fear not; only believe; and she shall be safe." And when he had come to the house he perceived the noise of those who wept and wailed about the dead maiden. And when he had gone within he said to them: "Why make you this ado and weep? The damsel is not dead, but sleepeth." And they laughed him to scorn, for they knew well that she was dead. But taking the damsel by the hand he saith to her: "Talitha cumi!" (Damsel, arise!) And immediately the damsel rose up and walked. And they were astonished with a great astonishment. And he commanded that something should be given her to eat (Mark v, 36-43; Luke viii, 50-56; Matt. ix, 23-26).

"In the extremely well delineated story of Jairus' daughter," now knowingly observe the explainers of the miracle by natural means, "there is only apparently a resuscitation of the dead. . . . The twelve-year-old maiden probably lay in a lethargic sleep in consequence of a climacteric disease. The command of Jesus to give the child something to eat also points to a condition of weakness. Accordingly, Jesus has indeed kept this young life from the frightful fate of being buried alive."[2] "Jairus' daughter, at an age when in southern countries the nervous system is often morbidly and profoundedly excited, fell into a stupor resembling death; in this state, however, she still fully possessed her faculty of hearing, and her consciousness was clear. . . . The call of Jesus sounded to the child like heavenly music, the convulsion was relieved at the same moment, and the child opened her eyes and gazed on her preserver with a look of profound gratitude, for without him she would have fallen from apparent into actual death."[3] "There is wanting here an exact medical report about the form of the sickness, the apparent death and the return to life. Only this much may be regarded as certain: If the incident had happened among us no doctor would afterwards confess that death had already made its appearance."[4]

[1] Matthew (ix, 18), for the sake of brevity, passes over the statement that the maiden still lived when the father came.

[2] W. Hess, *Jesus von Nazareth,* 41 (Tübingen 1906).

[3] K. Furrer, *Leben Jesu Christi,* 2nd ed., 138.

[4] O. Holtzmann, *Leben* Jesu, 213; similarly, G. Paulus, Schleiermacher, von Ammon, Schenkel, Hase, Ewald, Keim, Neander, and lately Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum,* i, 351, 2nd ed.; Ed. von Hart-

Now there is certainly no telling all that a modern physician is capable of in case he is as firmly pledged to unbelief as certain rationalistic and liberal theologians are. But certainly no unprejudiced man, whether he be physician or layman, will in the case before us decide for an apparent death. Medical science teaches that a case of apparent death can occur in consequence of violent difficulty in breathing (drowning, suffocation, strangling); or through the poisoning of heart and brain by inhaling asphyxiating gases; or by being struck by lightning, by a stroke of apoplexy, by abnormal temperature (freezing), and after severe hemorrhages and convulsions. But apparent death in consequence of a climacteric illness or a morbidly profound excitement of the nervous system in a twelve-year-old child is in any case a diagnosis at which medical science shakes its head incredulously.

Moreover, the course of this illness of the little daughter of Jairus, as it is reported, completely excludes the possibility of an apparent death. The crisis develops step by step from the condition of sickness to a danger of death, and from this to a state of death, as is plainly to be seen from the Gospel. In such circumstances, to make a diagnosis of apparent death, means to put oneself in contradiction to all medical experience.[1]

The resuscitation of the young man of Naim is not so circumstantially reported. We learn nothing of the nature of the sickness, or the circumstances of the death. Luke, to whom we are indebted for the episode, places before us at once the raising to life of the dead youth. One day, the Evangelist tells us, Jesus was going to the little city of Naim, south-east of Nazareth. "And there went with him his disciples and a great multitude. And when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold, a dead man was carried out, the only son of his mother; and she was a widow. And a great multitude of the city was with her. Whom, when the Lord had seen, being moved with mercy towards her, he said to her: Weep not! And he came near and touched the bier. And they that carried it stood still. And he said: Young man, I say to thee, arise. And he that was dead sat up and begun to speak. And he gave him to his mother. And there came a fear upon them all, and they glorified God, saying: A great prophet is risen up among us: and God hath visited his people. And this rumour of him went forth throughout

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mann, *Das Christentum des N. T.*, 27; J. Kreyenbühl, *Ursprung und Stammbaum eines biblischen Wunders*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, 265-276 (1909). Kreyenbühl prefers to ascribe this "magical miracle" to the "indestructible faith of all peoples in magic," and to represent it as an invention of primitive Christianity. Strauss and Baur alive again.

[1] *Cf.* Hasselt, *Die Lehre vom Tod und Scheintod* (1862).

all Judea and throughout all the country round about" (Luke vii, 11-17).

Of course, Gottlob Paulus, Bahrdt, Venturini, Furrer and others are again quickly at hand with the explanation of an apparent death. They say that Jesus at once remarked the stupor, perceived in the youth some sign of life, and on the strength of that whispered to him the encouraging and rescuing words; whereupon the sleeper was startled from his lethargy, and, to the joy of his mother, rose from the bier.

And now let us picture to ourselves this incident with a very lively imagination, for without a warm imagination we shall not succeed. Jesus meets by chance a funeral procession, and at once perceives that it has to do with a man who is only seemingly dead, although such an idea had occurred to no one else and could occur to no one. As he approaches the bier he actually remarks in the apparently dead youth a sign of vitality, although again no one of the attendants of the apparently dead man, not even his own mother, perceives in him a spark of life. He also recognizes with the certainty of divination that the very moment had arrived in which the resuscitation could take place.[1] And finally, with never-failing foresight, he knows that a summons from himself will be sufficient to give again to the seemingly dead youth his full vitality. So then he speaks the resuscitating words, and performs a deed at once unheard of and impossible with merely human power and science.

Who does not see that even a faith sufficient to move mountains is not enough to enable one to accept this explanation of apparent death? It is born of the incurable fear of a miracle of omnipotence, and now it is forced to assume without proof a double miracle of omnipotence and at the same time of omniscience. And in the same breath it casts upon the divine worker of miracles the reproach of having let what was, according to our critics, merely an awakening from coma be praised as a resuscitation from the dead! This whole hypothesis of apparent death is so untrue and thoroughly dishonourable that Strauss,[2] Keim,[3] O. Holtzmann[4] and other sceptical critics make up their minds, rather than adopt it, simply to deny the fact instead of explaining it in this way "naturally."

If Jesus has, in the daughter of Jairus, resuscitated one

[1] Dr. Knur remarks of this: "And the youth of Naim, who is being carried to the city gate on a bier? To what physician did the thought come, He is still alive? How could he know it? What a risk lies in such an experiment! And then, would it also have been exactly the right moment to awaken the man from his stupor?" (*l.c.*, p. 74).

[2] *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, ii, 140-142.

[3] *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*, ii, 475-478.

[4] *Leben Jesu*, 214.

who had just died, and in the young man of Naim one who was being borne to the grave, in Lazarus of Bethania he calls back to life one who has been buried already for several days. This miracle, together with that of Jesus' own resurrection, must be regarded as the sublimest of all, and accordingly gives the greatest anxiety to the advocates of the natural interpretation. The Evangelist John, as an eye-witness, relates the incident with classic clearness and unsurpassable naturalness. "Now there was a certain sick man, named Lazarus, of Bethania, of the town of Mary and of Martha her sister. . . . His sisters, therefore, sent to him, saying: Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick. And Jesus hearing it, said to them: This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified by it. Now Jesus loved Martha and her sister Mary and Lazarus. When he had heard, therefore, that he was sick he still remained in the same place two days. Then after that he said to his disciples: Let us go into Judea again . . . Lazarus our friend sleepeth: but I go that I may awake him out of sleep. His disciples therefore said: Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well. But Jesus spoke of his death: and they thought that he spoke of the repose of sleep. Then, therefore, Jesus said to them plainly: Lazarus is dead. And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, that you may believe. But let us go to him. Jesus therefore came: and found that he had been four days already in the grave. . . . Martha therefore, as soon as she heard that Jesus was come, went to meet him: but Mary sat at home. Martha therefore said to Jesus: Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But now also I know that whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee. Jesus saith to her: Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith to him: I know that he shall rise again, in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus said to her: I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, although he be dead, shall live. . . . Believest thou this? She saith to him: Yea, Lord, I have believed that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, who art come into this world. . . . When Mary therefore was come where Jesus was, seeing him, she fell down at his feet and saith to him: Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. Jesus, therefore, when he saw her weeping, and the Jews that were come with her weeping, groaned in the spirit and troubled himself, and said: Where have you laid him? They say to him: Lord, come and see. And Jesus wept. The Jews therefore said: Behold how he loved him! But some of them said: Could not he that opened the eyes of the man born blind have caused that this man should not die? Jesus therefore again groaning in himself, cometh to the sepulchre. Now it was a cave, and a stone was laid over

it. Jesus saith: Take away the stone. Martha saith to him: Lord, by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days. Jesus saith to her: Did I not say to thee that if thou believe thou shalt see the glory of God? They took therefore the stone away. And Jesus, lifting up his eyes, said: Father, I give thee thanks that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always; but because of the people who stand about have I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me. When he had said these things, he cried with a loud voice: Lazarus, come forth. And presently he that had been dead came forth, bound feet and hands with binding bands. And his face was bound about with a napkin. Jesus said to them: Loose him and let him go" (John xi, 1-44).

Gottlob Paulus, Venturini, Von Ammon, Gabler, Schleiermacher, Ewald, Weizsäcker and other critics, ancient and modern, set to work with the real courage of desperation to explain again even in this instance an apparent death and an apparent resuscitation.[1] They claim that Lazarus had fallen into a stupor, had been believed dead, and prematurely buried in the sepulchre. Although he was said to be dead by even his nearest relatives Jesus reckoned with the possibility of an apparent death, and on the strength of that had positively predicted the resuscitation of his friend. When the grave, after four days, was opened in his presence, he perceived at the first glance that Lazarus still lived. A powerful, animating cry: "Lazarus, come forth," and the man who had been apparently dead stood before the astounded multitude perfectly restored to life. This multitude was convinced that what it saw was an actual resuscitation of the dead, and Jesus confirmed them in their view of the affair in order to bring the people to a belief in his mission and divine sonship.

It must be plain to even the weakest vision that the Saviour is thus branded as a liar and deceiver, and that he makes use of untruth and bad faith in order to further his own and his Father's interests.[2]

[1] K. v. Hase, *Geschichte Jesu,* 509 (1876), issues the "Solomonic" decision that Lazarus had been in a condition midway between death and apparent death. This is about equivalent to Bernhard Weiss's idea, when he says that he indeed rejects the theory of apparent death, but yet assumes that the final separation of the soul from the body had not yet taken place. (*Leben Jesu,* ii, 394.)

[2] Renan had the audacity to assert that this was a case of intentional deception. At the suggestion of the disciples and in collusion with Jesus, Lazarus had allowed himself voluntarily to be buried alive in the sepulchre in order to bring about the comedy of the resuscitation, *Vie de Jésus,* 255-258 (1863). *Cf.* the biting refutation of Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* ii, 86; and A. Nicolas, *La Divinité de Jésus-Christ,* 226 (1864); Freppel, *Examen critique de la Vie de J. C. de M. Renan,* 53 (1864); Fillion, *Les Miracles,* ii, 383. In the later editions of his book Renan omitted this monstrous assertion.

But even apart from this the hypothesis of the apparent resuscitation of an apparently dead Lazarus is palpably false. No one has proved this better than Strauss. The notorious rationalist writes: "Jesus had got it into his head that his friend, whom he found dead, must be—as surely as God did not abandon him—not really dead, but must come back to life at his call: and the result justified the crazy notion. . . . If it was only on chance that Jesus reckoned, and only on an unlikely possibility that Lazarus (already four days buried) could be perhaps merely apparently dead, how could he already at a distance, as well as at the grave itself, speak words which seem like empty braggadocio, if behind them did not stand the certainty that he would be able to give back to his sisters his friend alive?"[1] "And what fictions are further needed to explain partly how Jesus was able to perceive the life which had come back into Lazarus and partly how the latter could return to life again! . . . Jesus must, when still several paces distant, have recognized Lazarus as a living man. By what indications? we must ask, and how so swiftly and surely? And why only he, and no one else? It is suggested that he may have recognized this by some movements. But how easily he could deceive himself in this respect in the person of a dead man lying in a dark sepulchre. How rashly premature, if he, without having first investigated carefully, expressed so quickly and positively the conviction that he was alive. Or, if the movements of the man believed to be dead were violent and unmistakable, how could they escape the notice of the bystanders? Finally, how could Jesus in his prayer represent the coming fact as a countersign of his divine mission, if he were conscious that he had not accomplished the resuscitation of Lazarus, but only discovered it? In proof of the natural possibility of a raising to life of the man already buried there are adduced our ignorance of the full particulars of his supposed death, the custom of the Jews to bury their dead without delay, the cool sepulchre, the strong-smelling spices, and finally the current of warm air which streamed invigoratingly into the sepulchre at the removal of the stone. Yet all these circumstances do not bring us further than the lowest degree of possibility, which is equivalent to the greatest improbability; and with this the certainty with which Jesus announces the result in advance must remain irreconcilable."[2]

And with all this Strauss has not even mentioned the medical impossibility of the hypothesis of an apparent death. Knur expresses himself on this point as follows: "Such a profound stupor (apparent death) develops only gradually. The Jews knew nothing of artificial nourishment. We must,

[1] *l.c.*, pp. 85, 86.
[2] Strauss, *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, ii, 150.

therefore, suppose that Lazarus had lain at home for a considerable number of days without taking food. If we now further imagine that he was enveloped in wraps, immured in a tomb, and remained in it several days this must indeed have given him the finishing stroke. But at the summons of Christ he comes forth living, and in good health; in fact, in such good health that the Pharisees wished to kill the troublesome witness. No case of stupor is healed in this way, and still less does it pass thus into complete health, since it is only one phase of a severe mental disease which runs into fluctuations and sudden changes, and in most cases is cured only imperfectly."[1]

On the faces of the modern critics is plainly written, therefore, desperate anxiety about the apparent death of Lazarus. Only as an act of desperation is it comprehensible that it takes refuge in an allegorical or symbolical transformation of the story of Lazarus. We are informed that it is a question, not of an actual occurrence, but of the didactic form of expression of an idea. We have not to do here with a bodily death and a bodily resuscitation of Lazarus, but of a spiritual death and a spiritual resurrection, thinks Volkmar. In the incident of Lazarus, the "false desires of the senses" are rejected after a bodily resuscitation, and it is shown that there can in any case be only a spiritual resurrection.[2] And the latest Zurich critic, Furrer, supports this immensely naïve notion. According to him, the story of Lazarus means only that Jesus, "the Lord of life, awakens to a new life also the souls over which the putrid odour of extreme depravity and estrangement from God had been disseminated."[3]

Here truly the "higher" criticism and exegesis have reached the climax of absurdity. When unbelief sees itself compelled to take refuge in such tomfooleries, it itself furnishes the best proof that it can do nothing against the resuscitations from the dead mentioned in the Gospel. "If the resuscitations from the dead, as a type of the highest capacity of miraculous efficiency, are an embellishment of the Evangelists," writes a radical investigator, "there is no longer an historical Christ; and the pitiful attempt of certain expositors to interpret the raising of the dead as a parable into the domain of the spiritual is not worth talking about, so long as we cannot also carry over into the spiritual all the blind, deaf, dumb and paralytic whom Jesus healed."[4]

So, after Strauss's honourable acknowledgement in regard to the resuscitations effected by Jesus, there remains only

[1] *Christus medicus*, 73.
[2] Gustav Volkmar, *Die Evangelien oder Markus und die Synopsis der kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien*, 325 (1869).
[3] *Leben Jesu*, 141.
[4] Albert Dulk, *Der Irrgang des Lebens Jesu*, i, 305 (1884).

the alternative, "either to accept the occurrences of the Gospel narrative as supernatural, or, if we find them, as such, incredible, to deny the historical character of the narrative."[1] Strauss and some of his adherents choose the latter; they deny the historical truth of such Gospel texts, and, indeed, admittedly because "they find the resuscitations from the dead incredible." Whoever does not consent to this strangling of history is forced to the confession that Jesus has called back the dead to life, and that he is Lord over life and death.

[1] Strauss, *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* ii, 153.

CHAPTER III

SCIENCE AND CHRIST'S RESURRECTION

EVEN the acts of raising others from the dead performed by Jesus Christ are surpassed by his own resurrection. Together with the creation, no greater act of omnipotence is conceivable than that a dead man, by his own sovereign will and power, should issue from the grave to a new and glorified life of the body. If Jesus has performed this miracle upon himself and by his own power, then God has acknowledged him in the most unmistakable manner and confirmed with the seal of everlasting truth his claim to be the Messiah and the true Son of God. Not only that. Jesus has thereby given the highest and most undeniable proof of his consciousness of being the Messiah and Son of God.

This fundamental value of his resurrection is expressly and decidedly emphasized by the Saviour. To friends and foes he points to the fact of his coming resurrection, and bids them abandon their faith in him in case he should not perform this miracle of all miracles (Matt. xii, 38-40; xvi, 4; John ii, 19-22). The Apostles, also, as will soon be shown, regard the resurrection of the Lord as decisive for the whole preaching of Christ.[1] In fact, even the deniers of the actual resurrection of our Lord are convinced that the fundamental question as to the person and religion of Christ is here at stake. David Friedrich Strauss, the most intellectual and important of all the rationalists, and of whose contribution to the subject critics of the resurrection still constitute themselves the heirs, confesses unequivocally: "The resurrection of Jesus forms the central point, the real heart of Christianity."[2]

It is, therefore, comprehensible that modern unbelief assaults this bulwark of Christianity with really titanic energy, and that faith repels the numberless attacks on the great event of Easter with triumphant conviction and jubilant enthusiasm.

[1] See W. Krüger, *Die Auferstehung Jesu in ihrer Bedentung für den christlichen Glauben* (Bremen 1867); Th. Greiner, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi von den Toten* (Karlsruhe 1869); S. Eck, *Ueber die Bedentung der Auferstehung für die Urgemeinde und für uns*, in *Hefte zur "Christlichen Welt,"* No. 32 (Leipzig 1898); James Orr, *The Resurrection of Jesus*, in the *Expositor*, 7th series, vol. vi, 420-437 (1908); Dunkmann, *Kreuz und Auferstehung Jesu als Grundlagen der Heilsgründe* 53-69 (Leipzig 1909).

[2] Strauss, *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, 125 (Berlin 1865).

It is in itself easy to defend the resurrection to unprejudiced seekers after truth, for whoever does not turn his back upon the New Testament and the earliest history of Christianity is unable to escape the overwhelming impression of the facts of the resurrection. But the apologist's task is indescribably difficult if he undertakes to follow up and refute all the desperate manipulations of history and theories of explanation in modern sceptical literature concerning the resurrection.[1]

We seek to solve the task from the following point of view. The proofs for the resurrection of Jesus lie in the firmly closed circle of three facts: the disciples believed unswervingly in the resurrection of Jesus; the grave of Jesus was found empty on the third day; Jesus appeared to his followers after his death, alive. All the efforts of the enemies of the resurrection resolve themselves into either contesting the

[1] For the older literature on the resurrection, see Steude, *Die Verteidigung der Auferstehung J. Christi* (1888); Horn, *Der Kampf um die leibliche Auferstehung des Herrn*, in *Neue kirchl. Zeitschrift*, xiii, 241 ff. (1902). The new literature is inventoried in the admirable book of E. Mangenot, *La Résurrection de Jésus*, 9-12 (1910). I give below only some supplementary monographs, which have escaped Mangenot, as well as works which have appeared since then, so far as they in general treat of the resurrection; essays on individual questions will be cited in the course of this chapter. Against the resurrection of Jesus are C. T. Gorham, *The First Easter Dawn—An Inquiry into the Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus* (1908); P. Androt, *Jésus-Christ, est-il résuscité?* (1910); L. Coulange, *La Résurrection de Jésus*, in *Revue de l'Histoire et de Litterature Religieuse*, Nouv. Série ii, 145-159, 297-307 (1911). More numerous are the in part Catholic (these are marked with a star), and in part Protestant writings in favour of the resurrection of Jesus: *Julius Müllendorff, S.J., *Der Glaube an den Auferstandenen gemeinfasslich begründet* (1900); H. G. Voigt, *Die ältesten Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (1906); W. J. Simpson, *Our Lord's Resurrection* (1906); *P. Romuald Banz, O.S.B., *Auferstehung* (1908); J. A. Cramer, *Het historisch getuigenis aangande de opstanding van Jezus Christus*, 51-78 (1909); E. Mangenot (see above); W. P. Armstrong, *The Resurrection of Jesus and Historical Criticism*, in the *Princeton Theol. Review*, viii, 247-270 (1910); Alfred Resch, *Der Auferstandene in Galiläa bei Jerusalem* (1911); E. H. Archer-Shepherd, *The Nature and Evidence of the Resurrection of Christ* (1911); *Joseph Muser, *Die Auferstehung Jesu und ihre neuesten Kritiker* (1911); T. J. Thorburn, *The Resurrection Narratives and Modern Criticism*, a critique mainly of Prof. Schmiedel's article *Resurrection Narratives*, in the *Encycl. biblica* (London 1911); H. S. Talbot, *A Study of the Resurrection*, in the *Hibbert Journal*, ix, 571-583 (1911); *E. Jacquier, *La résurrection de Jésus-Christ*, in *l'Université catholique*, lxiii, 162-178, 411-427, 549-571 (1910); lxiv, 72-94; *Tillmann, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Kritik der Osterbotschaft*, in *Theol. und Glaube*, ii, 529-550 (1910)—in spite of its modest title, this numbers among the best that has been written about the resurrection; *P. Hughes, O.M.C., *La résurrection de Jésus-Christ*, in *Études franciscaines*, xxv, 509-523 (1911)—good and independent information regarding modern French literature about the resurrection. The extensive English writings in defence have been called out by the works of the radical P. W. Schmiedel, *Resurrection and Ascension Narratives*, in *Encycl. biblica*, 4039-4089, and of the "conservative" K. Lake, *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (1908).

historical truth of these three facts, or, in case that is impossible, into interpreting the facts themselves by natural means. We shall, accordingly, comment on (I) the historical facts of the resurrection; (II) the "natural" explanations of the resurrection.

I—The Historical Facts of the Resurrection

1. *The Fact of the Belief of the Early Church in the Resurrection.*

(*a*) The belief of the disciples in the resurrection is first of all proved by the Gospels. The concluding chapters of all the Gospels are devoted to the narration of the great event of Easter (Matt. xxviii, 1-20; Mark xvi, 1-20; Luke xxiv, 1-53; John xx, 1-21, 14).

Rationalistic criticism of course sees in this a legendary representation in which, it is true, is portrayed the Easter faith of later times, but not the original Gospel of the facts of the resurrection.[1] We must in reply refer the reader to our former refutation of the legendary hypothesis.

Whoever investigates the Gospels without prejudice will always arrive at the indubitable result—that they contain not a portrait of the Saviour which has been retouched by faith, but the real, historical likeness of him.[2] That this is also especially true of the Gospel accounts of the resurrection has recently been repeatedly demonstrated by Catholic as well as by Protestant scholars.[3] The Gospel reporters, whose love of truth is to-day no longer contested by anyone, stand, moreover, unusually near to the first Church of the resurrection and to the event of the resurrection itself. Matthew was an eyewitness of the Easter incidents and in the circle of the twelve disciples associated with the risen Master. Mark is the interpreter of Peter, the chief apostle, who on Easter day, alone and with others, and later also, beheld the gloriously risen Saviour. Luke can appeal not only to his teacher, Paul, who himself was deemed worthy of a

[1] Thus, for example, express themselves: P. Rohrbach, *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung J. Christi* (1898); Brückner, *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, in *Prot. Monatshefte*, 41-47, 96-110, 153-160 (1899); W. Baldensperger, *Urchristliche Apologie. Die älteste Auferstehungskontroverse* (1909).

[2] See the first volume of this work.

[3] Among others, W. Beyschlag, *Die neueste Zurechtlegung der Auferstehungsberichte*, in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken*, 507-539 (1899); Voigt, *op. cit.*, 42-108; W. C. Wilkinson, *Are the Resurrection Narratives Legendary?* in the *American Journal of Theology*, x, 628-647 (1907); Orr, *The Resurrection*, in *Expositor*, Series v, 233-249, 314-333 (1908); Paquet, *Les récits évangéliques de la Résurrection* (1909); E. Dentler, *Die Auferstehung J. C. nach den Berichten des N. T.*, 3rd ed., 19-30 (1910); Thorburn, *op. cit.*

manifestation of the resurrection, but also to utterances of those "who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" (Luke i, 1-4). Finally, John records again, as a direct eyewitness, his experiences of the resurrection, and assures us: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled of the word of life . . . that we declare unto you" (1 John i, 1-3). The Evangelists stand, therefore, so near to the Easter event that the correctness of their accounts cannot be assailed with any substantial arguments.

According to some critics, however, reservations must nevertheless be made regarding the second half of the second and fourth report (Mark xvi, 9-20, and John xxi), because their derivation from Mark and John is not sufficiently well founded. Undoubtedly, it is claimed, the conclusion of Mark, and that of John as well, are additions to the already existing Gospels. Were these supplements added by the Evangelists themselves, or by a strange hand? Even if the weightiest reasons favour the former supposition,[1] it cannot be proved by compelling evidence.

For the story of the resurrection, however, the question of textual criticism is not of vital importance. In the first place, it is universally recognized that the concluding words of Mark and John were added still in the apostolic era—that is, shortly after the writing of the two Gospels.

Then it is conceded, even by the enemies of the genuineness of the Gospels, that these postscripts come unquestionably from the circle of the disciples. The concluding chapter of the Fourth Gospel has been written "with the approval of John or actually by his order, and based upon his oral instructions."[2] Therefore chapter xxi would be essentially, so far as its contents are concerned, just as much the literary work of the beloved disciple as the rest of the Gospel. The conclusion of Mark would in any case have been composed by Aristion,[3] who, according to the testimony of Papias, was an immediate disciple of Jesus,[4] while Mark probably had not belonged to the circle of the disciples.

Finally, in the third place, Mark and John in their admittedly authentic texts at all events express the fact of the resurrection and the faith in the resurrection as held by the first disciples (Mark xvi, 1-8; John xx, 1-29). Textual

[1] See the *Introductions* to the Gospels by Cornely, Belser and others.

[2] Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii, 483-498 (1899).

[3] According to a statement in a manuscript of the Gospels from the year 989, recently discovered by Conybeare, *Expositor*, iv, 241 ff. (1891). *Cf.* Zahn, *op. cit.*, 227 ff.; E. Riggenbach, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 10 f. (1908); Daniel Völter, *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu*, 45 (1910).

[4] Papias, in Eusebius, *H.E.*, iii, 39, 4, 7, 14.

criticism, therefore, is unable to make any breach in the firm construction of the Gospels' Easter message.

The criticism of the facts is just as little successful. It always appeals to the differences in the Gospel reports. It is true, the four Gospel narratives are not tuned to one pitch. Every Evangelist portrays the episodes, beginning at the tomb of Jesus and ending with the ascension of the Lord, in his own peculiar way, according to the standard of the tradition used by him, of his personal standpoint, and of the purpose of the separate Gospels. Perhaps the Gospels nowhere differ so widely from one another as in the reports of the resurrection. These cannot in any case be put together so as to form an entirely uniform picture of the whole. Even the best attempt to harmonize them will be as little able to accommodate individual inequalities and differences as hostile criticism is able to prove in them positive contradictions. The story of the resurrection is reported by all the Evangelists in entire agreement as regards all essential points; the differences—as Lessing himself, who published, as is well known, the divergences compiled by Reimarus, confesses—concern only insignificant circumstances, trifles and things to which exception can be taken merely by a set of humbugs.[1]

Should the Evangelists' account of the resurrection be regarded as unhistorical because of them? "Who," asks Lessing again, "has ever in profane history allowed himself the same conclusion? If Livy, Polybius and Tacitus relate exactly the same event, the same conflict, or the same siege, each with such different circumstances that the circumstances of one show those of the other to be completely false, has the event itself in which they do agree on that account ever been denied? Now, if Livy, Dionysius, Polybius and Tacitus are treated by us so frankly and nobly that we do not put them on the rack for a single syllable, why then not treat Matthew, Mark, Luke and John also in the same way?"[2]

Far from weakening the historical truth of the accounts of the resurrection these differences strengthen and corroborate the Gospel testimony to the event of Easter. If the Evangelists were to report everything, even to the smallest details, monotonously and uniformly, they would be suspected of mutual collusion. Since, however, they portray the same fact of the resurrection, each in a different light, they prove their literary honesty and independence. This fundamental principle of historical criticism has been already emphasized by Augustine, Jerome and Chrysostom for the synopsis of the Gospels. Whoever is not willing to recognize it furnishes a bad certificate of his own critical knowledge and ability.

[1] *Lessing's Werke*, vol. x, 31, 36, 38, 49, 59, 64 (Stuttgart 1869).
[2] *id.*, 20, 22.

(*b*) The Gospel testimony to the resurrection is, moreover, brilliantly vindicated by the Epistles of St Paul.[1]

The resurrection of Jesus forms an essential part of the Pauline preaching. At every opportunity, in almost all his writings, and under the most varied forms of expression he declares the certainty of the fact of the resurrection, and represents it as the foundation of Christian faith and hope.[2]

That this doctrinal point was not so strongly emphasized by Paul at a later epoch only, but that it belonged from the beginning to his apostolic preaching, is especially evident from the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, which is regarded as the earliest Pauline Epistle. The Apostle to the Gentiles in this Epistle reminds those whom he addresses of the time when he first made them acquainted with the Gospel. The purpose and fruit of that first preaching, he says, consisted in the fact that they "turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised up from the dead, Jesus, who hath delivered us from the wrath to come" (1 Thess. i, 9, 10).

The Acts of the Apostles relates more minutely that Paul preached to the Thessalonians, three Sabbath days in succession, about the resurrection of Jesus, "declaring and insinuating that the Christ was to suffer and to rise again from the dead" (Acts xvii, 2 f.).

Even the type of the earliest preaching of Paul concerning the resurrection is told us: "They that inhabited Jerusalem . . . finding no cause of death in him, they desired of Pilate that they might kill him. And when they had fulfilled all things that were written of him, taking him down from the tree, they laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him up from the dead the third day. Who was seen for many days by them who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who to this present are his witnesses to the people. . . . He

[1] For the Pauline testimony to the resurrection, see E. Riggenbach, *Die Quellen der Auferstehungsgeschichte,* in *Aus Schrift und Geschichte, theol. Abhandlungen,* 147-151 (1898); *Das Zeugnis des Apostels Paulus von der Auferstehung J. Christi* (1900); Arnold Rüegg, *Der Apostel Paulus und sein Zeugnis von J. C.,* 68 ff. (1906); Voigt, *op. cit.,* pp. 20-41; J. H. St Bernard, *St Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection, a Study of* 1 *Cor.* 15, in the *Expositor,* 7th series, v, 403-416, 491-504 (1908); Tillmann, *Die Wiederkunft Christi nach den paulinischen Briefen, Bibl. Stud.,* xiv, 172-182 (1909); S. Protin, *La théologie de St Paul: Jésus crucifié et ressuscité,* in *Revue Augustin.,* 657-671 (1909); Dentler, *op. cit.,* 5-16; Mangenot, *l.c.,* 38-55; N. Bares, *Christi Auferstehung und der hl. Paulus,* in *Pastor Bonus,* xxiii, 449-457, 522-529 (1911).

[2] Rom. iv, 24; vi, 2-11; viii, 10-34; xiv, 1-12; 1 Cor. vi, 14, 15; xv; 2 Cor. i, 9; iv, 14; v, 15; Gal, i, 1; Eph. i, 19-21; ii, 5-7; Phil. iii, 10; Col. ii, 12; iii, 1; 1 Thess. i, 10; iv, 12; 2 Tim. ii, 8; Heb. i, 13; ii, 9; iv, 14; viii, 1; xii, 2; xiii, 20.

raised him up from the dead not to return now any more to corruption" (Acts xiii, 27-34; see also xvii, 31; xxvi, 23).

Still more in detail does Paul speak of the fact, significance and origin of the primitive Christian faith in the resurrection in the fifteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, which, historically and critically considered, furnishes, according to universal consent, the most important report of the resurrection. A conflict had broken out in Corinth over the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. Paul settles this by an appeal to the resurrection of Jesus. The chief passage, to which we shall have to refer frequently, reads as follows: "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached to you, which you also have received and wherein you stand. By which also you are saved. . . . For I delivered unto you, first of all, which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he rose again the third day, according to the scriptures; and that he was seen by Cephas, and after that by the eleven. Then he was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once; of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen by James, then by all the apostles. And last of all he was seen also by me, as by one born out of due time. . . . For whether I or they, so we preach; and so you have believed. Now if Christ be preached, that he rose again from the dead, how do some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ is not risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, then is our preaching vain; and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have given testimony against God, that he hath raised up Christ, whom he hath not raised up, if the dead rise not again. For if the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, your faith is vain; for you are yet in your sins. . . . But now Christ is risen from the dead, the firstfruits of them that sleep" (1 Cor. xv, 1-8; 11-17; 20).

It would be useless to waste even a word here in proving that herewith the resurrection of Jesus is regarded as a cardinal point of Christian faith and of all hope of the future. Highly remarkable, however, is the age and originality of this declaration of Paul.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians, which is considered even by hostile critics as absolutely genuine, dates at the latest from the years 57-58; according to Harnack[1] it was already composed even about 52-53. It was certainly in circulation before even the oldest Gospel had been written.

[1] *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, ii, 238 (1897).

The Corinthian Epistle's doctrine of the resurrection is, however, older than the Epistle itself. The Apostle to the Gentiles appeals to the fact that he had already preached it in exactly the same way at the founding of the Church of Corinth five years before.[1]

Yet he carries his preaching of the resurrection much further back. He expressly remarks that his statements about this are drawn from tradition. And he tells us just as plainly from whom he received this tradition, since he appeals to the original apostles, Peter and James, to the twelve and to the five hundred witnesses to the resurrection. We can even definitely say when he learned this tradition. Three years after his conversion he passed fourteen days in the circle of the disciples at Jerusalem, and was initiated into the apostolic tradition, especially by the two mentioned apostles, Peter and James (Gal. i, 18-20).

Moreover, so far as his personal belief in the resurrection is concerned it extends back still three years more to the moment when Paul himself became a Christian. It was the appearance of the risen Jesus which cast him to the earth on the way to Damascus, and from a persecutor made him an Apostle of Jesus (compare Acts xxvi, 10-20, with 1 Cor. xv, 8). Thereby the Easter message came so much into the foreground of his thinking that his whole subsequent life and activity became a continual testimony to the resurrection of the Lord.

But since Paul's conversion occurred at most from three to five years after the death of Jesus (indeed, according to Harnack even in the year A.D. 30—that is, either in the year of Christ's death, or in the year following)[2] it is proved that the disciples, from the first years on, regarded the resurrection of their Master as an undeniable fact, and proclaimed it.[3]

(*c*) The Acts of the Apostles carries us back even further than Paul's conversion, and informs us of the testimony to the resurrection which the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, gave already on the day of the founding of the Church, and thereafter continued to give all his life. If the speeches of Peter, recorded in the Acts, were not otherwise established already as genuine[4] they would be proved to be historical by Paul's writings on the resurrection, which the Apostle to the

[1] Harnack, *op. cit.*, 236. [2] Harnack, p. 237.

[3] "If it were once assumed that we knew about the resurrection of Jesus nothing, or, at least, nothing reliable, more than what we learn from Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, fifteenth chapter, it would still remain a fact beyond all question that the apostles from the beginning preached the resurrection of Jesus, and on the strength of that message founded the Church"—W. Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i, 447.

[4] Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 101-110, 136-139, 184-186, considers them as "original material," and supposes for them written sources, from which Luke, the author of the Acts, derived them.

Gentiles refers back to Peter (compare Gal. i, 18-20, with 1 Cor. xv, 5, 11).

According to Peter, to be witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus is the principal task of the apostles, and the chief theme of the apostolic message. On the Feast of Pentecost, ten days after the ascension of the Master, Peter came before the Jewish community assembled at Jerusalem with the confession: "Jesus of Nazareth . . . you by the hands of wicked men have crucified and slain. . . . This Jesus God hath raised again, whereof all we are witnesses" (Acts ii, 22-32). In the porch of Solomon, Peter repeats this testimony: "But the author of life you killed, whom God hath raised from the dead: of which we are witnesses" (Acts iii, 15). Brought from prison before the Supreme Council, he stands by his testimony in the face of the whole Sanhedrim: "The God of our fathers hath raised up Jesus, whom you put to death, hanging him upon a tree. Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be Prince and Saviour. . . . And we are witnesses of these things" (Acts v, 30-32). In the house of the Roman centurion Cornelius, Simon Peter makes the same confession before an audience of Gentiles: "We are witnesses of all things. . . . Jesus, whom they killed, hanging him upon a tree, him God raised up the third day, and gave him to be made manifest, not to all the people, but to witnesses preordained by God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him, after he arose again from the dead" (Acts x, 39-41).

Upon this certainty of the resurrection of Jesus, Peter also subsequently builds all hope and all faith (1 Pet. i, 21). For the fact of the resurrection and the graces flowing from it, he praises to the end of his days the Father in heaven: "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who according to his great mercy hath regenerated us unto a lively hope, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (1 Pet. i, 3).

If we summarize these statements about the faith in the resurrection held by the early Church,[1] we must regard three things as incontestably assured.

1. First of all, the fact itself is historically certain that the disciples from the beginning onwards had the conviction and proclaimed it, that Jesus had risen from the dead. Even the most decided enemies of faith in the resurrection cannot avoid seeing this. The first sentence of the radical book of Arnold Meyer reads: "The resurrection of Christ has been, from

[1] For further investigations on this subject, see Theo. Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie*, 123-142 (1908); G. H. Trench, *The Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Christ by the Light of Tradition* (1908); Orr, *The Resurrection*, in *Expositor*, 7th series, v, 233-249, 314-333 (1908); Case, S.J., *The Resurrection Faith of the First Disciples*, in the *Amer. Journal of Theology*, 169-192 (1909).

the beginning onwards, a central point of Christian teaching and one of the principal articles of the Christian faith."[1] Rudolf Otto writes: "It can almost be asserted that no fact in history is better proved . . . than the immovable conviction which the primitive Church had of the resurrection of Christ."[2] Harnack confirms this in the words: "That Christ had risen from the dead was to them [the disciples] as certain as the fact of his death, and was the principal theme in their preaching of him."[3] "The foundation of Christianity," remarks also Julius Wellhausen, "remained the belief in the crucified and resurrected Christ. . . . The faith in the resurrection was never shaken."[4]

2. Moreover, it is historically certain that the content of this faith was the *bodily* resurrection from the dead. For the most part, the modern critics speak of the resurrection with warm unction, but understand by it at best his spiritual, psychical ascent into heaven, chiefly, indeed, only his continued life in the faith of his disciples; indeed, many behold in the resurrection nothing more than a symbol of triumphant humanity. Daniel Schenkel apparently still holds fast to the Easter message, yet gives to it the following new interpretation: "Jesus Christ is truly risen, for he lives in his Church, not bodily, not visible to the senses, not revealed to the earth-bound eye, yet known well by the children of the spirit, always present to the eye of faith, daily and hourly, in the progressive events of world history, as well as in the quiet destinies of human life, proving himself the redeemer of mankind."[5] Harnack gives up "the Easter message of the wonderful event in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea" and "the material miracle," and keeps only an Easter faith without an Easter message. The positive Easter faith is, however, for him only "the conviction of the victory of the crucified one over death, of the power and justice of God, and of the life of him who is the firstborn of many brethren."[6] What this Easter faith means in the language of the moderns is shown us more clearly by A. Meyer. It is not a question, he says, of the resurrection of the body, nor of the spiritual ascension, or the continued psychical life of Jesus, since in any case the possibility of a continuance of human personality beyond the grave is at most to be conceded.[7] The resurrection of Jesus is, according to the new Gospel, only a "picture, a metaphor, of the great historical fact that Jesus and the cause of humanity have triumphed over all enemies . . . and of

[1] *Die Auferstehung Christi*, i (1905).
[2] *Leben und Wirken Jesu*, 4th ed., 59 (1905).
[3] *Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed., i, 81.
[4] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2nd ed., 86 (1911).
[5] *Das Characterbild Jesu*, 2nd ed., 233 f. (1864).
[6] *Wesen des Christentums*, 101 f. [7] Meyer, *op. cit.*, 330-333.

an abiding certainty that there slumbers in mankind, and, indeed, in every one of us, an eternal value which in us and in humanity is to rise again and live for ever."[1] Strauss already severely censured in the older rationalists their ambiguous way of speaking of the resurrection, without really meaning the resurrection; "of employing many words to say nothing, or to say something quite different to what the words signify."[2] The critics are quite at liberty to form their own opinion about the resurrection, but they should then at least acknowledge honourably and clearly that this opinion has nothing in common with the Easter message and the Easter faith of the disciples, and it may be added that these two things are, in spite of all assertions to the contrary, one and the same.

In the sense used by primitive Christianity, the resurrection of Jesus means neither his continued spiritual life in heaven, nor his prolonged life in the faith of the disciples, nor his continued existence in the "cause of humanity," which he has promoted. The resurrection of Jesus means nothing but the bodily resuscitation of our Lord after death, and his glorified rising from the grave. The reports of the resurrection are never weary of emphasizing this—that Jesus has risen from the dead; that he who had been nailed to the cross and laid in the grave had risen thence. He is risen from the dead and become the "firstfruits of them that slept." David prophetically spoke of his resurrection, as Peter quotes him: "Neither was he left in hell; neither did his flesh see corruption" (Acts ii, 31). His resurrection is a symbol and a pledge of our own bodily resurrection. This we are told by the synoptists, and by John, Peter, and Paul. In truth, they could not represent the resurrection of the body more forcibly.[3] That the body of Jesus came forth from the grave in a glorified state, and that the mode of existence of the resurrected body is altogether mysterious, does not need to be discussed here. It is sufficient to know that the holy body of our Lord emerged from the darkness of the tomb to a glorious resurrection.

3. Finally, it is historically certain that, according to the belief of the early Church, Jesus rose on the third day. "According to all the Evangelists," says Strauss, "Jesus, after he had been buried on Friday evening, and had lain in the tomb over the Sabbath, came forth from the tomb with new life in the early hours of Sunday."[4] Paul likewise quotes

[1] *id.*, 336. [2] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, 20th ed., i, 148.
[3] See Steude, *Die Auferstehung J. Christi*, 15-18 (1888); Beyschlag, *op. cit.*, i, 465-467; Jul. Grill, *Untersuchungen über das IV Evangelium*, 71 (1902); Fried. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, 3rd ed., 14 f. (1908).
[4] Strauss, i, 148.

from the tradition of the first apostles that Christ "rose again on the third day" (1 Cor. xv, 3, 4). And Peter affirms of his crucified Master that "God raised him up the third day, and gave him to be made manifest" (Acts x, 40).[1]

"On the third day he rose from the dead"—that article of the Apostles' Creed has not, therefore, come into life gradually; it was from the beginning the common property of the disciples and the whole primitive Church. The preaching of the resurrection in the above sense coincides in point of time with the events of the resurrection themselves. This is an irrefutable fact of history. This fact itself is based, however, on two other facts, which are a guarantee and proof of it—the empty sepulchre and the appearances of the risen Christ to others.

2. *The Fact of the Empty Sepulchre.*

All the documents say that Jesus was, after his death, buried honourably. Paul teaches us in the Acts that "When they had fulfilled all things that were written of him, taking him down from the tree, they laid him in a sepulchre" (Acts xiii, 29). In the Epistles to the Romans and Colossians he likewise emphasizes the burial of the Saviour (Rom. vi, 4; Col. ii, 12), and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians he asserts that all the oldest tradition is security for the statement that "Christ died for our sins, according to the scriptures, and that he was buried" (1 Cor. xv, 3, 4). In all the passages Paul uses the word θάπτω—an expression which, according to New Testament usage, may be understood as referring to an honourable[2] or a really imposing burial (see Luke xvi, 22; Acts ii, 29).

All the Evangelists relate minutely how Jesus was buried (Matt. xxvii, 57-61; Mark xv, 42-47; Luke xxiii, 50-56; John xix, 38-42). If we compare these one with another there results the following representation of the proceeding. Joseph of Arimathea, an esteemed councillor (Mark, John), a secret adherent of Jesus (Matt., John), a rich man (Matt.), a good and just man (Luke), who waited for the kingdom of God (Mark, Luke), begged and received from Pilate the body of Jesus (all four Evangelists), wrapped it in linen (all the Evangelists), placed it in his (Matt.) unused (Matt., Luke, John) sepulchre (all the Evangelists), and closed the entrance with a great stone (Matt., Mark, and later also Luke xxiv, 2, and John xx, 1). Nicodemus, also a member of the Council and a secret disciple of Jesus, assisted in this, and furnished a great quantity of spices, "about a hundredweight," in order to

[1] For the "third day" *cf.* Loofs, *op. cit.*, p. 13 f.; Riggenbach, *op. cit.*, 21 f.; Korff, *op. cit.*, 112-116; Mangenot, *l.c.*, 55-74.
[2] Matt. viii, 21; xiv, 12; Luke ix, 59; Acts v, 6, 9, 10.

embalm the deceased (John). Because this last act could be done only provisionally and hastily on account of breaking the Sabbath rest, the pious women who were present at the burial undertook to make up for this deficiency after the holy day (Mark, Luke). At the instigation of the Jews the sepulchre was meantime sealed, and a Roman guard was ordered to the entrance of the sepulchre (Matt.).

In the accounts of the burial of Jesus, therefore, there are no contradictions to point out. All four Gospels testify in complete harmony to the fact of his burial, and the variation in the reports of subordinate circumstances increases the independence, and therewith the credibility, of the whole Gospel portrayal.[1] No serious critic of history can shut his eyes to this conviction. Only to French modernism, which, as is well known, has lost all moderation and balance, has it been reserved to deny even the burial of Jesus in the sepulchre. What even Strauss[2] and Renan[3] did not regard as permissible, and even the radical investigators of our time[4] do not dare to assume, that Ed. Le Roy is bold enough to surmise, A. Loisy to express, and Paul Le Breton to state, as an event, without the slightest proof—namely, that Christ was buried simply in an unclean place, perhaps in the field of blood (Haceldama) with criminals.[5] This is an assertion for which the term "uncritical levity" is far too mild. In reality, no doubt can possibly arise about the burial of Jesus, unless all the early Christian historical documents are eliminated from the world and replaced by the arbitrary notions of a few Modernists.

This is also true in regard to the finding of the empty tomb. Loisy has well said that whoever concedes the burial of Jesus is compelled also to accept the fact that the tomb of Jesus was found empty on the third day. These two statements go hand in hand, and are supported by substantially the same witnesses.[6] Hence, considered from a purely historical and critical standpoint, it is incomprehensible why

[1] This is fully proved by Korff, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt unseres Herrn J. C.*, 168-177 (1897), against Brandt; Orr, *The Resurrection*, in *Expositor*, 7th series, v, 321-329 (1908), against Lake; E. Dodici, *La sepoltura di Gesù e la critica più recente*, in *Scuola Cattolica*, 4, s. xiv, 201-208 (1909); Jacquier, *La Résurrection de J. Christ*, in *l'Université catholique*, lxiii, 412 (1910).

[2] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 147; ii, 145.

[3] *Vie de Jésus*, towards the close.

[4] Provided we do not consider the unreasonable suggestion of Pfleiderer, comprehensible at most in the old rationalistic period, that it "can" be assumed that the burial of Jesus "could" rest on "legend or allegory"—*Das Urchristentum*, 2nd ed., i, 394.

[5] Le Roy, *Dogme et critique*, 189-192, 201, 210 f., 216 f. (1907); Loisy, *Quelques lettres*, 93 f., 193, 229; *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 104 f., 191, 223; ii, 701-708; Le Breton, *La Résurrection du Christ*, 50-55 (1911). Thoroughly refuted by Mangenot, *l.c.*, 34-38, 189-213.

[6] *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 104 f.

many of our opponents accept the report of the burial, while they reject that of the empty tomb. The reason for this lies evidently, not in an insufficient foundation for it, but in the immense significance of the empty sepulchre. If the empty tomb, defying all natural explanations, is a fact, then the resurrection of Jesus is also an incontestable fact. In order to escape the latter the sceptics seek to deny the former also. The Easter message of the empty tomb, they tell us, was born only subsequently from the belief in the resurrection, and was set in circulation by that faith; it is, therefore, not an historical fact, but a legendary addition. So at least we are taught by Strauss, Harnack, Weizsäcker, Johannes Weiss, A. Meyer, Loisy, P. W. Schmiedel, Spitta and others.[1]

Against this, however, is, first of all, the decisive testimony of the report of the Gospels (Matt. xxviii, 1-8; Mark xvi, 1-8; Luke xxiv, 1-12; John xx, 1-10). Early on Easter morning came Mary Magdalen with other female disciples to the tomb (all the Evangelists) in order finally to embalm the body of Jesus (Mark, Luke). To their great astonishment they found the stone rolled away (all the Evangelists). An angel in the form of a young man, clad in a dazzling white garment (the three Synoptists)[2] announced to them that Jesus was no longer in the sepulchre, but that he had risen (the three Synoptists), and would go before them into Galilee, where he would appear to them (Matt., Mark). The women "went out, and fled from the sepulchre; for a trembling and fear had seized them. And they said nothing to any man" (Mark), except subsequently to the apostles (Matt., Luke). To these, however, "their words seemed like idle tales, and they did not believe them" (Luke).

Nevertheless, to inform himself in regard to what had happened, Peter (Luke) with John (John) hastened to the sepulchre. "And they both ran together; and that other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.

[1] Strauss, *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* ii, 590 ff.; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* 3rd ed., i, 82; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter,* 3rd ed., 4 f.; J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium,* 340 f. (1903); Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi,* 107-116, 120-125 (1905); Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 179; ii, 719-722; *L'Evangile et l'Eglise,* 2nd ed., 117 ff.; Schmiedel, *Das leere Grab Jesu,* in *Prot. Monatshefte,* xii, 12-29 (1908); F. Spitta, *Das verschlossene Grab und die galiläischen Erscheinungen Jesu,* in *Deutschevangelische Monatsblätter* (1910); Heft 4, 213-225. *Cf.,* on the other hand, especially H. J. Holtzmann, *Das leere Grab und die gegenwärtigen Verhandlungen über die Auferstehung Jesu,* in *Theol. Rundschau,* 79-86, 119-132 (1906), refuting Meyer; B. W. Randolph, *The Empty Tomb* (1906); Orr, in *Expositor,* 7th Series, v, 428-449 (1908); Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie,* 142-159 (1908); Mangenot, *l.c.,* 213-227.

[2] Luke mentions, besides the angel who speaks, still another, who was merely a spectator of the proceeding.

And when he stooped down, he saw the linen cloths lying, but yet he went not in" (John). Then came also Simon Peter, following him, and went into the sepulchre, and saw the linen cloths lying (Luke, John), "and the napkin that had been about his head, not lying with the linen cloths, but apart, wrapped up into one place. Then that other disciple also went in who came first to the sepulchre; and he saw and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead" (John).

If we look over this whole report of the four Gospels the harmony with which the fact of the empty tomb is certified is at once evident. All four Gospels relate unanimously that the sepulchre was found empty on Easter morning. All four Gospels agree in mentioning the visit and the recognition of the empty tomb by the women. Luke and John add, in further confirmation, that the utterances of the women were tested by the apostles on the spot and were found correct.

The unanimity of the four accounts in regard to the main thing is still increased by the mutual differences in subordinate points. Since the days of Reimarus and Lessing attention has been numberless times called to the fact that every Evangelist here goes his own way. "In John," remarks Reimarus, "Mary Magdalen goes alone to the sepulchre; in Matthew, Mary Magdalen and the other Mary; in Mark, Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James and Salome; in Luke, Mary Magdalen, Joanna and Mary the mother of James, and others with them. Matthew says only that Mary went to see the tomb; Mark, that they came and anointed him; Luke, that they brought spices which they had prepared; John says nothing about the reason of Mary's going." These and similar variations[1] show again that the Evangelists impart the message of the empty tomb, each on his own account and independently, in accordance with different sources. All the original sources used by them and all the accounts agree, however, in the fact that the sepulchre of Jesus was found empty. Nowhere is there to be found a trace of any other tradition. So far as the recollection of the Evangelists and that of their authorities go back they always come upon the tidings of the empty tomb.

But the Evangelists and their authorities, who were for the most part still alive when the Gospels were written, were immediately connected with the facts of Easter. Matthew

[1] That they contain no conradiction is proved by Belser, *Die Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens, der Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt unseres Herrn,* 466 (1903); Ad. Cellini, *Gli ultimi capi del tetramorfo e la critica razionalistica, cioè l'armonia dei quattro Evangeli nei racconti della risurrezione* (1906); Disteldorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu Christi,* 67-72 (1906); Orr, *l.c.,* 434-441; Jacquier, *l.c.,* 417-427.

received his information about the empty tomb in the very circle of the apostles, and on Easter day itself. The report of John, however, "with its minute exactness and picturesque clearness, lets us recognize in every line the eyewitness."[1] It would be uncritical, after all this, to assert that the Gospel reports of the empty tomb are subsequent legendary fancies.

Sceptical investigation sees itself actually limited to playing off St Paul against the Gospels in dealing with this point. Weizsäcker and P. W. Schmiedel definitely claim that Paul has not yet known of the tidings of the empty tomb.[2] A. Meyer does not dare to make so pronounced a statement. He says: "Paul has not known, or at least has not acknowledged, such stories as we now read in our Gospels."[3] H. Holtzmann thinks it is possible that Paul did know of the empty tomb.[4] Formerly Harnack said boldly that the empty tomb "is absolutely impossible on account of the way in which Paul, in 1 Cor. xv, has described the resurrection."[5] To-day, however, he writes much more conservatively: "Has the Apostle (Paul) known the message of the empty tomb? Distinguished theologians doubt it, but to me it is probable; yet complete certainty of it cannot be acquired."[6] The "retrograde movement toward tradition" makes itself felt, however, more and more on this point also. One can, without being a prophet, predict that soon no serious critic will any longer doubt that Paul was just as well informed and convinced of the empty tomb as were the Evangelists.

Truly, only the investigator who leaves out of consideration the cardinal point of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection can shut his eyes to this knowledge. Crucified, dead and buried, and on the third day risen and revealed—of none of these sentences can the testimony of Paul be shaken. "I delivered unto you first of all, which I also received: how that Christ died for our sins . . . and that he was buried: and that he rose again the third day . . . and that he was seen" (1 Cor. xv, 3-5). "When they had fulfilled all things . . . taking him down from the tree, they laid him in a sepulchre. But God raised him up from the dead the third day. . . . He raised him up from the dead, not to return now any more to corruption, . . . David slept, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption. . . . But he whom God hath raised from the dead saw no corruption" (Acts xiii, 29, 34-37). "Christ is risen from the dead, the firstfruits of them that

[1] Belser. For the report given by John of the resurrection in general, see the admirable statements of Askwith in the *Expositor*, 7th series, ix, 89-96, 132-138 (1910).
[2] Weizsäcker, *op. cit.*; Schmiedel, *Das leere Grab, l.c.*, 22.
[3] *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 25.
[4] Holtzmann, *Das leere Grab, l.c.*, 128.
[5] *Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed., i, 82.
[6] *Wesen des Christentums*, 102.

sleep," who all, like him, shall one day rise from the grave (1 Cor. xv, 13-22). As the seed is put into the earth, in order soon to come forth to a new, fruitful life, so also Christ and his followers in death, the grave and resurrection (1 Cor. xv, 35 ff.). "The faithful are" buried together with Christ, in order "to rise again with him" "through the operation of God who hath raised him up from the dead" (Rom. vi, 4; Col. ii, 12).

These and similar expressions and comparisons of the Apostle to the Gentiles absolutely exclude the remaining of Jesus in the tomb.[1] That the sepulchre of Jesus was found empty on the third day is a presupposition without which the Pauline preaching of the resurrection would be wholly incomprehensible.

The same must also be said of the faith in the resurrection and of the proclamation of the resurrection in the whole early Church. It is a fact that the disciples, from the third day after the death of Jesus, believed in his bodily resurrection, and that they soon, after the first festival of Pentecost, proclaimed with the greatest confidence to friends and foes the resurrection of their Master. Even supposing that their faith had arisen only by reason of the appearances of Jesus, how would it have been able to maintain and prove itself in the face of a closed tomb? Would not the sealed sepulchre, which hundreds passed daily, have given of necessity an emphatic denial to their faith in his resurrection? Would not the mouldering body of Jesus have of necessity stifled their joy over his resurrection, and have completed the overthrow of the last of the prophets? And how would the disciples have ever dared to go before their enemies with their preaching of the resurrection without first assuring themselves of the emptiness of the sepulchre?

But should the inspection of the tomb by the disciples have been neglected through reprehensible and foolish carelessness, would it not have been all the more carefully undertaken by the Jews? "You have killed the author of life: whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses." This fearful accusation the apostles cast continually in the faces of the Jews. And would they have endured that when a simple reference to a still closed tomb would have sufficed to accuse the community of disciples of being liars, and to avert the frightful charge contained in the news of the resurrection with a wave of the hand?

But we seek in vain for any such repudiation of the Easter message. The Jewish hierarchy never came forward with the assertion that the body of Jesus was still in the sepulchre. On the contrary. The official charge made against the disciples

[1] See Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 7-12; Tillmann in *Theologie und Glaube*, ii, 536-538 (1910).

was that they had stolen the body of Jesus (Matt. xxviii, 12-15). So absolutely sure were the Jews themselves that Jesus lay no longer in the sepulchre.

The testimony for the tomb having been found empty is, therefore, as valid as it is possible to make it. The Gospels, Paul, the early Church, the Jews and all the documents are one on this point. It is an incontrovertible fact, writes Daniel Schenkel, "that in the early morning of the first day of the week which followed the crucifixion the grave of Jesus was found empty."[1] And even the far more radical denier of the resurrection, Daniel Völter, comes to the result that—"The verification of the empty tomb on the third day is, however the fact may be explained, the surest ingredient in the history of the resurrection."[2]

3. *The Fact of the Appearances After the Resurrection.*

The appearances of the Risen One form the second pole of the faith in the resurrection held by the early Church. The Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul report with unbroken unanimity that Jesus, after his death, was seen again alive by his disciples.[3]

The undeniableness of this fact is, therefore, evident. To be deceived or led astray in regard to the appearances connected with the resurrection was still less possible than it was in reference to the fact of the empty tomb. The circle of the direct witnesses of the appearances was indeed incomparably greater. It included the whole early Church. Not only the apostles, but the one hundred and twenty believers at Jerusalem (Acts i, 14), and "more than five hundred brethren" from Galilee (1 Cor. xv, 6), had seen the risen Saviour. Of these persons only some had fallen asleep, the most, however, were still living, when Paul wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians about the year A.D. 57. When the synoptists—at the latest, in the sixties—composed their reports of the appearances, at least half of those persons were still alive.[4] That some were present even

[1] *Das Charakterbild Jesu,* 3rd ed., 231.

[2] *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu,* 3-31 (1910).

[3] For the appearances of the risen Lord, see, together with writings already cited, M. Romberg, *Jerusalem, und Galilaea,* in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift,* 287-317 (1901); H. Lesêtre, *Jesus réssuscité,* in *Revue du Clergé français,* lii, 241-263 (1908); W. H. Furton, *How the Resurrection Narratives explain one another,* in *Expositor,* 7th series, vii, 442-449 (1909); J. A. Cramer, *De berichten aangande de verschijningen van Jesus Christus,* in *Theol. Tijdschrift,* liv, 189-222 (1910); H. B. Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord after his Passion* (1910).

[4] See the interesting reckoning made by Korff on the ground of the latest statistics of mortality, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie,* 36-39, 109-112.

down to the composition of the Fourth Gospel, the Evangelist John, who was still living, personally assures us.

Thus the New Testament writers have here reported universally known and universally verified things; they write out of the life, and for the life, of the original Church.[1] What O. Holtzmann says in regard to 1 Corinthians xv is also true of the accounts of the appearances in general: "For the actuality of the appearances of the risen Jesus to his disciples we have documentary evidence, and we must believe it if we still wish to believe human testimony at all."[2]

If we gather together the original material pertaining to this subject, we obtain the following result concerning the appearances after the resurrection in regard to time, place and persons:

1. On Easter morning Jesus first appears to Mary Magdalen by the open tomb. He asks her why she weeps. She, however, supposing him to be the gardener, replies: "Sir, if thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." Then the Lord speaks her name: "Mary." With the joyful cry: "Rabboni" (Master), she falls down before him, and wishes to touch his feet to ascertain whether he is not an intangible spirit. "Do not touch me," Jesus exclaims to her, "for I am not yet ascended to my Father. Go to my brethren and say to them, I ascend to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God" (John xx, 15-17; Mark xvi, 9).

2. Soon after this, the other women also, it would seem, on their return from the sepulchre to the city, had also a manifestation of the Lord (Matt. xxviii, 9). But it is possible that Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalen and the other women at the same time. In that case, the first two appearances would have to be condensed into one, in which Mary Magdalen was especially favoured.

3. In the course of Easter day the Lord appears to the Prince of the Apostles, Peter (1 Cor. xv, 5; Luke xxiv, 34).

4. In the afternoon of Easter day two disciples, one of whom was named Cleopas, are making a pilgrimage to Emmaus. On the way Jesus joins them, and seeks to comfort them by explaining to them the passages of Scripture referring to the death and resurrection of the Messiah. They recognize the Lord only at the breaking of bread in the inn (Luke xxiv, 13; Mark xvi, 12).

5. As the disciples who had gone to Emmaus late in the evening of Easter arrive in Jerusalem again, they are

[1] And in view of these facts, A. Meyer dares to assert (pp. 66, 158, 159, 163, 171, 177, 188, 214) that in the early Church at that time, "when the period of written reports began," nothing more was known of the appearances of the risen Jesus, or, at least, nothing positive.

[2] *Christus*, 118 (Leipzig 1907).

received by the apostles with the joyful news: "The Lord is risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon." While the two happy disciples also are relating their experience, Jesus suddenly stands in the midst of them, and speaks to them the old familiar greeting: "Peace be to you." They are frightened, and think that they are beholding a spirit; but he shows them his hands and his feet with the wounds still visible, that they may touch them; eats with them; and recalls to them the parting words which he spoke to them before his death; speaks with them about the kingdom of God, and imparts to them the power of forgiving sins (Luke xxiv, 36-49; John xx, 19-23; Mark xvi, 14; 1 Cor. xv, 5).

6. Thomas only had been absent on that Easter evening. When he heard from the others what they had experienced and seen, he shook his head in doubt, and said: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the place of the nails, and put my hand into his side, I will not believe." Then, eight days after Easter, when the disciples were again assembled, and Thomas with them, Jesus comes again into their midst, passing through the closed doors, greets them, and turns to Thomas with the words: "Put in thy finger hither and see my hands. And bring hither thy hand and put it into my side. And be not faithless, but believing." Thomas, overwhelmed, falls down before him with the cry: "My Lord and my God" (John xx, 24-29).

7. After Easter week had passed the disciples returned to their home in Galilee, and here the Lord appeared on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias to seven of them. These were Peter, Thomas, Nathanael (Bartholomew), the sons of Zebedee, John and James (the elder), and two other unnamed disciples. Jesus eats bread and fish with them, and confers upon Peter the position of Chief Bishop of the Church (John xxi, 1-23).

8. To this "third" appearance of Jesus to the apostles is connected a fourth on a mountain in Galilee. The twelve were thereby endowed with full power to baptize, to preach and to work miracles in the name of Jesus (John xxi, 14; Matt. xxviii, 16-20; Mark xvi, 15-18).

9. Somewhat later the Saviour rejoiced a great number of believers with his presence, according to the report of Paul: "Then was he seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep" (1 Cor. xv, 6).

10. Then "he was seen by James" the Less (1 Cor. xv, 7).

11. On the fortieth day after the resurrection he appears to the apostles assembled in Jerusalem, leads them to the Mount of Olives, and ascends to heaven before their eyes (Luke xxiv, 36; Acts i, 4; Mark xvi, 19; 1 Cor. xv, 7).

12. Some time after Jesus reveals himself, near Damascus, to the Pharisee Saul, converts him, and chooses him to be the Apostle to the Gentiles. This was the last appearance of the risen Lord, according to the words of Paul: "And last of all, he was seen also by me, as by one born out of due time" (1 Cor. xv, 8).

Opposite is the list of the resurrection appearances, as results from a comparison of all the Gospel and Pauline accounts.[1]

Presumably the sacred writers have not with this list exhausted the number of resurrection appearances which really occurred. The Acts of the Apostles remarks expressly: that to the Apostles Jesus "showed himself alive after his passion by many proofs, for forty days appearing to them and speaking of the kingdom of God" (Acts i, 3). It is evident that the different reporters, each according to his choice and the purpose of his representation, made a selection from these "many proofs." One adheres by preference to the first, another to the later proofs; one favours the "official" appearances granted to the apostles, while another mentions also those with which the women or other believers were honoured; this one pays more regard to the appearances which took place in Judea, that one to those which occurred in Galilee.

But precisely here criticism comes to the attack. Because it cannot controvert the fact of the resurrection appearances it wishes at least to pave the way for their natural explanation, which, wherever it is possible, explains everything away as subjective hypnosis and imagination. This is psychologically easier to do the further away the appearances are from the tomb of Jesus in respect to time and place. For that reason our opponents divide the accounts of the resurrection into two groups—those which contain only the later appearances in Galilee and those which mention also the appearances that occurred after the morning of Easter in Jerusalem and in Judea in general. Then they place the Galilean tradition over against the Jewish one, and assert that the former is original and genuine, while the latter is based upon a later legendary formation.

This parcelling out of the reports of the resurrection is a "homologoumenon," or "a thing agreed upon," by the whole school of sceptical criticism of modern times. Pfleiderer sums it up typically in the words: "In the oldest tradition (Mark as far as xvi, 8) an appearance of Jesus at Jerusalem was not thought of at all; only Galilee was

[1] More exact discussions and representations are offered especially by W. Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, ii, 474-493; A. Nebe, *Die Auferstehungsgeschichte* (1882); F. W. Farrar, *Life of Christ* (trans. by Walther); John Belser, *Geschichte des Leidens*, 455-512.

APPEARANCES AFTER THE RESURRECTION.

Place.	*Time.*	*To Whom.*	*Matthew.*	*Mark.*	*Luke.*	*John.*	*Paul.*
Judea and Jerusalem	Easter Morning	Mary Magdalen		xvi. 9		xx. 11 *ff*	
		The Women	xxviii. 9 *f*				
	Easter Day	Peter			xxiv. 34		1 Cor. xv. 5
	Easter Afternoon	Disciples (Emmaus)		xvi. 12	xxiv. 13-33		
	Easter Evening	The Eleven (without Thomas)		xvi. 14	xxiv. 36-49	xx. 19-23	1 Cor. xv. 5
	In Octave of Easter	The Eleven (with Thomas)				xx. 24-29	
Galilee	From ten to forty days after Easter	Seven Disciples at the Lake of Tiberias				xxi. 1-23	
		The Apostles on the Mountain	xxviii. 16-20	xvi. 15-18			
		Five Hundred Brethren					1 Cor. xv. 6
		James					1 Cor. xv. 7
Jerusalem	The Ascension	The Disciples		xvi. 19	xxiv. 44-51 Acts i. 4-9		1 Cor. xv. 7
Damascus		Paul					1 Cor. xv. 8

assumed to be the scene of them. Later, however, together with the Galilean tradition, there probably circulated also legends of the appearances of Christ, which had taken place in and near Jerusalem, especially to Mary Magdalen. Proceeding from this group of legends, Luke and John had also transferred the appearances to the eleven disciples to Jerusalem, yet thereby put themselves in contradiction to the Galilean tradition. Matthew, on the other hand, held on to this Galilean tradition as the oldest and best authenticated, yet did not wish, in accordance with his conservative and conciliatory character, to pass over the Jewish tradition, and therefore related the appearance to the two Marys on the way back from the tomb. The counterpart to this combination is shown in John's Gospel, which in chapter xx, following in Luke's footsteps, has retained the Jewish tradition, yet in chapter xxi has appended also the Galilean tradition.[1] Is this estimate and judgement of the reports of the resurrection historical or arbitrary? Is it permissible to say that only the Galilean appearances are genuine, while the Jewish ones are to be excluded?[2]

Our opponents answer this question in the affirmative, appealing to the original determination of Jesus to manifest himself to his disciples first in Galilee. Before going to his death the Saviour had expressly uttered this determination: "After I shall be risen again, I will go before you into Galilee" (Matt. xxvi, 32; Mark xiv, 28). The angel of the resurrection reminds the women of this at the tomb: "Behold, he will go before you into Galilee. There you shall see him, as he told you" (Matt. xxviii, 7, and Mark xvi, 7). "Remember how he spoke unto you, when he was yet in Galilee" (Luke xxiv, 6). Jesus himself immediately afterwards repeated the same commission to the women at the sepulchre: "Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee. There they shall see me" (Matt. xxviii, 10).

[1] *Das Urchristentum*, 2nd ed., i, 600, 395, 466. Against Pfleiderer, see A. Meyenberg in *Schweizer. Kirchenzeitung*, Nos. 6-10 (1910).

[2] The attempt has recently been made to do away with this "Galilean" hypothesis by a contrary, but equally one-sided and violent "Jerusalem" hypothesis. By means of an exegetical bold stroke, the Galilee of the reports of the resurrection has been transformed into a place situated near Jerusalem, and Judea has thus been made the exclusive scene of all the resurrection appearances. The advocates of this idea are Rudolf Hofmann, Alfred Resch, Johann Lepsius, Thomson, M. Kähler, Kresser. (*Cf.* the literary reports in Alfred Resch's *Der Auferstandene in Galiläa bei Jerusalem*, 3-4, Gütersloh 1911; Mangenot, *l.c.*, 266). It breaks down, however, at once before the fact that the N. T. knows only one Galilee, and understands by this the northern province of Palestine, the home of Jesus and the apostles. For the thoroughgoing refutation of the *Galiläa bei Jerusalem*, see Meyer, *op. cit.*, 95-100; Mangenot, *l.c.*, 265-267, and especially Th. Zahn, *Der auferstandene Jesus in Galiläa*, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, xiv, 770-808 (1903).

From these texts it certainly is evident that Jesus intended to appear to his disciples first in Galilee. But his intention was frustrated by the fact that the women in their fear and fright did not dare at once to deliver the message given them (Mark xvi, 8). And when they finally found courage to do so the disciples regarded it as "idle tales, and they believed them not" (Luke xxiv, 11). So Jesus, in order to attain his purpose, had personally to go to the disciples, and by several appearances to overcome the unbelief of the eleven, of the two disciples at Emmaus, and of Thomas, so as to prepare the way for the plan of the Galilean evidence for his resurrection.

The original intention of Jesus to appear to the disciples first in Galilee does not, therefore, exclude the fact that he could, nevertheless, in reality appear to them first in Judea. Modern criticism is playing a thoroughly unfair game when it uses that original intention as a decisive means of eliminating from the sources all the appearances of our Lord in Judea. These sources must, rather, be searched without prejudice for an answer to the question whether Jesus has revealed himself to his disciples only in Galilee and Jerusalem.

As a matter of fact, all the sources—Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and Paul—report appearances in Judea. A mere glance at the list we have given above shows this, and all the attempts of our opponents to unmask the Judean appearances as a later addition fail lamentably.

Mark, on whom our opponents in this affair first of all rely, gives us, it is true, only one Galilean and three Judean appearances. The critics, however, as we all know, reject the canonical conclusion of Mark's Gospel, in which these appearances stand, and replace it by another with only the Galilean appearances. But everyone sees how audacious and arbitrary such a reconstruction is. Whatever may be thought about the origin of the canonical conclusion of Mark's Gospel it certainly is to be preferred to all the modern substitutes.[1] Moreover, these contradict the solution of the synoptic problem advocated by our opponents. Mark is heralded as the oldest Gospel, with the additional statement that it has been used almost throughout by Matthew and Luke. The critics must, accordingly, reason back from Matthew's and Luke's accounts of the resurrection to the report of Mark's copy. But then this certainly had no exclusively Galilean character, because the first and third Gospels also had none.

Matthew reports one Judean as well as one Galilean appearance of the resurrected Jesus. Our opponents let the latter stand, but eliminate the former merely according to the

[1] *Cf.* Zahn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament,* ii, 232 ff.

standard of preconceived opinions. According to Pfleiderer, Matthew, "in harmony with his conservative and conciliatory character, did not wish to pass over the Judean tradition, in spite of his conviction of the exclusive correctness of the Galilean tradition." Harnack, however, remarks without any further proof: "The (Judean) appearance of Jesus in Matt. xxviii, 9, 10 . . . is in my opinion a subsequent addition."[1]

Luke mentions in his Gospel only the Judean resurrection appearances to Peter, to the Emmaus disciples, to the eleven and to the company present at the ascension. The omission of the Galilean proofs corresponds entirely to the geographical plan of his book. The Galilean period of the life of Jesus serves him only for a preparation and a passage-way. "From Galilee to Jerusalem," that is his line of progress, and after the narrator has once come to the events in Jerusalem he no more leaves the holy city, not even to mention the resurrection appearances in Galilee.

That he was well acquainted with these, however, and took them for granted is proved by the Acts of the Apostles, which is, so to speak, the second part of Luke's Gospel. Here the Evangelist expressly remarks that Jesus "showed himself to the apostles "alive after his passion by many proofs; for forty days appearing to them" until the day of his ascension, on which he "commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but await the coming of the Holy Ghost" (Acts i, 2-4). Luke leaves thus a wide interval of time for Galilean appearances. Against his Jerusalem narratives, and especially against the Emmaus report, which is the special property of Luke,[2] the critics are not able to bring forward even a plausible argument.[3] In their lack of reasons, they accuse him of having committed a "literary imposture" in favour of the Jerusalem tradition,[4] or they actually advise autocratically calling him the advocate of the exclusively Galilean hypothesis, by inserting in his narrative of the Emmaus disciples, "instead of Emmaus, the words Galilee and Capharnaum, or Bethsaida."[5]

In the twentieth chapter of his Gospel, John relates three Judean appearances—to Mary Magdalen, to the apostles without Thomas, and to the apostles with him; in the twenty-first chapter, he adds an appearance in Galilee by the Sea

[1] *Lukas der Arst*, 157, note 1.

[2] Only Mark refers to the story of Emmaus in xvi, 12.

[3] S. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte*, 19-35; Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie*, 72-75; Mangenot, *l.c.*, 273 f.

[4] Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 167 f.: "La substitution de Jérusalem à la Galilée comme théâtre des apparitions . . . n'en ressemble pas moins à un escamotage littéraire."

[5] Völter, *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu*, 39.

of Tiberias. Both traditions of the appearances are vouched for, therefore, by the eyewitness, John. The critics wish to weaken this fact by the assertion that John is only making an attempt to combine both traditions. But even if that were conceded, he nevertheless speaks out plainly and in the first passage for the Judean appearances. According to him, these took place earlier and were earlier testified to than were the Galilean ones.

Paul, however, the oldest reporter and also the one recognized by our opponents as absolutely reliable,[1] has long before assured us of the same thing. He reminds the Corinthians: "I have delivered unto you first of all which I also received . . . that Christ rose again on the third day . . . and that he was seen by Cephas, and after that by the eleven. Then he was seen by more than five hundred brethren at once, of whom many remain until this present, and some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen by James, then by all the apostles. Last of all he was seen also by me" (1 Cor. xv, 3-8).

The theology of the critics asserts almost without exception that Paul evidently gives mathematically the exact number of all the resurrection appearances, and it thereby contests, not only the first appearance to the women, but also several later ones reported in the Gospels. On the other hand, Korff remarks concisely and well: "Paul cannot possibly have intended to give a documentarily exact report about the manifestations of Christ. In 1 Corinthians xv, the apostle has not assumed the task of writing a history of the appearances, but that of bringing to the Corinthians, from the appearances, the positive proof of the resurrection of Christ. Moreover, it could not be so important for him to give the absolutely complete number of the appearances, as to furnish reliable security of their truth. What was much more essential for his argument than the number of the appearances was the authority, or the imposing group of witnesses to them. From this point of view it was a matter of no consequence whether the list of manifestations could be increased by the experiences of Mary Magdalen, of the Emmaus disciples, or of any other appearance. Yet in these circumstances no one is justified in declaring that an appearance is unhistorical because it is not mentioned by Paul in 1 Corinthians xv,"[2] whether it is now assigned to Judean or Galilean territory.

But how is it with the scene of the appearances expressly named by Paul? Although the Apostle to the Gentiles has not localized a single one of them, the first two must never-

[1] Thus, for example, in Meyer, *l.c.*, 125.

[2] Korff, *op. cit.*, 15. *Cf.* v. Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 27; Tillmann, in *Theol. und Glaube*, ii, 533 f (1910), proves that Paul in connection with 1 Cor. xv could not mention the appearance of the women.

theless have taken place in Judea.[1] The strictly chronologically arranged report of Paul consists of two sharply differentiated parts. The second of these begins with the appearance before "more than five hundred brethren" and refers to Galilee, for Jesus had at that time in Jerusalem, at the date of the ascension, only about one hundred and twenty disciples (Acts i, 14-15). The first part, however, with the appearances of Christ to Cephas and the apostles, is directly connected, grammatically and chronologically, with the resurrection on the third day: "He rose again the third day, and was seen by Cephas and after that by the eleven." Only by reason of the appearances which occurred on Easter day could the tradition originate that Jesus rose on the third day.

If, however, the first appearances did take place on Easter day, as Paul and all the Gospels report,[2] then the scene of them was not Galilee, but Jerusalem. The apostles, who were still in Jerusalem in the night from Thursday to Friday during the arrest and condemnation of Jesus, could not have arrived early on Sunday in Galilee. This province lies fully three days' journey from Jerusalem, while the fugitive disciples would have had only one day, in that case, at their disposal. On Friday evening began the great Sabbath, and travelling was then forbidden.[3] The supposition of our opponents that the disciples fled from Gethsemani to their provincial home immediately[4] is, moreover, "nothing more than an inglorious historical invention of the theology of the critics,[5] "an untenable fabrication of criticism."[6] It is disproved by all the Gospels.[7] In fact, Mark xvi, 7, on which the whole anti-Jewish hypothesis is supposed to rest, takes it for granted that the disciples were still in Jerusalem on Easter day, and that the resurrected Jesus, far from following them, went before them to Galilee. Only at the end of the Easter octave and of the feast of unleavened bread might the Jew leave the capital. Only then, after all the apostles and all the disciples present in Jerusalem had been brought to a faith in the resurrection of the Master, could nothing more retain them from entering on the journey to Galilee, which had been commanded. In complete harmony with this, the appearances in Judea cease after the eighth day after Easter, and soon after the appearances in Galilee begin.

[1] Strauss, Hilgenfeld, Holsten, and lately Loofs and Loisy try to gain support for the Galilean territory hypothesis and the one-sided Galilean hypothesis. *Cf.* Mangenot, *l.c.*, 95-102.

[2] Matt. xxviii, 9; Mark xvi, 9, 12, 14; Luke xxiv, 13-49; John xx, 19-23.

[3] Matt. xxiv, 20 shows that Jesus and the disciples observed it strictly.

[4] The passage in Mark xiv, 50, supposed to prove it, says nothing of the sort.

[5] Korff, *op. cit.*, 196. [6] Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, 3rd ed., i, 438.

[7] Matt. xxviii, 7, 10; Luke xxiii, 49; John xviii, 15-18, 25-27; xix, 26.

The asserted contradictions and disagreements in the reports of the early Christians about the resurrection appearances exist, therefore, only in the minds of the critics. It is true only that the same appearances are not related by all the reporters. But all the narratives are perfectly consistent with one another. All of them tell us that Jesus "after his passion appeared to the apostles, and showed himself to them alive by many proofs." All of them also are agreed that these proofs began on Easter day at Jerusalem, that they were continued in Galilee, and—apart from the Damascus incident—ended with the ascension of Jesus.

Therewith the firm circle of facts concerning the resurrection is closed. The primitive Church was convinced irrefutably of the resurrection of Jesus. The tomb of Jesus was found empty on the third day; Jesus appeared to his disciples as one who had risen from the grave. That not one of these facts can be doubted we have previously proved. That none of them can be explained by natural means—that is, without the actual resurrection of Jesus—remains to be demonstrated.

II.—The Natural Explanations of the Resurrection

1. *The Natural Explanation of the Faith in the Resurrection.*

After Easter the disciples were absolutely convinced of the resurrection of their Master. Their conviction was based upon the appearances of the risen Jesus, a counterproof of which was always the empty sepulchre. The origin of the faith in the resurrection is thus at once explained. But, as is well known, the sceptical critics do not accept this explanation. They see in the Easter appearances, as we shall soon discover, merely imaginary visions on the part of the disciples. Such visions cannot, however, have produced the faith in the resurrection, but they themselves were produced by it. The faith in the resurrection is not a product, but a presupposition and birthplace of the alleged hallucinations or visions. The origin of the faith in the resurrection becomes thus a riddle, which must be solved by sceptical criticism. This criticism must furnish proof that that faith of the disciples could be formed without an actual resurrection and appearance. If this is not sufficient, then the whole sceptical school of investigation into the life of Jesus is condemned by that alone, as even Strauss confesses: "We stand here, therefore, at the decisive point where we, in view of the reports of the miraculous resuscitation of Jesus, either confess the inadequacy of the natural-historical view for the life of Jesus, consequently retract everything said hitherto, and give up our whole undertaking, or we must pledge ourselves to render

comprehensible the content of those reports—that is, the origin of the faith in the resurrection of Jesus—without a corresponding miraculous fact."[1]

Strauss, therefore, expends an immense amount of intellectual activity and diligence to attain this aim, and his successors also really exhaust themselves in this Sisyphean labour. They flatter themselves that they have made the faith in the resurrection without any resurrection event, at least "conceivable and probable,"[2] by explaining it partly from Oriental myths, partly from Old Testament prophecies, partly from the subsequent impression of the person of Jesus.

(*a*) The science of comparative religion has recently discovered in various peoples of antiquity Oriental "resurrection" myths. The material pertaining to it has been published by J. G. Frazer,[3] Hepding,[4] Wolf Baudissin,[5] Heinrich Zimmern,[6] and other historians of religion. It consists essentially of the following:

In Babylonia we meet, in great antiquity, the cult of the God Tammuz, the lover of Ishtar. He was the specific God of vegetation of the earlier Babylonians. As such he comes out of the under-world with approaching spring and dies in the summer heat. His death calls the people to a festival of mourning, at which the statue of Tammuz is washed with pure water, anointed with oil and clad in a red robe. Similarly the cult of Marduk, the God of the morning sun, was conducted, who vanishes in autumn and whose reappearance in spring is celebrated with a splendid festival.

Identical with the Babylonian Tammuz is Adonis, who, together with his consort, Astarte (Aphrodite), was worshipped at Byblus in Phœnicia. Adonis was, as hunter or shepherd, the God of the meadows; his early death (the god was torn to pieces by a boar) represented the transitory side of life in nature. Adonis's festival was celebrated by having his statue dragged to the sea with loud wailings. On the following day, however, he was exhibited as alive and raised into the air. According to another version of the legend Adonis is said to pass one half of the year in the under-world, but the other half invariably again in the upper-world with Astarte.

The same role as Adonis played in Phœnicia was played in Phrygia, and later in Rome, by Attis, the lover of the "great divine mother" Cybele. To him belonged the festival at the time of the vernal equinox, which lasted four days. First,

[1] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, 20th ed., i, 148.
[2] Pfleiderer, *Entstehung des Christentums*, 109 (1905).
[3] *The Golden Bough*, ii, 115-166 (1905); *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1906).
[4] *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (1903); art. *Adonis*, in Roschers' *Lexikon*, i, 69 ff.
[5] Art. *Tammuz* in the *Real-Enzyklopädie für protestant. Theologie*, xix, 334-377.
[6] *Zum Streit um die Christusmythe* (Berlin 1910) in Schrader.

the death of the god, who had died in consequence of self-mutilation, was celebrated with dirges and wild ravings; then followed, on the fourth day, the "Festival of Joys" with the most unbridled carnival of revels in memory of the rescued god.

Closely related to the Phrygian Attis, there appears in Egypt Osiris, the Greek Dionysus. He, too, was originally a god of vegetation, in particular, the deity of corn, fruit and wine culture. After he had been violently killed and mutilated by his own brother, Set, his sister and wife Isis collected his remains and brought them to life again. Since then he has ruled in the other world as judge and king of the dead. The religious festivals in which this legend was celebrated took place in autumn and lasted four days. It was the time when the Nile retired and the corn was sown, in which act the Egyptians saw a ceremony of burial and of resurrection.

We have thus collected together the most widely circulated "resurrection" myths. Similar ones are found among almost all peoples, and all of them go back originally to one single legend—probably the Babylonian one of Tammuz-Ishtar.

Of course it was inevitable that these legends should be declared to be the birthplace of the Christian belief in the resurrection. In this sense are the utterances of such men as Pfleiderer, Böklen, Gunkel, Cheyne, A. Jeremias, Fiebig, P. Jensen, W. Benjamin Smith, Karl Vollers, Martin Brückner, Arthur Drews, Max Maurenbrecher, and Walles.[1] These are only men who are badly afflicted with "mythologitis," the well-known children's disease of the still young history of comparative religion. Calm and thoughtful critics, even the thoroughly liberal ones, such, for example, as B. Carl Clemen and Johannes Weiss, are indignant at the great wrong which is here committed in the name of science.[2] The resurrection of Jesus and the Oriental "resurrection" myths are about as harmonious as fire and water.

[1] Pfleiderer, *Entstehung*, 146-162; *Religion und Religionen*, 222-224; *Das Christusbild des urchristl. Glaubens*, 62 ff.; Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der persischen Eschatologie*, 29 (1902); Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des N. T.*, 76 ff. (1903); Cheyne, *Bible Problems* (1904); A. Jeremias, *Altbabylonisches im N. T.*, 8 ff. (1905); Fiebig, *Babel und das N. T.*, 4 ff. (1905); Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, i, 925 (1906); Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, 71-106 (1906); Vollers, *Die Weltreligionen*, 148 ff. (1907); Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gottheiland in den Orientalischen Religionen und ihr Verhältnis zum Christentum* (1908); Drews, *Christusmythe*, 23-39, 119-123 (1909); Maurenbrecher, *Von Nazareth nach Golgotha*, 46-155, 215-272 (1909); Walles, *Jesus lidande* (1911).

[2] Clemen, *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des N. T.*, 146-153, 259 f. (1909); Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth, Mythus oder Geschichte*, 25-39 (1910). *Cf.* the admirable expositions of E. Margoliouth, *The Narratives of the Resurrection*, in *Contemporary Review*, 717, 728 (1905); Orr, *The Resurrection*, in *Expositor*, 7th series, vi, 306-325 (1908).

The parallels between them are wholly wanting. It is a complete deception of the public merely to speak of Oriental "resurrection" myths. The acts of burial and resurrection are wholly lacking in those myths. Thereby they differ essentially from the Christian histories of the resurrection. Moreover, the self-mutilation of Attis, the death of Adonis by a boar, and that of Osiris-Dionysus by his brother's act of murder. Further, in all these cults and myths it is a question of a love-affair: Tammuz-Ishtar, Adonis-Astarte, Attis-Cybele, Osiris-Isis; the pathos of this death is always the bitter loss which the loved one suffers, and the climax of the plot usually brings an erotic festival of reunion. Where is there in all this any similarity to the life, death and resurrection of Jesus?

Still more decisive is the fact that in one case it is a question merely of myths, in the other case of history. In the former a simple natural event is represented symbolically or allegorically. The mythologists themselves concede this. "The resurrection of these gods is originally an occurrence of nature, which has been interpreted as an incident of a divine life; the gods of the sun and of vegetation die in winter and rise again every spring."[1] "The divinities in question here are originally either astral gods or gods of vegetation. In the daily or yearly course of the sun, in the waning and waxing moon, in the constellation which disappears for a time below the horizon in order to rise again into the heavens man thought he saw gods vanishing and returning."[2] "All these legends revolve about the simple thought of the death and resurrection of nature and of the gods who rule it. The annual experience of autumn and spring was in the myth condensed into the solitary fate of the god of nature, who died a violent death and came to life again. And this myth of the past destiny of the god was brought again into the eternal present."[3]

The Christian faith in the resurrection, on the contrary, is bound up with the wholly definite, individual, historic personality of Christ; it concerns a man whom his disciples had known, loved and associated with up to three days before that event; it tells of this Jesus of Nazareth no astral legend, no natural incident of a dying and reawakening vegetation, and no annual season, or appearance of a sign of the zodiac, but the actual, bodily resurrection from the tomb which had just occurred. That is decisive. Brückner writes: "Above all, one fact is always opposed to the dissolution of Christian ideas in the universal history of religion: the connection with an historic personality . . . and the fact that faith in a dying and resurrected divine Saviour is united with the portrait of

[1] Gunkel, 76. [2] Brückner, 7 f.
[3] Pfleiderer, *Religion und Religionen*, 221.

a living, historical person."[1] Yes, even Drews is conscious that the resurrection of Jesus can be explained by mythology only if Jesus himself is characterized as a myth—that is, if his historical existence is denied.[2]

But even were all these impossibilities not present the fact would first have to be proved that the pagan myths really exerted any influence upon the origin of the Christian faith in the resurrection. It could have happened, as Zimmern, Gunkel, A. Meyer and Fiebig themselves confess, not directly, but only indirectly through Judaism. But in the Judaism of the time of Christ "not a trace" of all these myths can be discovered.[3] "Up to the present time any concrete trace of an influence of those cults on the Judaism subsequent to the exile is completely lacking."[4] The believers in the resurrection, those fishermen of Galilee, are still more unlikely to have been influenced by pagan legends. How should they have let themselves be converted suddenly to Oriental myths of a dying and resurrected god of vegetation at the moment when they still obstinately rejected even the Old Testament prophecies of the death and resurrection of the Messiah?

Therewith we come to the second attempt at explanation:

(*b*) The faith in the resurrection is said to have originated from the fact that Old Testament prophecies of the resurrected Messiah were applied to Jesus of Nazareth.

Already Strauss energetically asserted this, and the newer and latest schools of criticism repeat it without going beyond their teacher. "If we looked into the Old Testament with this in view," Strauss tells us, "we could find in it this passing of the Messiah through death and the grave to a higher life, just as well as has been found in general the Messiah and his affairs in many a text which really had to do with entirely different persons and things. Could it be, and has it really ever been said, that David (Ps. xv, 10) praised God for himself, that he would not leave his soul in Hades or give his flesh to corruption? David, who died like other men, and whose body decayed? And was it not, therefore, rather his great successor, the Messiah (that is, Jesus), to whom those words of David applied, as prophecy? (Acts ii, 25 f.). Moreover, had not Isaias prophetically written of the servant of Jehovah that he shall be cut off out of the land of the living, and shall have his grave among the wicked; but if he shall lay down his life for sin he shall live long, and shall receive his share among the mighty? (Isa. liii, 10-12). . . . When Luke (xxiv, 25, 32, 44) represents it as the

[1] Brückner, *op. cit.*, 48.
[2] Drews, *op. cit.*, 123.
[3] Clemen, *op. cit.*, 148.
[4] Johannes Weiss, *op. cit.*, 29. *Cf.* Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 28 f. (1913).

principal task of the risen Jesus that he expounded the Scriptures to his disciples and showed them how his suffering, death and resurrection are predicted in them, we have here still the trace of the fact that there was, especially after the death of Jesus, a renewed searching of the Scriptures, which helped to revive the faith of his disciples."[1] Paul himself points out that the Christian faith in the resurrection is based upon the exegetical conclusion from the Old Testament prophecies: "I have delivered unto you first of all which I also received; how that Christ died for our sins, according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. xv, 3, 4).

We do not, of course, wish to deny that, in the texts of the Old Testament quoted, the resurrection of the Messiah was prophesied. The first preachers of the resurrection, Peter (Acts ii, 25-31) and Paul (Acts xiii, 35-37), appeal expressly to Ps. xv, 9-10,[2] and the same passage from the Psalms must have been in the mind of the Apostle to the Gentiles when he said, in 1 Cor. xv, 4, that Jesus rose again "according to the Scriptures."

But this conviction that the resurrection of Jesus took place according to the Scriptures did not produce the early Christian faith in the resurrection; it was, on the contrary, gained first in consequence of the faith in the resurrection and of the physical proofs of the resurrection.

The Old Testament prophecy of the resurrected Messiah, as expressed in the above texts, was already in itself and in its whole context not very definite; its Messianic meaning became perfectly clear only through its fulfilment. It was not the prophecy that illumined clearly the event of the resurrection, but the prophecy was itself illuminated by the backward-streaming light of this resurrection. Here especially is applicable the saying: "*Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet; Vetus in Novo patet.* The disciples, supported merely by that prophecy, would never have been able to conclude the resurrection of Jesus with the certainty of a fact.

But that is saying too little. The thought that the Messiah would rise again according to the Old Testament was, anyway, altogether foreign to the disciples until after the final proof of Jesus' resurrection. The Jewish ideas of the Messiah at that time, both those of the Pharisees and the apocalyptic, were not compatible with the idea of a dying Messiah, and, accordingly, of one rising from the grave. The Messiah was, on the contrary, to establish the kingdom

[1] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 157.

[2] The passage in Isaiah liii, 10-12, is nowhere used in the N. T. as a proof of the resurrection of the Messiah.

of God in triumph as a national hero, and reign till the end of the world—that is, eternally. Death and resurrection, as applied to the Messiah, were for the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus a contradiction. Whoever doubts this fact only exhibits his own total ignorance or rabbinical theology.[1]

That the disciples were also in this respect thoroughgoing Jews Jesus learned painfully enough. When he "began to show his disciples that he must . . . suffer, and be put to death and rise again," Peter rebuked him earnestly: "Lord, be it far from thee. This shall not be unto thee" (Matt. xvi, 21; Mark viii, 31). And it remained thus, in spite of all instructions, until the resurrection, yes, even till after the resurrection of the Master. Not even after the sepulchre had been found empty and the resurrection of Jesus had been vouched for by an angel did the disciples wish to know anything about his having died and risen again according to Scripture. John, the witness who took part in it, expressly confesses of himself and his associates that "they as yet knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead" (John xx, 9). Rather do they think that, "according to Scripture," everything is over and lost (Luke xxiv, 20-25). Jesus must now still reproach the disciples at Emmaus with the words: "O foolish and slow of heart to believe in all things which the prophets have spoken. Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and so to enter his glory?" (Luke xxiv, 25, 26). And although he again explains to them the Messianic prophecies of death and resurrection (Luke xxiv, 27), they believe in the risen Jesus only after he has eaten with them and has thus furnished the experimental proof of his resurrection (Luke xxiv, 30, 31). Who, then, will still venture the bold assertion that the event of Easter has been produced out of the interpretation of Old Testament texts?

The very contrary is evident. Only when supported by the conviction of the Easter fact did the circle of the disciples perceive its coincidence with Scripture. This was emphasized so strongly in their Easter confession because it was denied by their Jewish enemies, and therefore called for special attention in defending it. The proof of the resurrection is, therefore, after Pentecost always brought out in such a way that the scriptural harmony no less than the fact of the resurrection is insisted on. Its agreement with Scripture is exegetically proved by means of the Old Testament texts; but its actuality is historically established by an appeal to the witnesses of the resurrection and to the resurrection appearances (Acts ii, 24-32; xiii, 29-37).

The Pauline—that is, the early Church's formula—also says this and nothing else: "Christ died for our sins, accord-

[1] See the first volume of this work. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im N. T. Zeitalter*, 199-273 (1903).

ing to the Scriptures . . . and rose on the third day, according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. xv, 3). Both death and resurrection have alike taken place "according to the Scriptures." It will, however, occur to no one to assert that Paul constructed the doctrine of the physical death of Jesus merely on the ground of Old Testament passages. Consequently, he does not construct the resurrection out of them either. For what purpose, otherwise, would he have appealed to Christian tradition and the testimony of eyewitnesses who had seen the risen Lord? (1 Cor. xv, 3-8).

The temporal circumstance of the third day, however, could not possibly be deduced from the Old Testament because it cannot be found in it. The continued lodgement of Jonas in the belly of the whale for three days and three nights is not a Messianic prophecy, but only a type, and as such it is first applied by Christ himself to his own rest in the tomb (Matt. xii, 39 ff.; Luke xi, 29 f.). And the very words about the sign of Jonas (three days and three nights) prove how independently the Christian tradition of the time spent by Jesus in the sepulchre (Friday evening to Sunday morning) maintains itself towards the Old Testament. "However we may harmonize the words about the three days and three nights with the actual course of history, the difference between type and antitype, with which we are concerned, shows strikingly that Easter morning, as the time-point of the resurrection, is not cunningly extracted out of prophecy, but is history."[1]

The moderns, it is true, claim that the disciples had been able to interpret the circumstance of the third day from a passage in Osee and from another in the Books of Kings. In the first it reads: "He will revive us after two days; on the third day he will raise us up" (Os. vi, 3); in the second it is said: "Behold, I have healed thee. On the third day thou shalt go up to the temple of the Lord" (4 Kings xx, 5). In the latter case it is a question of the healing of the sick king, Ezechias; in the former, of the conversion of the godless people, which, chastized by God's judgement, turns again to the Lord. In neither of the two passages is there any ground for seeing a reference to the rising of the Messiah from death. The early Church also never appealed to these texts to justify its belief in the resurrection. Such a "blind" belief is the possession only of Meyer, Schmiedel, Loisy[2] and other sceptical critics. For every unbiassed investigator it is clear that the resurrection on the third day can be inferred from neither of these passages of the Old Testament.

[1] Tillmann, in *Theol. und Glaube*, ii, 536 (1910).

[2] Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 180 f; P. W. Schmiedel, *Resurrection*, in Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia biblica*, iv, 67, 68; Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 177; ii, 740.

(*c*) More acceptable appears at the first glance the third hypothesis, which explains the disciples' faith in the resurrection from the subsequent impression of the personality of Jesus. In the circles of liberal and modernist theology it is repeated—again in reliance on Strauss[1]—in ever new phrases, that the indelible impression of the historical Jesus made its influence so strongly felt by the disciples that they were unable to bear the thought of seeing such a life and such a personality destroyed by death. "The influence which Jesus had exerted upon his disciples was too deep to be possibly eliminated from their souls. They had indeed gone back to Galilee, yet had no longer been able to adapt themselves to the conditions of ordinary life. Some had remained with Peter, and it may be assumed that the eleven found themselves again, later, in Capharnaum or in its vicinity. In a life of leisure, where a small catch of fish was sufficient to maintain them, thoughts of the past took possession of them, and their recollections were rekindled in their solitude. Hope had aroused them too powerfully for the calamity which at first [by the death of Jesus] had overwhelmed them not to have given place to a mighty reaction. . . . What, if the aid of the heavenly Father, which had not been bestowed upon his Anointed One in life, had been near him at least in death? Ought one, therefore, to despair of the Kingdom of God? And if the Kingdom was near had not Jesus always his necessary part to play in it?"[2] By these and similar considerations their feelings gradually became kindled to such a pitch that they finally acquired the full conviction that he had not remained dead, and, in fact, they at last supposed that they had seen him again alive.

Truly a real cabinet-piece of psychological workmanship! Its only blemish lies in the fact that it is nothing but workmanship and a fantastic invention, which is most sharply opposed to historic reality.

Above all, the background of this picture, the sketch of it in regard to time and place, on which the whole hypothesis depends, is a pure invention.

Sceptical criticism very rightly feels that the psychological change in the disciples, supposed by it, could not take place near the sepulchre at Jerusalem or within the space of a few hours. It makes the disciples, therefore, go at once to Galilee, where they had received the first and most powerful impressions of the person of Jesus, and where everything reminded them of the living, not the dead. Here, therefore, occurs little by little their psychological transformation; only after weeks, perhaps only after three or four years, was this

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[2] Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 223.

psychical process completed and the faith in the resurrection settled.

How untrue all this is, we have already proved. At Jerusalem, directly at the tomb of Jesus, and already from the third day after the death of the Lord, did the disciples' faith in the resurrection come into being. That, under such circumstances, it cannot be explained as a result of psychological evolution, even our opponents take for granted.

But the whole situation, the whole psychical conception of the disciples in the time between the death and the resurrection, is also an invention. However powerful the subsequent impression of the personality of Jesus was,[1] it certainly did not call forth the hope of a resurrection, and did not raise this to an ever more ardent expectation of resuscitation, and finally to a positive faith in the resurrection. We know the state of mind of the disciples after the death of Jesus exactly from the early Christian sources, and are happily not dependent on the psychological reconstructions of modern critics.

The flight of the Twelve in Gethsemani (Mark xiv, 50), the denial of Peter (Mark xiv, 66-72), the absence of the apostles from the crucifixion,[2] show from the start that the disciples hoped for no resurrection of him who had let himself be taken prisoner, condemned and nailed to the shameful cross. For every true Jew the cross was a scandal from which he turned with horror (1 Cor. i, 23; Gal. iii, 13; v, 11). When Jesus had died, actually on the cross, the last hope of the disciples and their last confidence in the resumption and final triumph of his Messianic vocation broke down abruptly. We cannot adequately imagine how inconsolable the despair of the disciples was between Good Friday and Easter (Mark xvi, 10).

How far removed every thought of the resurrection was from them is shown by the fact that the women go again to the sepulchre on Easter morning to embalm the body (Mark xvi, 1; Luke xxiv, 1). They are troubled only by the question who would help them to roll away the stone from the tomb (Mark xvi, 3). As they find this rolled away and the sepulchre opened, they do not in the least suppose a resurrection, but only a shameful theft of the body (John xx, 2, 13).

The message of the angel that Jesus has arisen, inspires

[1] Truly liberal theology has, least of all, a right to insist so strongly on this impression. Could the "historical Jesus" of this theology, a "good rustic," with no supernatural qualities, but, on the contrary, afflicted with much human infirmity and weakness of intellect and character, have made on the disciples the impression of the Lord of life and death? They ought, then, to avoid asserting "now this and now that" at the same time.

[2] Mark xv, 40; Luke xxiii, 49; John xix, 25-27. John only was present, together with the holy women.

them with fear and horror, not with faith (Matt. xxviii, 5-8; Mark xvi, 5-8). "The thought of a resurrection was, therefore, perfectly strange to them. They do not remember to have heard from the lips of Jesus that he would rise again on the third day after his death."[1] And yet, according to our opponents' hypothesis, the women must have been the first to be deluded into this belief in the resurrection, because they were, precisely as women, more easily amenable to changes of mood, and because they were more concerned about Jesus at and after the tragedy on Calvary than were the apostles.

But in the apostles also we find the same state of mind. The first tidings of the resurrection made upon them so slight an impression of a hoped-for event, that they regarded the words of the women as "idle tales, and believed them not" (Luke xxiv, 11; Mark xvi, 11). Soon after Peter and John verify the fact that the sepulchre is really empty; but "As yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the dead. The disciples, therefore, departed again to their home" (John xx, 9-10), "wondering in themselves at that which was come to pass" (Luke xxiv, 12). Some hours later, two others were going to Emmaus, "and they were sad" (Luke xxiv, 17). They relate the cause and the greatness of their sorrow with inimitable ingenuousness in their conversation with Jesus, and thereby prove how desolate everything now still looked in the company of the disciples in Jerusalem, in spite of all that had already occurred in the course of the day. "Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things that have been done there in these days? . . . concerning Jesus of Nazareth, who was a prophet, mighty in work and word before God and all the people; and how our chief priests and princes delivered him to be condemned to death and crucified him. But we hoped that it was he that should have redeemed Israel. And now besides all this, to-day is the third day since these things were done. Yea, and certain women also of our company affrighted us, who, before it was light, were at the sepulchre. And, not finding his body, came, saying that he is alive. And some of our people went to the sepulchre, and found it so as the women had said, but him they found not" (Luke xxiv, 18-24).

Here also, and in the last hour, still no glimmer of hope of a resurrection, still less of an ardent longing and waiting for it. We may analyze the psychical mood of the disciples, as we will, but nowhere do we meet with a subjective evolution in favour of a belief in the resurrection. Everything speaks against the assertion that they had, after the death of Jesus

[1] Loisy, *l.c.*, ii, 714 f.

and under the subsequent impression of his personality, come to the conviction that their Master had not remained in the tomb. The fact of the resurrection, proven to their senses, was the first and only thing that brought this conviction to them. Without the Easter event, the Easter faith would remain an insoluble psychological riddle.

2. *The Natural Explanation of the Empty Sepulchre.*

Whoever is unwilling to concede the fact of the resurrection must then explain how Jesus could disappear from the tomb. This problem of the empty sepulchre also has been, from the first, a difficulty for sceptical criticism, and is so to-day.

Critics have attempted to solve it by all conceivable means, but without success. Some of these would-be solutions are the following: Jesus, only apparently dead, has himself left the tomb; the disciples have stolen the body; the Jews have removed it and hidden it somewhere; Joseph of Arimathea has subsequently buried it elsewhere.

These are, briefly, the phases and hypotheses of the natural explanation of the empty sepulchre. Let us examine these somewhat more closely.

(*a*) "Jesus, awaking from apparent death, has himself left the tomb." Venturini and Bahrdt, the most notorious romancers about Jesus, have invented this hypothesis. It received also an historical veneer through Gottlob Paulus. In union with him, most of the older rationalists, especially Bretschneider, Herder, Hase, Hahn, Gfrörer, and Schleiermacher, have professed their allegiance to it.[1] To-day every critical investigator blushes at such a "shameful"[2] view. Only amateur investigators of the life of Jesus, like Paul de Régla [P. A. Desjardin],[3] Karl Otto,[4] Pierre Calliaud[5] and Jefka,[6] unearth that little foundling again.

They present it thus: Luke, the physician, had prepared Jesus beforehand "with powerful stimulants in order that he should be able to endure the horrible ill-treatment of being

[1] Schleiermacher, *Leben Jesu*, 442 (1864), favours a "not quite concluded death," yet thinks, quite rationalistically, that it is "something quite indifferent" whether Jesus was really dead or only apparently so, and whether he actually rose from the dead or only seemingly did so.

[2] The word is from the good liberal Prof. Weinel, *Jesus im XIX Jahrhundert*, 17 (1907): "The thing becomes, however, 'shameful' if, after his crucifixion, Jesus in the coolness of the sepulchre recovers from his state of coma, and after forty days dies of exhaustion and fever. That is simply disgusting, and yet it all is said to be in the Gospels."

[3] *Jésus de Nazareth au point de vue historique, scientifique et social*, 322-341 (1891). *Cf.* Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 323.

[4] *Die Wahrheit über Jesus von Nazareth*, 21-26 (1909).

[5] *Le problème de la résurrection du Christ*, 73 ff. (1910).

[6] *Jesus von Nazareth und die Christologie*, 61-143 (1911).

dragged about and scourged, and finally the crucifixion" (Bahrdt). Jesus fell only into a catalyptic state. The thrust of the lance was equivalent to opening a vein, and gave him relief. The cool sepulchre and the spices contributed also to his revival. A sudden tempest with thunder and lightning brought him completely to his senses. By chance an earthquake occurred just then, and this rolled the stone away from the sepulchre down over the cliff. The Lord threw from him his wrappings and grave cloths, slipped into a garment forgotten by the gardener, crept cautiously out from the tomb, and was discovered by Mary Magdalen. The disciples brought him into an asylum, and under the careful nursing of the holy women he soon recovered to such an extent that he could go from there and take part in the various meetings of his disciples. A full recovery was, however, impossible. His condition soon grew worse again, and, after forty days (according to another version, considerably later), he died of exhaustion and a fever caused by his wounds.

In rebuttal of this, the trouble has often been taken from a scientific—that is, from a medical standpoint—to repudiate the alleged apparent death of Jesus and his natural reanimation. That means, however, paying too much honour to those rationalistic caprices of the imagination. The hypothesis of apparent death is condemned in advance from another point of view by Jesus himself—by the impression which the risen Saviour made upon his followers, and by the demand upon their faith which he laid upon them.

The impression which Jesus by his reappearance made on the disciples prohibits every thought of the alleged reawakening and recovery from an apparent death. Strauss has declared this with incomparable sharpness, and thereby disposed of the hypothesis for ever: "A half-dead man, creeping out of the tomb, weakly prowling about, needing medical treatment, bandaging, strengthening, and nursing, and at last succumbing to his sufferings, could not possibly make on the disciples the impression of a victor over death and the grave—the Lord of life, which formed the basis of their later bold demeanour; such a revival would have only weakened the impression which he had made upon them in life and death, and would make it at most die away in lamentations; but could not possibly have changed their sorrow into enthusiasm, and increased their reverence and admiration."[1]

Moreover, Jesus himself awakened in the disciples, and demanded from them, this faith in his actual resurrection from the dead. He foretold his death and his resurrection; he declares to his disciples that he really has risen from the

[1] Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* i, 153; *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* ii, 648.

dead; he reproaches them for their little faith; and instructs them explicitly so as to convince them of his real resurrection; his appearance when the doors were shut, and his repeated vanishing instantaneously are to indicate his glorified resurrection-body; he declares to them that he will not return to earth, but ascend to heaven, and in reality he rises before their eyes on the fortieth day, mounts toward heaven, and leaves to the disciples the certainty that he has entered into his glory. And is all that not true, and has Jesus merely awakened from apparent death to a kind of semi-existence, and soon after died for good and all? Then he would have been the veriest conjuror; nay, a pretender and deceiver, such as the world has never seen. Thus the hypothesis of apparent death is brought to an absurdity.

(*b*) "The disciples stole the body from the tomb," it is further asserted, and thus the deception is transferred from the Master to the pupils. This hypothesis of deception was put into circulation by the Jews immediately after the resurrection. The Chief Priests had had the sepulchre watched by Roman soldiers.[1] As the latter came running into the city with the tidings of the resurrection the Chief Priests and ancients assembled at once, and "taking counsel, gave a great sum of money to the soldiers, saying: Say you, his disciples came by night and stole him away while we were asleep. And if the governor (Pilate) shall hear of this, we will persuade him and secure you. So they, taking the money, did as they were taught; and this word was spread abroad among the Jews even unto this day" (Matt. xxvii, 62-66; xxviii, 1-4, 11-15). Justin Martyr saw himself compelled to take issue with this.[2]

Then disappeared this really too transparent lie, to be rehabilitated in the Wolfenbüttler Fragments of Reimarus.[3] Reimarus would like to make us believe that Christ merely pursued the political design of freeing his country from the

[1] The trustworthiness of the story of the watching of the tomb is contested by many critics. Thus recently by A. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 107; Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques,* i, 135; W. Baldensperger, *Urchristliche Apologie* (Strasbourg 1909); even by B. Weiss, *Leben Jesu,* ii, 567; and Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie,* 18-20. Since the hypothesis of deception can be refuted quite independently of it, we do not go into the controversy. Whoever wishes to be convinced tha Matthew xxviii, 11-15 furnishes a thoroughly original and primitive tradition is referred to Belser, *Geschichte des Leidens,* 447-453, 462, 474; Jacquier, in *L'Université catholique,* lxiii, 414-416 (1910); Mangenot, *l.c.*, 224-227; Esser, *Jesus Christus, der göttliche Erlöser der Menschheit,* 169 f. (1913).

[2] *Dialogus cum Tryphone,* n. 17, 108; Migne, *P.G.*, VI, 512 ff., 725, 728; Tertullian, *Apologet.*, c. 21; *P.L.*, I, 402.

[3] *Fünftes Fragment,* "Concerning the Resurrection" (1777); *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger* (1778).

Roman supremacy. When this plan failed in consequence of the crucifixion the disciples were in great embarrassment. To return to their old manual labour was too bitter for them; they had forgotten how to work through their everlasting wandering about; they had also seen that the preaching of the kingdom of God nourished their leader very well; and they and the Master had been always well provided with food by the women who served them. They wanted, therefore, to continue their work at any price. For this purpose they stole the body of Jesus, concealed it, and announced to every one that he had risen from the dead and gone to heaven to return speedily for the spiritual redemption of the world.

Scarcely had it been launched into the world when this hypothesis of Reimarus, in regard to deception, was duly destroyed by the rationalists, Semler,[1] Herder[2] and Strauss[3] himself. Apart from the fact that it is an outrage to brand all Christianity as a clumsy delusion, and the disciples of Christ as abominable deceivers, the supposition of the theft of the body is full of impossibilities.

The Jews had done everything to prevent the removal of the body, "so that the last error might not be worse than the first" (Matt. xxvii, 63 ff.). And now, when they, as is asserted, saw that the tomb had, nevertheless, been ravished, does the Sanhedrim cause no investigation to be made either against the disciples who were accused of the theft of the body, or against the watchers who ostensibly had been guilty of it through an unexampled neglect of duty? The robbers of the body, instead of concealing themselves and their crime, raise the charge of the murder of the Messiah against the leaders of the nation before the whole people and in the meetings of the council, and testify that God has raised the crucified from the dead and glorified him (Acts ii, 23; iii, 13-15; iv, 10; v, 30; vii, 52); and does not the High Council prove the theft of the body, does it not punish these annoying preachers; in fact, does it not once contest the correctness of their utterances? (Acts iv, 14 ff.; v, 21 ff.). Is such a supposition credible?

The disciples do more than was required to make ridiculous the theft and fraud imputed to them. According to all the reports, they were on Easter morning incredulous; they assign the tidings brought them by the women to the realm of fables; they verify personally the emptiness of the sepulchre, yet remain sceptical; and only through the proofs of the resurrection, evident to their senses, do they allow themselves

[1] Johann S. Semler, *Beantwortung der Fragmente* (1779).

[2] Herder, *Von der Auferstehung, als Glauben, Geschichte und Lehre* (1794), in *Sämtliche Werke*, Part II (1810).

[3] *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, ii, 653; *Ulrich von Hutten*, iii, Preface (1860).

to be completely convinced. But from that time on they are utterly different men.[1] The faith in the resurrection effects in them what all the words and miracles of the Lord had not been able to achieve. From timorous and irresolute men they become fearless confessors of Jesus. They proclaim his resurrection to Jews and Gentiles as the most brilliant victory and triumph of his cause, and with a decisiveness, an enthusiasm and a stedfastness which never weary, and endure in persecution, distress and death.[2] They require also from future Christians, above all else, confession of, and love to the risen Jesus. We are to adore him, hope from him alone everything good and all assistance, and to expect in him the Judge of the world, and with him all the joys of the future world. And is he lying in the dust? And have the disciples violated his tomb in order to bury him without honour elsewhere? And was the whole preaching of the resurrection only lying and deception? Truly, then, the apostles should have had their place in a madhouse or a penitentiary, and the whole lot of Jews, who let them do as they liked, should be with them. In view of such monstrosities the attempt of the Wolfenbüttler Fragmentist will never again be renewed "by people capable of passing judgement on the subject."[3]

(*c*) "The Jews removed the body." So runs an explanation of the empty sepulchre, proposed by Albert Réville,[4] and defended by Schwartzkopf,[5] Le Roy[6] and Daniel Völter.[7] "The burial of Jesus in an honourable tomb must have displeased the Jewish leaders. Was it not a kind of protest against those who had let him die in ignominy and shame? Had they not to fear that this sepulchre would become a meeting-place or a place of pilgrimage for the friends of the Galilean prophet? . . . There was a simple way of avoiding this danger. It was necessary only to cause the corpse to disappear and to bury it in any hidden spot, or even to destroy it. This was indeed accomplished secretly on Saturday evening, and very probably with the assistance of Roman soldiers. . . . In this supposition we may certainly appeal to the legal

[1] See Fritz Schubart, *Der Messiasglaube der ersten Jünger*, 47 ff. (Leipzig 1907).

[2] The audacious lie of Reimarus, that the disciples had contrived a fraud in order to lead an easy life, is dealt sharply with by A. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 117, in the words: "What foolish talk! The following of Jesus as disciple was at that time, more than ever after, a cross and self-denial, and the fate of Jesus must have told those followers what a false reckoning they would make if they any longer called themselves disciples of Jesus."

[3] Voigt, *Die ältesten Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, 121 (1906).

[4] *Jésus de Nazareth*, ii, 460-463 (1897).

[5] In the American *Monist*, 1-29 (1900).

[6] Le Roy, *Dogme et critique*, 189-192 (1907).

[7] *Die Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu*, 30 f. (1910).

principle: *Is fecit cui prodest.* The chiefs of the Sanhedrim concocted this plan of seizing the body, the consequences of which they were far from foreseeing, but which had for them the character of a measure of precaution."[1]

That means, however, that we truly fall from the frying pan into the fire. *Is fecit cui prodest.* Really? Could the Jews have been so foolish as to suppose that the removal of the body and the concealment of the theft would be advantageous for them? Must they not have seen that by this act they would necessarily increase the dreaded hopes of the resurrection? But should we for the sake of argument presuppose this narrow simple-mindedness on the part of the Jews, together with their theft of the body, why did they not subsequently come out against the Christian preaching of the resurrection? The *corpus delicti* was actually in their hands; the alibi of the body could be proved at any moment; with merely a wave of the hand, a single word, the inconvenient preachers of the resurrection would be unmasked, and the work of the dead prophet destroyed for ever. Instead of this, what happens? The trial against the disciples is formally opened and carried through. And the judgement? The counsellors find no ground for condemning the accused; and the apostles are pronounced innocent, and released with the simple admonition to keep silent in future (Acts iv, 1-21). What an ironical result for this charge of a Jewish theft of the body, and one in favour of the Christian claim of the resurrection.

(*d*) "Joseph of Arimathea buried the body elsewhere." This is the latest word of the natural explanation school. Yet it is not wholly new. Already among the Jews of the second century the story went around that the gardener, or the owner of the garden, Joseph, removed the body in order not to have the lettuce-beds and the cabbage garden trampled on by the disciples, who would come there in crowds.[2] Heinrich Julius Holtzmann and his cousin Oskar Holtzmann have lately taken this idea up in another form: "It is very likely," they say, "that the distinguished counsellor, who had permitted the first burial of the body in his sepulchre, did not wish that the body of a man who had been crucified should lie permanently among the dead of his own family. He may have taken care that after the Sabbath was over the corpse of Jesus should be quietly interred elsewhere."[3] This final burial did not take place in Jerusalem, but in Arimathea, the

[1] Réville, *l.c.*, 460, 461. According to Völter, the Jews begged of Pilate permission "to take away the body of Jesus from the sepulchre in which Joseph had laid it, and to bury it secretly somewhere else in a hidden place. Pilate is supposed to have let this wish be fulfilled at night by his soldiers."

[2] Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, c. 30; Migne, *P.L.*, i, 662.

[3] O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 392 f. (1901).

home of Joseph, two hours distant. Late on the Sabbath day, or early Sunday morning, he placed the body on the back of his servant, or on a beast of burden, and had it brought thither. "But neither the Jews, nor the women, nor in any case the disciples, needed to know anything of this whole nocturnal occurrence." That was the secret of Joseph, who, moreover, did not stand in close relations either to the disciples or to Jesus.[1] "In this way the mysterious event of the empty sepulchre is most simply explained."[2]

This explanation is, however, both historically and psychologically untrue.

Compared with the historical accounts of the resurrection it proves to be an absolute fabrication. Not only is the hypothesis in its statements and its whole composition not to be proven from historical sources, but it contradicts these openly and entirely. That Jesus was only temporarily buried in Jerusalem; that he was removed again from the tomb and brought to Arimathea; that this removal and transportation of the body could occur secretly and without witnesses; that Joseph had no close relations with either Jesus or the disciples; all this contradicts the direct reports of the Gospels of the burial in the sepulchre, of the watch at the tomb and of the personal characteristics of Joseph, who "was also himself looking for the kingdom of God" (Mark xv, 43; Luke xxiii, 51) and "was a disciple of Jesus" (Matt. xxvii, 57; John xix, 38).

But also apart from this, the theory of the two Holtzmanns suffers from inner psychological inconsistencies. If Joseph was not a disciple of Jesus how came he to beg the body of Pilate so courageously and tenderly and to bury it provisionally? And what induced him subsequently to undertake the laborious and difficult transportation and final interment of it in his own family tomb at Arimathea if the body was to him that of a stranger, and when he, as a Jew, must have had an insuperable horror of being made unclean by the dead? And why in any event this hasty, nocturnal and secret transportation of the body, which, nevertheless, had been promised by Pilate to Joseph, and, therefore, could be taken away by the latter at any time and by broad daylight? And how comes it that the secret was not made public when the preaching of the resurrection began? Must not the counsellors, who were in such fearful embarrassment, have asked their colleague Joseph about the whereabouts of the body? Must they not have compelled him to exhibit the corpse in the tomb in order to silence the disciples? Did not Joseph, moreover, become a traitor to the truth, a concealer of stolen

[1] H. J. Holtzmann, *Kommentar zu den Synoptikern*, 105 (1901); *Das leere Grab*, in *Theol. Rundschau*, 121-124 (1906).

[2] O. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, 393.

goods, and a deceiver, if he, in and out of the assembly of the council, took no notice of the disciples' preaching of the resurrection? To these and similar urgent questions H. J. Holtzmann can only give the embarrassed statement and genuine untruth that Joseph died in the interval between Easter and the Easter announcement. And with him, of course, also the servants and attendants who were acquainted with the secret. So bad does this "simplest" explanation of the empty tomb prove to be!

And all the natural explanations of the empty tomb turn out equally badly. Even Meyer characterizes and criticizes them all with the admonition, as sharp as it is justified: "Let us give up these feats of the inventive power in presence of the solemn tomb of Jesus, on which still rests the shadow of the cross."[1] For nearly nineteen hundred years unbelief has striven to explain the emptiness of the Saviour's sepulchre without a resurrection. All conceivable and inventible hypotheses have been tried, but they have all completely failed. Jesus has not been removed from the tomb by his friends, nor taken away by his enemies, nor yet by an outside third party; and least of all has he crept out, having been only apparently dead. He can only have risen from the grave gloriously and miraculously.

(3) *The Natural Explanation of the Appearances.*

The appearances of the risen Jesus strengthen and heighten the certainty which we have acquired at the empty tomb. It has been already proved that the disciples saw their crucified, dead and buried Master alive again after the third day. Whoever, in spite of this, denies the resurrection is driven to the supposition that the disciples became in this respect victims of their own wild fantasies, and that they took the subjective delusions of their imagination for objective manifestations of the resurrected Jesus.

It is well known that there are morbid natures and conditions which are subject to the most varied deceptions of the senses. In severe cases of neurasthenia and hysteria, in violent attacks of fever, and in profound emotion it sometimes happens that one sees objects and persons, and hears tones and words, and has other perceptions of the senses which in reality have no existence. Such morbid delusions are technically called hallucinations. If we combine the hallucinations of the different senses into one mental picture we call this a vision. The visionary picture exerts from within precisely the same effect upon the optic nerve that otherwise is exerted from the outer world in ordinary life.

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 119.

The visionary sees, consequently, the mentally produced picture with the same clarity and certainty with which it would appear to him externally in bodily form.

The natural explanation assumes that the appearances of the risen Jesus were such hallucinations or visions without any objective reality.

This view is found substantially already in the writings of Celsus. "Who has seen the dead man rise again?" the controversialist asks the Christians. "A half-crazy woman, as you yourselves must confess, and besides her one or the other of the same gang of swindlers who was inclined to such visions, and, according to his humour, crazily imagined that he saw appearances, as has happened to numberless persons already; or else, as I would prefer, he was one who wanted to astound his fellow-men with this wonderful story, and by means of such deceptions pave the way for other charlatans."[1]

This representation of Celsus was taken up again by Renan, and clothed in apparently Christian and even sanctimonious language. "Early on Sunday," says Renan, "there suddenly rang out, with lightning-like rapidity, among the disciples the cry: 'He is risen!' Love easily created a belief in these tidings. What had happened? . . . The trace which Jesus had left in the hearts of the disciples and of some devoted female friends was so deep that for them he was still for several weeks alive. . . . It must be emphasized also that the strong imagination of Mary Magdalen here played a leading role. Divine power of love! Sacred moments in which the passionate love of a visionary presents to the world a risen God!"[2]

According to Strauss also the message of the resurrection has its origin in the ecstatic vision of Mary Magdalen and of the other holy women; yet Peter, James and the Twelve assumed the leading role in regard to the imaginary Spirit until the latter infected the five hundred and finally Paul also.[3] What they honourably and honestly regarded as appearances of the risen Jesus, and preached as such, were "merely inner experiences which may have seemed to the participants to be external observations, but are to be understood by us as the results of excited sentimentality and as visions."[4]

[1] Origen, *Contra Celsum,* ii, 55; iii, 22. *Cf.* ii, 70. F. Seraph Muth, *Der Kampf des heidnischen Philosophen Celsus gegen das Christentum,* 78 f. (1899); A. Seitz, *Christuszeugnisse aus dem klassischen Altertum,* 44 f. (1906).

[2] *Vie de Jésus,* end of chap. xxvi. Cf. *Les Apôtres,* chap. i.

[3] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* i, 154-160; *Der alte und der neue Glaube,* 19 f. In his first *Life of Jesus* (1835-1836), Strauss did not proclaim the vision hypothesis so plainly, but already hinted at it, ii, 656-660.

[4] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk,* i, 157.

Strauss's conception of the vision hypothesis pleased not only his teacher, Ferd. Christian Baur, and many of his younger contempararies, like Ludwig Noack, Heinrich Ewald, Heinrich Lang, Karl Holsten, Daniel Schenkel, W. Brandt, and Adolf Hausrath, but the newer and latest criticism of the resurrection has also remained essentially true to it.[1] Only these later critics have, in order to make the origin of the visions psychologically more comprehensible, removed the tidings of the resurrection, both as regards time and place, far away from the Lord's sepulchre. While the old master considered it as not impossible that the women had beheld the first appearances at Jerusaelm,[2] the later critics assert that the news of the resurrection came out first in Galilee and through Peter. In an ecstatic experience the Prince of the Apostles for the first time at the Sea of Tiberias thought that he saw the risen Lord; and, like a stone thrown into the water, this imaginary vision has, like an epidemic gained ever wider circles until after some time the whole Christian community dreamed of resurrection manifestations. When finally disillusionment set in, the lack of any further appearances was explained by saying that Jesus had gone to heaven. This is to-day, with quite unimportant variations, the universal supposition of the liberal, radical and modernist critics.[3] "The scientifically educated persons among them," remarks Schlottmann, "are now united in the conviction that, after other unsuccessful attempts of the kind, only the so-called vision hypothesis remains as the one for which a satisfactory foundation is to be hoped."[4] Otto Schmiedel

[1] On the older advocates of the vision hypothesis, E. G. Steude gives much information, *Die Auferstehung J. C.*, 35-96 (1888). On the latest condition of the hypothesis, see his *Die neueren Verhandlungen über die Auferstehung Christi*, in *Beweis des Glaubens*, Part II, 47 (1906); also J. Schulte, *Das Osterwunder in der neueren Theologie*, in *Theol. und Glaube*, i, 261-272 (1909).

[2] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 159.

[3] There may be named: Bousset, *Jesus*, 96 f.; C. R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the N. T.* (1912); Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, 3rd ed., 81-83; Ed. v. Hartmann, *Christentum des N. T.*, 27 f.; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theologie*, i, 358 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 394 ff.; *Christus*, 121-123; Jülicher, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i, Part IV, 69 f.; K. Kautzsch, *Ist die Ostertatsache die bestverbürgte Tatsache der Weltgeschichte?* (1910); J. Kreyenbühl, *Der älteste Auferstehungsbericht*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, ix, 257-296 (1908); Loisy, *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, i, 222-224; Meyer, *op. cit.*, 290-336; Pfleiderer, *Religionsphilosophie*, ii, 195; *Entstehung des Christentums*, 111 ff., 132 ff.; Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth*, ii, 453-478; P. W. Schmidt, *Geschichte Jesu erzählt*, 174 f; W. Soltau, *Die Qualität der Auferstehungsberichte*, in *Die Studierstube*, ii, 534-537 (1905); Völter, *op. cit.*, 58 f.; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüd. Geschichte*, 6th ed., 382 f.; *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 2nd ed., 149; Wernle, *Die Anfänge*, 2nd ed., 81; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., 6-17.

[4] *Die Osterbotschaft und die Visionshypothese*, 5 (1886).

actually maintains in his enthusiasm "that only the vision hypothesis has a justification in science," and that for its sake one must "give up in advance all the Gospel narratives and go back only to the six appearances of Christ mentioned by Paul."[1]

(*a*) The Pauline appearances of Christ, however, are now, according to sceptical criticism, merely subjective visions. Above all, in the appearance of Christ which the apostle had personally near Damascus it can be only a question of an "inner vision, a hallucination . . . a reflexion of his soul projected externally, an objectivisation of its own consciousness."[2] Paul, however, in 1 Cor. xv combines with this appearance those of the early disciples as being of the same kind. He thinks, therefore, "evidently that all the appearances are quite similar to the one that happened to him—namely, a 'vision,' an inward experience and a perception of the living Christ."[3]

The proof of the visionary character of the Damascus episode, and therefore of the appearances of Christ mentioned by Paul which came to the first witnesses to the resurrection, lies, according to our opponents, in the Pauline expression ὤφθη—"he appeared," "he was seen." But the word ὁρᾶν, ὤφθη means quite universally "to behold, to see, to appear," without the necessity of thinking thereby only of an inner seeing or appearing. In the context of the whole passage 1 Corinthians xv, the latter meaning is even directly excluded. Paul writes: "I delivered unto you first of all, which I also received, that Christ died . . . that he was buried, and that he rose again . . . and that he was seen by Cephas, and after that by the eleven . . . and last of all he was seen also by me." This juxtaposition of death, burial, resurrection and appearance is very significant. Like the death and burial are also the resurrection and appearances. Just as certainly as the death and burial of Jesus were for Paul and the first apostles actual facts, just as certainly were also the resurrection and appearance of Jesus for them and for Paul an objective reality, not a mere vision.

It would have been quite meaningless to speak to the Corinthians of resurrection visions. Paul cites the resurrection of Jesus precisely as a proof that we also shall one day actually rise from the dead, according to the body (1 Cor. xv, 11-20). What would be proved for our bodily resurrection by a merely immaterial resurrection and a visionary appearance of Jesus? Plainly nothing; the Apostle to the Gentiles would with that argument have only struck a blow in the water, or, rather, would have proved the very opposite of what he wanted to prove.

[1] *Hauptprobleme,* 2nd ed., 80.
[2] Pfleiderer, *Die Entstehung des Christentums,* 111 f.
[3] R. Otto, *Leben und Wirken Jesu,* 4th ed., 50.

Moreover, it is very remarkable that Paul characterizes the appearance of Christ to him near Damascus as the "last of all." Visions of Christ occurred frequently in the original Church with all their wealth of gifts of grace; such "visions and revelations of the Lord" Paul himself had also, later on, repeatedly.[1] Reports are given of them in the Acts of the Apostles and in the second Epistle to the same Christians at Corinth, and every time he recognizes and designates these visions just as visions.[2] But he wishes definitely to distinguish the Damascus incident from all these visions as being merely the last appearance which was granted at all, to him or to others. Only with the resurrection appearances of the early apostles does Paul class the Damascus episode.

Moreover, from this event he derives his call to be an apostle. "Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Christ Jesus our Lord?" These questions he puts to the Corinthians (1 Cor. ix, 1). According to biblical linguistic usage, visions are a form of prophetic intuition, and justify the title of a prophet, not that of an apostle. The apostolic vocation presupposes a personal meeting with Jesus, whose direct ambassador the apostle is. Only the Twelve, who had had living intercourse with the Lord, and had been called by him to the apostolate, bear the title of apostle in the Gospel. For the traitor Judas a substitute is selected from those men who had been with Jesus from the time of the baptism at the Jordan to the ascension (Acts i, 21). And Paul has come, as the thirteenth, into the company of the apostles, since it is asserted that he had "seen the Lord near Damascus and that the Lord had spoken to him" (Acts ix, 27). Based on this conviction, the Apostle to the Gentiles took his position with the old apostles, and was recognized by all as a witness and disciple of Jesus with the same rights as the others.

The first apostles, the primitive Church and Paul himself evidently consider, therefore, the appearance of Christ near Damascus, not as a vision, but as a real meeting with the Lord. "Paul believed that it was an objective vision. . . . According to his conviction, Christ had actually appeared to him," concedes Ed. Stapfer.[3] Also A. Sabatier,[4] Weizsäcker,[5] A. Meyer,[6] Loisy[7] and other opponents do not by any means shut their eyes to this view.

But they at once seek to destroy the impression of this

[1] It is true, the word "vision" is not there used in the sense of the moderns as "abnormal fancies," but in the sense of the supernatural intervention of God (2 Cor. xii, 1).

[2] Acts x, 9; xi, 5; xii, 7; xvi, 9; xviii, 9; xxii, 17; 2 Cor. xii, 1.

[3] *La mort et la résurrection de Jésus-Christ*, 3rd ed., 261, 258 f.

[4] *L'Apôtre Paul*, 45.

[5] *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., 6 f.

[6] *Wer hat das Christentum begründet?* 35.

[7] *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, ii, 740.

confession with the remark that Paul has deceived himself in regard to the nature of this appearance of Christ to him, confounding a subjective experience with an objective fact. The worthlessness of this pretext is immediately evident as soon as we take into consideration the precise representation of the Damascus episode. This is narrated fully three times in the Acts of the Apostles—the first time by Paul's pupil, Luke, the second and third times, in essential agreement, by Paul himself (Acts ix, 3-8; xxii, 6-11; xxvi, 12-18). The Acts mentions how Paul was proceeding towards Damascus full of raging hate against Christ and the Christians. "And suddenly a light from heaven shined round about him. And falling on the ground, he heard a voice saying to him: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Who said: Who art thou, Lord? And he: I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. . . . Arise and go into the city; and there it shall be told thee what thou must do. Now the men who went in company with him stood amazed, hearing indeed a voice but seeing no man. And Saul arose from the ground; and when his eyes were opened, he saw nothing. But they, leading him by the hands, brought him to Damascus. And he was there three days without sight, and he did neither eat nor drink" (Acts ix, 4-9). This narrative gives us the actual proof that Paul was not mistaken when he attributed to the Damascus manifestation an objective reality. A proof of this is the fact that the fellow-travellers with Saul were brought into relation with the appearance, since they also "saw the light from heaven" (Acts xxii, 9). A proof of the reality of the appearance is also the blinding of Saul in consequence of the dazzling splendour, unbearable to his physical organ of vision. All these things have, however, in a vision evidently no place and no sense. They are comprehensible only under the supposition that to Saul was granted a real appearance, perceptible by the senses, in which he saw with his bodily eyes the risen and glorified Saviour, heard with his physical ears his voice, and experienced a corresponding inward revelation and spiritual transformation. In the light of the historically guaranteed fact, the visionary interpretation of the Damascus event proves incorrect.

We must, however, go still further. It is psychologically absolutely impossible that Saul could have had an hallucination of the resurrection. How should Saul, suddenly, of himself, without any external intervention, have come to that hallucination, in which the hated, false Messiah of Nazareth stood before his soul as the resurrected and glorified Son of God? No one solves this psychological riddle. Since F. Ch. Baur, Holsten and Strauss, it has been sought repeatedly to prove by an analysis of the spiritual life of Paul, that the vision had been prepared in advance and brought about

psychologically.[1] Although still a zealous Pharisee and a furious persecutor of the Christians, Saul nevertheless already took with him, it is claimed, when he rode towards Damascus, doubts of his previous conception of life and an inward inclination towards Christ and Christianity. Frenssen represents the gloomy psychology of Paul, as conceived by learned critics, clearly and aptly, by making the rider brood in the following manner over the "false Saviour": "They say he was holy and infinitely lovable, and that he wanted us men to be children of God, excluding all outward forms of piety. . . . Yes, that is true. . . . And was he killed, and has he risen from the dead? . . . freed from the miserable body? They have seen him with their eyes? What if it were true? . . . Ah! . . . if he . . . if he should show himself to me! . . . if I should see him, risen from the dead, proved to be a guest of heaven, then . . . then I should be freed, through him, from this body of death. . . . I should stand, in a free, exalted life, close to God's knee, a blessed being . . . yes, then! . . .then! And lo! . . . there . . . when he reached that point in his fearful doubts, he experienced one of those severe bodily and mental conditions, and he saw him who was thus tormenting his heart, radiant with light and glowing with wonderful, heavenly majesty and beauty."[2]

This whole picture is a falsification of history. From the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, it is evident that Paul, up to the moment of his conversion, was fully convinced of the truth of Judaism and of the perversity and godlessness of the Christian faith; that his whole soul was filled with hate and rage against Christ; and that a complete change and conversion occurred instantly and without any mediation.[3]

But in that case they cannot possibly be the result of self-suggestion and hallucination. Hallucination only strengthens the impressions which one has in a normal state. It would have caused the hate of the Pharisee Saul to degenerate into complete madness against Jesus and his claims to be the Messiah and the Son of God, and against faith in his resurrection and glorification. That would have been the only

[1] See the first volume of this work. Also Holsten, *Die Christusvision des Paulus*, in *Zeitschrift für wissensch. Theologie* (1861); Strauss, *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 154-157; Meyer, *Die Auferstehung*, 290-301.

[2] *Hilligenlei*, 576.

[3] The proof of this has been already given. See also the still valuable treatment of the subject, directed against Holsten, by W. Beyschlag, *Die Bekehrung des Apostels Paulus*, in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* (1864); *Die Visionshypothese, id.* (1870-71); E. Moske, *Die Bekehrung des hl. Paulus* (1907); Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 188-195; Dausch, *Eine Krisis in der visionären Deutung der Bekehrung Pauli*, in *Theol. und Glaube*, ii, 184-193 (1910); Tillmann, *Einige Bemerkungen zur Kritik der Osterbotschaft, id.*, ii, 547-549; Mangenot, *l.c.*, 131-141.

possible result of the "vision" of Damascus. If Paul, in consequence of the Damascus experience, preaches Jesus as the resurrected and glorified Messiah and Son of God it proves that he did not have a mere vision of the imagination, but was vouchsafed and converted by an objective, actual appearance of the risen Jesus.

(*b*) The resurrection appearances to the early disciples are thereby brought into their true light as opposed to the vision theory. Paul, as has been said, puts them on the same level with his own objective appearance of Christ (1 Cor. xv, 3-8). If we add to this the very definite representations of the Gospels we gain an incontrovertible certainty that the first witnesses to the resurrection did not imagine that they saw the Lord, but that he appeared to them in objective reality.[1]

In order to win their case the advocates of the vision theory would first have to prove that hallucinatory visions of Christ among the early disciples were at all psychologically possible, and then, that they can be proved by means of the documents as really historical.

The psychological possibility of resurrection hallucinations is, according to our opponents, at once conceded with the visionary temperament and excited state of mind of the disciples after the death of Jesus. Strauss pictures it thus: "The terror inspired by the execution of their Master had frightened them out of the dangerous capital back to their homeland, Galilee, far away. There they may have cherished his memory in secret meetings, have strengthened their faith in him, ransacked the Scriptures again and again, and struggled with one another to obtain light and certainty. There were conflicts of the soul, which in Oriental, narrowly religious and fantastically developed natures, especially those of women, easily passed rapidly into the ecstatic and the visionary. As soon as one felt certain that, as the Messiah, Jesus could not have remained in the tomb it was not far to reach the announcement: I, or we, have seen him risen from the dead."[2] That Jesus first appeared to Mary Magdalen "gives room for much thought. . . . In a woman of such a

[1] Together with the literature already quoted, see especially Ad. Ritter, *Die Auferstehung J. Christi,* 8-19 (1897); Beyschlag, *Die Auferstehung J. Christi und ihre neueste Bestreitung durch Strauss's Leben Jesu* (1863); *Die neueste Zurechtlegung der Auferstehungsberichte,* in *Theol. Studien und Kritiken,* 507-539 (1899); L. Ihmels, *Die Auferstehung J. Christi,* 14-26 (1913); H. B. Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord after his Passion* (1908); Korff, *Die Auferstehung und die Himmelfahrt unseres Herrn J. Christi,* 196-226 (1897); *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie,* 160-187, 195-207; J. MacRory, *Some Theories of our Lord's Resurrection,* in the *Irish Theological Quarterly,* iv, 200-215 (1909); Case, S.J., *The Resurrection Faith of the First Disciples,* in the *American Journal of Theology,* xiii, 169-192 (1909).

[2] Strauss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube,* 20.

physical and mental disposition it was no great step from spiritual excitement to a vision."[1] In any case, the critic thinks that "in the days after the death of Jesus an increase of sentiment and nervousness, and one state of mind common to all the restricted circle of his followers, may be assumed, which took the place of the especial (visionary) disposition of the individuals."[2]

"Above all," Meyer thinks, "Peter must have been in an almost unbearable state of mind; first his vow of fidelity even unto death, then the denial before a maid-servant, and the cock-crowing. He could no longer show himself to anyone; he could no longer exist in his own sight. So, suffering the true tortures of hell, fallen from heaven, and nowhere safe on earth, bodily worn out, over-excited and seeing no way of escape, he began quite naturally to have visions."[3] "And whom else should he have seen than Jesus, of whom alone he thought? . . . Moreover, it is not strange, but only natural, that the vision of Peter, the first redeeming word in their gloomy despair, came into the whole mental state of the other disciples like a beneficent lightning flash, and gave them all the same shock, and that, where for the first time a great multitude assembled, these appearances formed the universal theme of conversation until all were filled with only the one thought of him and of speculation whether he would reappear, until first one, and then another, and finally all were seized with the consciousness of his presence."[4] This origin of the resurrection visions is proved, however, to be doubly erroneous.

Especially untrue is the supposition that the disciples fled to Galilee, and there first, after a shorter or longer time, had the resurrection appearances. No; at Jerusalem itself, close to the tomb of Jesus, and already in about thirty-six hours after the death of the Lord, the Easter appearances began. We have proved all this. Therewith, however, falls to the ground the psychological basis of the vision hypothesis. The third day and the vicinity of the tomb give to it its death-blow. How could the disciples in so short a space of time have travelled the immensely long psychological way from the impressions of death and the grave to the hallucination of the resurrection? How could they have taken even one step only on this path to visions without being immediately brought back to their senses by the sepulchre? And if they themselves had neglected to apply the test of their resurrection visions at the closed tomb (for without a real resurrection it was and remained closed) their enemies would surely have attended to that. What an annihilating criticism of the

[1] *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 159.
[2] *id.*, 159.
[3] Meyer, *op. cit.*, 303.
[4] Meyer, *op. cit.*, 303.

resurrection hallucinations is this judicial appeal of the sepulchre, the production of the decaying body.

But let us once suppose that the procedure of the visions had gone on first in Galilee, and had been promoted by such an unheard-of visionary predisposition on the part of the disciples, would anything thereby be proven for the possibility of resurrection visions? Nothing. A definite vision arises only by reason of continuous, intense occupation with the definite object pertaining to it. It brings no strange pictures before the mental vision. It occupies itself with those things only with which the mind has already for a long time wearied itself. "We now know," writes the radical investigator, Maurenbrecher, "that visions, hallucinations . . . are formed out of the material of fancies and feelings which already previously lay waiting in the consciousness of the man in question. The vision creates no new thought."[1] And even the psychologist, Binet-Sanglé, notorious as a denier of Christ, declares: "A hallucination always presents things which are familiar to the victim of the hallucination; it always refers to his mode of life, his occupations, his fixed ideas . . . it projects those pictures outward which he cherishes in the course of the reflections of his inner life."[2]

Resurrection visions could, therefore, have entered into the disciples only if their visionary inclination and state of excitement had lain along the line of faith in the resurrection. Only in so far as the disciples ardently hoped for, expected and longed for the bodily resurrection of Jesus could this psychical condition rise to a point of seeing visions of the resurrection. Easter visions presuppose the Easter faith.

But we know that there was no such thing as faith in the resurrection of Jesus among the disciples. All hope, expectation and thought of this sort was wholly absent from them.[3] The origin of resurrection hallucinations was, therefore, psychologically impossible for them. Even supposing that visions of Jesus had occurred these would in any case have assumed a form which corresponded to the fancies of the disciples. But every Jew was convinced that the souls of the just, clad in a robe of celestial light, dwelt in Abraham's bosom or in paradise, while their dead bodies remained in the grave until the Day of Judgement.[4] This belief would have determined the nature of the visions of the disciples; they would have seen Jesus in his glory with God clad in the white robe of his righteousness, and, out of this paradise

[1] *Von Nazareth nach Golgotha,* 49 f. (1909).
[2] *La folie de Jésus,* ii, 343 f. (1910).
[3] See the argument already presented in regard to the natural explanation of faith in the resurrection in this chapter.
[4] Proof given by Korff, *Die Auferstehung Christi,* 210-224.

of blessedness, appearing to them radiant, incorporeal and freed from the body. Another form of manifestation would not have been for them conceivable.

But even with the abstract possibility that the disciples could have had resurrection hallucinations, little or nothing would be gained for our opponents' theory. It would then have first to prove the historical actuality of the resurrection visions in a whole series of concrete circumstances. Fortunately we are not compelled to reconstruct the appearances of Christ according to the fantastic ideas of modern critics; on the contrary, we possess documentary reports of them, from which it appears definitely that the disciples were not deluded by hallucinations. What is at the start remarkable is the steadfast consciousness of the disciples of the reality of the resurrection appearances vouchsafed to them. They regarded these during their whole lifetime as real occurrences, not as subjective visions. Even our opponents do not dare to contest this. "It is an historical fact," according to the avowal of Weizsäcker, "that the men, of whom Paul relates it and among whom he finds himself, were convinced that they had seen the risen Jesus. And for themselves there is connected with this the conviction that this has come upon them, and that it has not proceeded from them, and they found in themselves no explanation for it."[1] It was, as Johannes Weiss remarks, for them "an incontrovertible, compelling fact."[2] Loisy expresses himself still more definitely: "The Evangelists and St Paul do not at all wish to relate subjective impressions; they speak of an objective, external presence of Christ discernible by the senses, not of a spiritual and still less of an imagined presence. Although the body of Jesus has become to a certain degree spiritualized by the resurrection, nevertheless, the disciples do not regard the Saviour as pure spirit, nor the resurrection as a continued existence of his immortal soul. This latter thought was absolutely far from their minds. For them the Redeemer was alive, consequently with the body which he had had before his death. The conditions of the existence of this body were altered, but it was the same body which had been laid in the sepulchre, and which in their opinion had not remained in it."[3]

This immovable conviction of the disciples forms an important argument against the vision hypothesis. It is true, the dreamer thinks also that he is actually experiencing his dream fancies, and even after he wakes he does not immediately recognize that it was only a dream. Some time later, however, he becomes distinctly conscious of this. It

[1] *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., 5 f.
[2] *Jesus im Glauben des Urchristentums*, 9.
[3] *Les Evangiles synoptiques*, ii, 743 f.

is precisely so with the visionary dreamer. If he comes back again from his delusion to clear consciousness, compelled by stern reality, he little by little accounts for it by saying that he had had merely a vision. It would of necessity have been the same with the disciples subsequently if their resurrection appearances had been simply visionary apparitions. The most sober-minded among them would have been to-day, and the rest to-morrow or the day after, convinced of their ecstatical mode of observation. That they adhered steadfastly to the reality of these appearances, even after the ascension and Pentecost, and under the hardest tests, always and unanimously, proves that these were no hallucinations.

The way in which the appearances originate and disappear confirms us in this view. On the third day these manifestations begin suddenly, are vouchsafed now to this disciple, now to that, and soon to all of them, at indeterminate intervals of time, and disappear suddenly and finally on the fortieth day. That is not the course of ecstatical visionary cases. These come on gradually, and if they have once infected the masses, then the attacks follow blow on blow, and disappear only little by little and after a long time. The excessive excitement which makes hallucinations possible does not relax its tension at once and at the same time in all cases. The flow does not immediately follow the ebb. A sudden cure of a visionary mass epidemic is opposed to all experience and all laws of the human mind.

Moreover, the persons to whom the appearances were granted were not inclined to visions. Jesus appears not merely to easily excitable women, but mostly to strong, full-grown men, who were evidently not in advance subject to hallucinations. John and Peter were sober-minded fishermen, who understood how to mend their nets and to scrub a deck with a scrubbing brush. Matthew was a Jewish collector of taxes, and, as such, certainly did not dwell in castles in the air. Thomas had a sceptical and pronouncedly realistic nature. The other witnesses of the appearance of Jesus were similar. Many of them, even the nearest relatives of the Lord, had not allowed themselves to become enthusiastic disciples of Jesus on account of any miracles worked by him. The whole Christian community at the time of the resurrection consisted of sober men who at once, in well-considered, vigorous and most serious activity, took up the conflict with the world. The vision hypothesis presupposes, on the contrary, a visionary, half or wholly insane society, whose members are all hysterical, so that they are immediately infected by hallucinations and spread the visionary fever instantly to others.

In particular, the Prince of the Apostles, in whom, according to the latest critics, the hallucination had its beginning,

shows that he knows how to distinguish a vision from reality with inexorable calmness and self-possession. When he, before going to the centurion, Cornelius, saw a sheet descending from heaven with all sorts of clean and unclean beasts, and received the command: "Peter, kill and eat," he did not doubt for a moment that all this was not reality, but a vision (Acts x, 11 ff.). When subsequently the angel freed him bodily from chains and the dungeon, he did not wish to believe "that it was true which was done by the angel, but thought he saw a vision" (Acts xii, 9). Even a real event, therefore, he regarded as a mere vision. So little was he, and so little were his companions, eager for and disposed to visions.

The behaviour of the disciples at the time of the resurrection appearances itself stands in opposition to procedures and conditions caused by hallucinations. Mary Magdalen inquires at the tomb where the body of Jesus was—surely no ecstatical state of mind; of seeing her Master again she thinks so little that she takes the Saviour standing before her for the gardener (Mark xvi, 9; John xx, 11 ff.). The Emmaus disciples walk and speak with him, but do not recognize him until he breaks bread before them (Luke xxiv, 13-33). The eleven curtly repudiate the women's report of the appearance as a vision of a ghost or an imaginary spirit, and also do not believe the disciples from Emmaus (Luke xxiv, 11; Mark xvi, 13). Even when Jesus stands in their midst, they still think they see a ghost, and are only undeceived when they see his flesh and bones, his hands and feet, and the wound in his side, and also eat with him (Mark xvi, 14; Luke xxiv, 36-40; John xx, 19). Thomas will not be satisfied even with that. He wishes to handle him, to put his finger into the prints of the nails, and his hand into the wound in the side, and otherwise will not believe (John xx, 24-31). Later also Jesus again appears to the disciples on the mountain in Galilee, without all of them being willing to believe in his presence (Matt. xxviii, 17); and he appears to them on the Lake of Genesareth, "and they knew not that it was Jesus" (John xxi, 4).

It is characteristic, therefore, of all the appearances that either they do not at first recognize the risen Lord, or doubt his actual, bodily presence, and can only be convinced of the truth of the appearance of Christ by evident and tangible proofs. That is, however, destructive of the vision hypothesis. The visionary picture is known and familiar to the visionary himself because it originates within him and is created by him. It is his own picture and countenance. Every doubt and uncertainty is for him so impossible that he, on the contrary, recognizes his vision with incontrovertible certainty and persistency.

We have already referred to the proofs by which Jesus

convinced the disciples of the reality of his appearances. It is true, he does not stand before them in his former earthly corporeality, but in a glorified body, which can pass through closed doors, can suddenly appear and disappear, and in general is so little physical that its identity with the previous form of Jesus is not immediately and surely recognized. But in spite of this glorification, there belongs to it, nevertheless, a complete, living, concrete bodily substance. It is no mere phantom that the disciples see; Jesus speaks with them, explains the Scriptures to them (Luke xxiv, 17-27), and reproaches them for their unbelief (Mark xvi, 14; John xx, 29). He walks with them, enters the inn with them and lets himself be urged to remain (Luke xxiv, 14). He asks for something to eat, sits down with them at table, blesses the meal, and apportions it out, breaks bread, and enjoys fried fish and honeycomb (Luke xxiv, 30, 39-43; John xxi, 5, 13). He shows his hands and feet, once pierced with nails, and his side also, offers his wounds to be touched, and bids the disciples: "Handle and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see me have" (Luke xxiv, 39; John xx, 20, 27). Even the most zealous champions of the vision hypothesis concede that all this is fatal to the supposition of resurrection hallucinations.[1]

To these bodily demonstrations of his actual presence is added the spiritual proof of his teaching. Luke has pointed out that Jesus "showed himself alive after his Passion by many proofs, for forty days appearing to them and speaking of the kingdom of God" (Acts i, 3). In fact, Jesus, during the Easter appearances, brings his Gospel to an infinitely sublime, profound and divine conclusion. The doctrines and commissions which the risen Saviour imparts form the crown of his whole work and the root out of which the Church in all ages derives its nourishment and blessing. "Peace be to you! As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained (John xx, 21-23). . . . Feed my lambs, feed my sheep (John xxi, 16, 17). All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And behold I am with you all days, even to the con-

[1] Hence the desperate attempt of several critics to deny radically the historic truth of all the quoted texts in which the corporeality of the risen Jesus is expressed, and to ascribe them to legendary formations, That this attempt is not only a crime against historical science, but that it plunges the vision hypothesis into new embarrassments, is proved by Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i, 459; Ladeuze, *La Résurrection du Christ*, 49; Mangenot, *La Résurrection de Jésus*, 290-292.

summation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 18-20). Baptism, the sacrament of penance, the priesthood, the primacy and the authority to teach, worldwide extension, eternal continuance, the kingdom of God's inexhaustible abundance of blessings, the mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and the unfailing presence of Jesus in the midst of his followers even to the end of the world—in short, the whole testament of the God-Man, embracing heaven and earth, lies in these words. And can it be that these are an offspring of the imagination, originating in the disordered delirium of cowardly, narrow-minded men, obsessed by Jewish particularism and political ideas of the Messiah, and, moreover, nervously overstrained, morbidly excited, and bewildered to the point of insanity? Truly, only an insane criticism can seriously maintain this.

The conciliatory theologians seek to escape this verdict by assuming "objective" visions. Even if the visions of the disciples are not products of themselves it still remains possible that the glorified Christ could influence their minds and so cause visions. The Lord, ascended into heaven, himself visited in spirit (or in "a spiritual body") the minds of his disciples, and brought to them the certainty of his glorification. The visions were, therefore, objective in so far as they were called forth by Christ; but, on the other hand, subjective, in so far as they took place only in the souls of those who saw them. Objectively, the spirit of the risen Lord was present in the spirit of the disciples; but it was subjective imagination, if they believed in the external, bodily, obvious presence of the risen Jesus. Thus wrote formerly Theodor Keim, Alexander Schweizer, and Rudolf Hermann Lotze,[1] and thus write to-day Theodor Korff, Max Reischle, E. v. Dobschütz, Gustav Wesper, E. Petavel-Olliff and others.[2]

But these objective visions have nowhere a foundation in the reports of the resurrection, and can in no way do them justice. These reports can be understood only as referring to a bodily resurrection and to an appearance of Jesus, obvious to the senses. Every other conception has proved itself to us as erroneous. Moreover, in the objective visions the principal thing about them finally runs again into the

[1] Keim, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara,* iii, 527-606 (1872); Schweizer, *Christliche Glaubenslehre,* 2nd ed., ii, 212 f. (1877); Lotze, *Mikrokosmos,* 3rd ed., iii, 365 f.

[2] Korff, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt,* 252, 263; *Die Auferstehung Christi und die radikale Theologie,* 236, 240, 242; Reischle, *Zur Frage der leiblichen Auferstehung,* in *Christliche Welt,* 3 f. (1900); Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostol. Zeitalters,* 12-17, 19; *Ostern und Pfingsten,* 22-31, 43; Wesper, in *Die Christliche Welt,* 536-540 (1905); Petavel-Olliff, *La Résurrection de Jésus-Christ en face de la science contemporaine,* in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie,* xxxviii, 369-400 (1906).

subjective visions. The two conceptions differ only in the derivation of these phenomena, since the one speaks of the mere reflex conditions of the disciples' consciousness, while the other speaks of the supernatural influencing of that consciousness. Both transfer the appearances of the risen Jesus exclusively into the consciousness of the disciples. Belief in the external, obvious, bodily presence of the glorified Christ (and the whole question is that of this belief) is characterized as purely subjective imagination. Thereby the hypothesis of the objective visions falls under the hammer of the subjective vision theory. Only the former is still more unacceptable, since it makes the inevitable optical hallucination of the disciples proceed from divine revelation, and therefore makes the risen Saviour responsible for the colossal error of the Church of the resurrection.[1] *Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdin.*

With the vision hypothesis falls the last ring of fortifications erected by modern criticism against the resurrection. The way is open. The century-long struggle of the enemy has proved unsuccessful. The disciples' belief in the resurrection, the finding the tomb empty, the appearances of the risen Christ, are mighty facts of history. Everything that scepticism has brought forward to break down these facts, or at least to explain them by natural means, proves itself, in the light of serious historical investigations, to be incorrect. Korff, who yet ranks himself among the liberal critics, declares "that the advanced modern theology does not scientifically stand at all high in respect to the question of the resurrection, and that here, on the contrary, its alleged positive achievements in the field of research are in reality nothing but a lot of unjustified and untenable assertions."[2] The procedure of sceptical theologians against the resurrection is, as even the radical, William Benjamin Smith, says, "not able to meet the demands of logic and sound common sense."[3]

If, in spite of all this, the resurrection is still denied with such unheard-of obstinacy, then evidently other than historical-critical considerations are decisive. One ought to confess to oneself and to others honourably that the reason for the doubt lies not in the historical testimony, but in the philosophical importance of the fact of the resurrection. If Jesus rose from the dead, then there is also for us a resurrection and a continued life beyond the grave. If Christ has risen, then through this act of revelation the other world projects itself

[1] Concerning the statement and refutation of the objective visions, see Steude, *Die Auferstehung J. Christi,* 19-22; Muser, *Die Auferstehung Jesu,* 38-45; Mangenot, *La Résurrection,* 293-297.

[2] *Die Auferstehung und die radikale Theologie,* 258.

[3] *Der vorchristliche Jesus,* 104 (1906).

into this. If Christ has risen, and even risen by his own power and omnipotence,[1] then we have actual proof in our hands that he is what he claimed to be—the true Messiah and Son of God. All that he did, taught and said of himself is then sealed by an infallible, overpowering and wholly divine miracle. Only this character and importance of the resurrection terrifies the enemy. Miracles, revelation, the supernatural and a personal immortality *a priori* do not exist for him. The first dogma of his scientific research reads: "No flaw in the modern view of nature's absolute immutability."

Proceeding from this presupposition the enemy investigates the historical problem of the resurrection no longer purely historically, but in the twilight of the sceptical, philosophical view. The impartial investigator feels this at every step, and our opponents themselves let it be perceived clearly enough. Already Strauss had characterized it as "stupidity" if a radical theologian answered such questions from "merely historical interests"; the decisive thing must be that there is no miracle and no supernatural order of the world.[2] According to Rudolf Otto, in this most important question of the history of the resurrection, not history at all, but only the view of the universe ought to speak. "Historical criticism passes no judgement on that. . . . The question belongs to an entirely different tribunal; to that of metaphysics and the view of the universe."[3] Also for Stapfer the whole difficulty lies in the modern naturalistic view of the universe: "A real resurrection, the return of a really dead body to organic life, is to-day for the modern man the greatest of impossibilities."[4] To free the view of the universe "from the domination of the miracle and the nightmare of the transcendental" is, according to O. Schmiedel, "the invaluable service," which the criticism of the resurrection has to perform for the modern world.[5] If we abandon the fundamental standpoint of the immanent view of the universe, then, according to Otto's confession, "no criticism and no science of history can bring anything against the conviction of the disciples that they have actually known their Lord as one alive from the dead."[6]

Modern criticism of the resurrection is, therefore, an arbitrary fabrication of history, completed in the name of a

1 "Destroy this temple [of my body] and I will raise it up in three days" (John ii, 19). "I lay down my life, that I may take it again. No man taketh it away from me; but I lay it down of myself. And I have the power to take up again" (John x, 17, 18).

2 *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk*, i, 2oth ed., iv.

3 *Leben und Wirken Jesu*, 51.

4 Stapfer, *La mort et la résurrection de Jésus-Christ*, 26.

5 Schmiedel, *Die Hauptprobleme*, 78.

6 Otto, *l.c.*

preconceived view of the universe. The shout of triumph with which early Christianity filled and conquered the world is and remains the certain result of every unprejudiced, unbiassed investigation of history. "Christ is risen from the dead, the firstfruits of them that sleep" (1 Cor. xv, 20). "The Lord is risen indeed" (Luke xxiv, 34).

CONCLUSION

BANKRUPTCY OF THE CHRISTOLOGY OF UNBELIEF AND THE TRIUMPH OF THAT OF BELIEF

"AN arbitrary fabrication of history, completed in the name of a preconceived view of the universe." This characterization is deserved, as we have just said, not only by the criticism of the resurrection made by our opponents, but by the sceptical study of Christ in general. For nearly one hundred and fifty years, the theology of the freethinkers has been seeking for a merely human founder of Christianity. After numberless vagaries, it has now arrived at a so-called "historical Jesus," a young man in Palestine, of whom the modern scholars say very definitely that he was not what, according to all the early Christian sources, he is said to have been—namely, the Messianic Redeemer and the true Son of God. He was a simple sort of man, we are assured, precisely as we other men also are, and as thousands of Jews of his time were. Only he was more pious and wiser than all the rest. He served God, and knew God the Father more perfectly, and was on that account conscious of being "a son of God"—that is, a human being especially favoured and endowed by God; in fact, he finally erroneously thought that he was the Messianic King, announced by the prophets and eagerly expected by the Jewish people. That was truly a fatal self-deception on his part, yet Jesus remains otherwise a moral and religious leader nevertheless, from whom all ages have something to learn and who can still say much to our modern world. These are the principal features of the much praised "historical" portrait of Jesus drawn by critical theology.

We have seen everywhere in the course of our arguments how matters really stand in this respect. The asserted historical truth of the modern portrait of Jesus has proved itself at every point an illusion. A final retrospective glance at the presumptuous methods and results of the sceptical study of Christ may bring this home to our minds.

The moderns, consciously or unconsciously, proceed from the assumption that Jesus could have been only the representative and the incorporation of their own ideas and ideals. It is true, these ideas and ideals are very varied in the different critics. They show themselves in all the changing colours of the naturalistic, empiric, rationalistic, agnostic and

monistic views of the universe.[1] But however differently the views of the universe and especially the philosophy of religion of the individual schools and their representatives may be fashioned, they all agree in the fact that they explain every supernatural revelation and every supermundane intervention in the world on the part of God as impossible. They recognize in the world and in mankind only purely natural factors and products of evolution. Christ also is, accordingly, explained by them as merely the fairest flower of human evolution, as a superlatively fine man, without, however, anything supernatural and divine in his life, works and teachings.

We should not think any the worse of the moderns for this if they would express these views after a well-organized, objective examination into the historical appearance of Christ, and if they were supported by the results of this examination. But the contrary is the case. This judgement as to the value of the personality of the Saviour is pronounced *a priori*. Preliminary to every historical investigation, the "historical-critical theology" is pledged to the dogma that the man of Nazareth can have been only a part and a fruit of the natural evolution of humanity. At every step the student of Christ encounters this unscientific preconceived idea, and our opponents themselves have more than once confessed that they proceed from this and take their stand before it.

Julius Kaftan, a leader of moderate liberal theology, remarks: "The portrait of Jesus, drawn by modern theology, is only supposedly real history. It is not history as it is, or as it was, but as it is allowed to be."[2] P. W. Schmiedel[3] confesses that "among only too many of them their supposed absorption into the portrait of Jesus consists merely in seeing their own ideal transplanted into the figure of Jesus." Loisy says expressly that he and those who share his opinions have refashioned the picture of Christ, not for historical reasons, but because they are supported by the views of modern philosophy.[4]

It would be easy to multiply at will these confessions of our opponents. Instead of that, let me quote the following comprehensive review from the pen of the liberal historian of modern investigation into the life of Jesus. Albrecht Schweitzer writes: "The historical inquiry into the life of Jesus has not proceeded from a purely historical interest, but has sought to find in the Jesus of history an assistant

[1] *Cf.* Karl Braig, *Das Wesen des Christentums an einem Beispiel erläutert, oder Ad. Harnack und die Messiasidee*, 34 f. (1903); *Das Dogma des jüngsten Christentums*, in *Modernstes Christentum und moderne Religionspsychologie* (1907).

[2] *Jesus und Paulus*, 16 (1906).

[3] *Die Person Jesu im Streite der Meinungen der Gegenwart*, in *Prot. Monatshefte*, 257 ff. (1906).

[4] *Autour d'un petit livre*, 128 f., 151 f.

in the fight for freedom from dogma. . . . For Bahrdt and Venturini he is the tool of a secret order. They both write under the impression of the immense work of the order of the Illuminati at the end of the eighteenth century. For Reinhard, Hess, Paulus and the other rationalistic writers he is the wonderful revealer of real virtue, which is in accord with reason. Thus every succeeding epoch of theology has thought it found its thoughts existing in Jesus, and could not otherwise make him a living being. And not only the epochs found themselves again in him; every individual created him after his own personality. There will come a time when our unhistorical theology will lose its rationalistic prepossession, which consists in the fact that our age transfers what is going on in it—the passionate conflict of the modern religious spirit with the spirit of Jesus—back into history, and seeks its *raison d'être* in the fact that it fashions the historical Jesus after its own image, so that it is not the modern spirit, conceived and subdued by the spirit of Jesus that is working on our generation, but Jesus of Nazareth, as portrayed by the modern historical method. In this way both become small and weak—Jesus, because he is measured by the small standard of the heterogeneous man of to-day, and finally by that of the modern discredited theological candidate; the modern theologians, because instead of seeking for themselves and others the way by which they can bring the living spirit of Jesus into our world, they draw continually new falsified portraits of the historical Jesus, and think they have attained some success if they entice from the masses such an 'Ah!' as is elicited from the crowd in a large city which remains standing for a moment before a new advertisement."[1]

Thereby the first and principal mark of the arbitrariness of the modern criticism is disclosed; it violates the historic figure of the Saviour by seeking to force it beforehand into the procrustean bed of the preconceived, modern view of the world and of life.

This unhistorical point of departure, of course, influences also the progress and the method of our opponents' investigation. Along the whole line and in regard to all problems, whatever corresponds to the modern views about the portrait of Jesus is always characterized as historical and critical; while, on the contrary, everything is given out to be unhistorical and uncritical which will not adapt itself to that fantastic picture. We encounter this arbitrary procedure in the question of the authoritative sources of the life of Jesus; in the researches into the Messianic and divine consciousness of Jesus; and in the statements about the proofs given by

[1] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, 4, 309 f.

Jesus of his Messiahship and divinity; in short, everywhere. If requested to do so, really liberal and radical investigators themselves confirm this in their turn.

Otto Pfleiderer reproaches modern theology with the fact that it takes from the New Testament's faith in Christ only that which is acceptable to the thought of to-day, instead of investigating thoroughly and without prejudice its entire content; and this in order to construct from it a portrait of Christ to suit the modern taste, overlooking in it everything else, and beholding in it much of its own creation.[1] "The elimination process, attempted by criticism, is undertaken in accordance with a thoroughly subjective point of view and philosophical presuppositions which are wholly foreign to historical research," writes Bernhard Weiss.[2] A. Kalthoff, agreeing with this, says: "Most of the advocates of the so-called modern theology, in making their cuttings, use their shears according to the critical method beloved by David Strauss. The mythical in the Gospels is cut out. What remains is to be the historic nucleus."[3]

The radical liberal, Wilhelm Wrede, describes the procedure of his school more in detail: "Incredible features are cut out, and the meaning is rectified so that it becomes historically usable [from the modern standpoint]—that is, for the report is substituted something of which the writer never thought, and this is given out as its historical content. . . . It is not inquired whether the peculiar life of the report itself is not thereby destroyed. . . . On this account judgements according to taste flourish. The number of arbitrary psychological interpretations of the facts, words and contexts of the Gospels in literature is legion. . . . Two things are common to all the manifold attempts—elimination and changed interpretation. . . . Every investigator finally proceeds so as to retain of the traditional words [of Jesus] those which can be adapted to his arrangement of the facts and to his conception of historical possibility; but the rest he casts aside."[4] On this H. J. Holtzmann remarks: "The justification of such a complaint cannot be doubted. Psychological suppositions, amateurish fancies, and adventurous speculation play in the whole literature of the subject almost as fatal a role as do dogmatically inspired attempts at harmony and a desecration of the sources."[5]

[1] *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*, 6 (1903). *Cf.* Pfleiderer's *Religion und Religionen*, 215 f. (1906); *Prot. Monatshefte*, 173-175 (1906).

[2] *Leben Jesu*, 4th ed., i, 11.

[3] *Das Christusproblem*, 2nd ed., 27 (1903).

[4] *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 2 f., 85 ff. (1901).

[5] *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*, 44 (1907). On this point also A. Harnack remarks: "It is now high time for investigators at last to overcome this childish malady of simply brushing aside, and declar-

How the results of this modern criticism of Jesus appear after the use of such methods of investigation can be easily imagined. Since every individual critic eliminates and replaces by his own views what does not suit him in the Gospels, the portrait of Jesus is made to correspond to the ever-changing representative and figure of modern religious individualism. "Everyone brings with him a more or less finished picture of an ideal religion and of the ideal of its originator, and endeavours to interpret this out of the Gospels. Thus Jesus appears to one as a poet, to another as a mystical enthusiast, to a third as a valiant hero for freedom and the dignity of man, to a fourth as an organizer of a new church and ecclesiastical morals, to a fifth as a rationalistic enlightener, to a sixth as a moralist of common sense, to a seventh as a generalizer of the Essenian view of life with its contempt of the world and its unresisting acquiescence in unjust treatment, to an eighth as the stern preacher of repentance and prophet of punishment, to a ninth as a proclaimer of the communist and socialist Gospel, to a tenth as a transmitter of the Indian doctrine of re-incarnation to the peoples of the Mediterranean, to an eleventh as a naturalistic Pantheist after the style of Giordano Bruno, to a twelfth as a superman like Nietzsche's Zarathustra, who puts himself into the place of God, to a thirteenth as a victorious king of battles, to a fourteenth as a prince of peace, who banishes all quarrelling and dissension from the world, to a fifteenth as a celestial bridegroom—that is, as an embodiment of sensual-supersensual eroticism, and so on *ad infinitum.*"[1] However many investigators occupy themselves with Jesus in the ranks of the sceptics, just as many transformations must the portrait of Jesus pass through, and just so many contradictions must it embody.

If we ask whether the liberal investigation of Christ, in spite of all these antagonisms, has not also brought to light some common results, and whether at least the principal features in the "historical-critical" portrait of Jesus have not been assured, one must answer categorically "No." Just as often and decidedly as our opponents assert that only the old-Christian shell has been thrown away, and that they have still preserved the genuine kernel, just as plainly has the fear of Harnack in regard to the modern criticism of Jesus been realized: "It should not be with us as with that child who, seeking for the nucleus of the plant, defoliated it so

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ing dictatorially unauthentic or a matter of no importance what does not harmonize with their portrait," *Der jüdische Geschichtschreiber Josephus und Jesus Christus,* in *Internationale Monatschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik,* vii, 1043 (1913).

[1] Ed. von Hartmann, *Das Christentum des Neuen Testaments,* 2nd ed., 13.

long that at length he had nothing more in his hand and was forced to see that the leaves were the nucleus itself."[1] In the whole Gospel and in the entire life of the Saviour there is not a word, not a doctrine, not a single act, which has not been characterized as an embellishment due to faith, and accordingly eliminated from the historical stock. Christ and Christianity are the unknown *x* in the history of the world. At most, all the liberals are united in believing that a man with the name of Jesus of Nazareth once lived. But even this last remnant cannot be saved from the ruins if the arbitrary criticism of the moderns is carried to the end. Bruno Bauer, Albrecht Kalthoff, William Benjamin Smith, A. Jeremias, P. Jensen, Karl Vollers and Arthur Drews only draw the logical consequences from liberal criticism when they deny also the existence of Jesus, and thereby bring the whole sceptical investigation of him to an absurdity.

The bankruptcy of this investigation has become notorious, and willingly or unwillingly is acknowledged by the moderns themselves.[2] After Harnack has set forth the confusion of modern views about Jesus and glossed it over he adds: "But, taken all in all, the impression which we gain from these contradictory judgements is a depressing one; the confusion seems hopeless."[3] Jülicher remarks spitefully: "A skilful enemy can so sum up the results of the labours of the critics of the last few years, especially those of Wrede, Wellhausen and Harnack, that absolutely nothing of any certain tradition seems to be left."[4]

Even if Jülicher tries to excuse this fiasco, Fr. Lipsius, with his well-known frankness, concedes that: "The portrait of Jesus, as theological liberalism has outlined it for us, was really only an immense delusion. Far removed from representing the justifiable result of sober historical and critical investigation, it is rather the reflection of modern ideals. . . . In this sense the clear-sighted and candid work of Albrecht Schweitzer of Strassburg entitled *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* has established the complete bankruptcy of the modern theology of the life of Jesus."[5]

Schweitzer himself, regardless of the esteem of his liberal colleagues, condenses his judgement of the century and a half long criticism of Jesus in the following sentences: "This

[1] *Wesen des Christentums*, 9.

[2] *Cf.* W. v. Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesuskultus*, 2nd ed. (1906); Richard H. Grützmacher, *Ist das liberale Jesusbild modern?* (1907); Naumann, *Vor dem Bankerott des Christentums*, (1907); K. Dunkmann, *Der historische Jesus* (1910); Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, 14th ed. (1910).

[3] *Wesen des Christentums*, 2.

[4] *Neue Linien in der Kritik der evangelischen Überlieferung*, 67 (1906).

[5] Johannes Weiss, *Paulus und Jesus*, 4 f. (1909).

book can finally do nothing else than give expression to the confused apprehension of the historic Jesus, as modern theology outlines him, because this confusion is the result of a survey of the whole course of the investigation into the life of Jesus. . . . There is nothing more negative than the result of this investigation. The Jesus of Nazareth (of our sceptical research) . . . has never existed. It is a figure which was delineated by rationalism, animated by liberalism, and clothed with historical science by modern theology. This portrait has not been destroyed from without, but has fallen to ruin from within."[1] Sceptical investigation "went forth to find the historic Jesus, and thought it could then instal him in our epoch, as he is, as Teacher and Saviour. It loosed the bands with which he had been bound for centuries to the rock of ecclesiastical doctrine, and rejoiced when . . . it saw the historic man, Jesus, approaching. He did not, however, remain stationary, but passed by our epoch and returned to his own. It is precisely this that has astonished and frightened the theology of the last forty years, that it could not retain him in our era notwithstanding all its nice interpretations and acts of violence, but had to let him go his way. He went back to it, not through historical cleverness, but with the same necessity with which a pendulum, when set free, returns to its original position. The historical foundation of Christianity, as rationalistic, liberal and modern theology have constructed it, exists no more."[2] The whole historical conception of early Christianity, after it had been made expressly as it should be for the snailshell of this theology, "was proved to be untenable. . . . The ships on which liberal theology thought it could sail back and forth between the beginnings of Christianity and our modern, sceptical religion are burned; the wooden weapons with which it wanted to fight have been beaten out of its hand."[3] Thus the edifice of our opponents' investigation of Jesus is thrown to the ground.

In contrast to this ruin towers in indestructible solidity the fortress of the Holy Grail—the stronghold of the orthodox investigation of Christ. For nearly two thousand years this has defied the storms of sceptical science. Even the sharpest weapons, even the most modern criticism and technique, have recoiled in impotence from its bulwarks fashioned for eternity. As often as its enemies have assailed it with war shouts resounding far and near, just so often has it mocked at their

[1] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* viii, 396.

[2] *id.,* 397.

[3] Schweitzer, *Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (1913), a newly revised and enlarged edition of the work *Von Reimarus zu Wrede,* iii f. (1913). This second edition came to me only while I was correcting the proofs of this book. On this account, to preserve its uniformity, I have everywhere quoted from the first edition.

absurd impotence. However many brawlers have arisen in the course of the centuries in conflict with Christ, they all strew the battlefield ingloriously slain. "Christ conquers, Christ commands, Christ reigns" is still as true to-day as in those days of the Middle Ages, so strong in the faith, and in those of the primitive Christian Church. And the remotest generations of the future will know how to preserve and to defend just as securely the faith in Jesus Christ, the Redeemer and the Son of God. However the hypotheses of sceptical criticism may shape themselves, they must always come to ruin through the twofold fact; on the one hand, that the New Testament christology is identical with the real, historic portrait of Jesus, and, on the other, that this christology of the New Testament everywhere proclaims Jesus as the Messiah and the Son of God. May I be allowed here to make this once more especially prominent?

1. The New Testament sources, and particularly the New Testament portrait of Jesus, bear in themselves universally the stamp of historic truth. We have not only proved this in the part of our work which deals with the foundations of Faith, but can always establish it also in the course of the separate investigations made. Criticism vainly endeavours to eliminate the supernatural features of the New Testament's life of the Saviour as spurious accessories, as later additions, and as the embellishments of faith. Not a single Bible text justifies this attitude of our opponents, and just as little have they at their disposal any words outside of the Bible, from which they could justify the most unfortunate assertion that the historic Jesus has been refashioned by legends created by the early Church into an entirely different, essentially distinct Christ, and that the Gospels are only the expression of this last, faith-embellished portrait of the Saviour, but not that of the historic one. A. Schweitzer declares that "the evolutionary idea, the principal bulwark of the liberal critics of the life of Jesus, to strengthen which they had laboured to the last, has been laid in ruins."[1]

Yes, precisely the evolutionary idea, by means of which the historical-critical writers naturally wish to explain Christ and Christianity, ought to have restrained freethought all the more from its false path. It would have been not evolution, but revolution, not organic development, but radical destruction, if the generation which lived with Jesus had made out of a Rabbi of Nazareth the Redeemer of the world and the Son of God, and had attested this gigantic deception by means of documents hardly more than three or four decades after his death. When criticism believes that historical events are capable of such a *salto mortale,* "it

[1] Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, 220.

bids defiance without hesitation to all the fundamental principles of modern science and historical research and to the thought of a connected evolution."[1] "A theology, which precisely at the point where history comes in, sees itself forced at once to establish a defection from and falsification of an originally pure principle, as the theology of Ad. Harnack has again recently done, puts itself outside the methods of universal historical science, and exalts itself to the place of science. On this account it was not by scientific, but by church denominational reasons that theology was dominated when it was anxious to eliminate from the portrait of the Christ of the past all features which had become distasteful to the theologians of the nineteenth century, and to ascribe them to later historical influences. . . . But the whole liberal theology had finally to go to pieces on this fiction."[2]

The view that, in order to understand the historical beginnings of our religion and its Founder, we may not let ourselves be guided by the New Testament is consequently so unscientific that it can be comprehended only as one of the "children's diseases of the period of the history of religion."[3] The truth is, rather, that we are dependent on the New Testament alone, and must with full confidence trust in it, if we wish to obtain certain information about Jesus Christ. What the Gospels and Paul announce was already before them the common property of the original Church, and what the early community and the original apostles proclaimed was only the echo of the glad tidings of Jesus himself. This even our opponents also occasionally concede. Jülicher,[4] for example, writes: "To the earliest Church is due the first word in the conflict about the essential in Christianity." And Harnack says: "The simple reader of the Bible should only continue to read the Gospels as he has thus far read them; for even the critics cannot, after all, read them otherwise. What the former holds to be its real nucleus and central

[1] Von Schnehen, *Der moderne Jesuskultus*, 40. F. Lipsius also writes: "How this liberal and modern thinking man, the Jesus conceived by rationalism, could become the historic origin of an evolution which led to the formation of the Catholic Church was only to be explained by the supposition of a radical apostasy—that is, not at all explained"—*Protestantenblatt*, 702 (1906). P. Wilhelm Schmiedel, in his preface to William Benj. Smith, remarks naïvely in *Der vorchristliche Jesus* (1906): "Whence the worship of the God Jesus really originated, how it came into use in so many places, how it developed still further, and in particular how the writings of the New Testament came into existence, which give such an incorrect picture of this Christianity, and finally how all the arguments are to be overcome, which make such an explanation of the origin of Christianity from the outset appear hopeless—about all this we receive again no information, or, at most, mere intimations."

[2] Kalthoff, *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 6 (1904).

[3] Julius Kaftan, *Jesus und Paulus*, 74 (1906).

[4] *Neue Linien*, 66.

point, the latter also must recognize as such."[1] The figure of Christ in the New Testament is completely identical with the figure of Christ in history; and, *vice versa,* the latter is merged into the former. That is the one fundamental fact on which orthodox, believing christology rests, and on which every scientific study of Christ must be built up.

2. Just as indubitable is the other fundamental fact that the whole New Testament proclaims Jesus Christ as the Messiah and true Son of God. For Paul and the synoptists, as well as for John and the harmonious primitive Church, he is, according to his vocation, the Redeemer of mankind, and, according to his nature, the essential incarnate Son of God. The unequivocal judgement of the Gospels and apostolic writings signifies that Jesus had within himself the consciousness of his Messiahship and divinity, and revealed it, and that he furnished the most positive, incontrovertible proofs for the truth of this consciousness. We have demonstrated this in detail and exhaustively, and the fact is so clear that even hostile critics must yield to it.

The liberal-conservative, Professor Richard Grützmacher, acknowledges: "The unanimous result of the modern and also of the Church interpretation of the New Testament, to which younger liberalism in great measure accedes, at the beginning of the twentieth century, is that the Church's doctrine of the God-man Christ can with perfect right appeal to the New Testament in its whole extent, and has developed its content further only in form."[2]

Johannes Weiss, an advocate of the radical-liberal study of Christ, is of the same conviction. He says: "The more profoundly we study the beginnings of christology, the greater becomes our astonishment at the rapidity with which very different views have united in a very complicated and difficult doctrine. A gradual evolution is hardly to be observed; in a very brief space of time the system of christology became established; already in the New Testament lie, in substance, all the chief thoughts of later dogma, even if, partly, only in embryo."[3] "Early Christianity, at least in part, is the religion of Christ—that is, its central point is the inward relation of faith to the risen Christ. . . . I do not conceal the fact that I, with the majority of modern theologians, profess my faith in the [opposite] view, and that I hope that this latter will gradually come to prevail in our Church. But, as an historian, I must confess that it is very far from the view held by the early Christians."[4]

[1] *Das Christentum und die Geschichte,* 5th ed., 17 (1904); reprinted in Harnack's *Reden und Aufsätze,* ii, 17 (1906). *Cf.* Weinel, *Ist das liberale Jesusbild widerlegt?* 67 (1910).

[2] *Ist das liberale Jesusbild modern?* 30.

[3] *Christus,* 4 f. (1909).

[4] Johannes Weiss, *Paulus und Jesus,* 4 f. (1909).

The ultra-radical, W. B. Smith, is still more decided: "However well supported the demonstration may be by high philosophical ability, however scholarly and logically founded the exposition, however zealously it may be presented, and however famous may be the knowledge involved—the attempt to derive Christianity from a man must always fail. For the Jesus Christ of original Christianity was not human, but divine, the King of all kings, the Lord of all lords, the Saviour, the Redeemer, the protecting God."[1] Smith's associate in thought, W. von Schnehen, adds: "No matter how far one may go back into the history of Christianity, one finds nowhere even the slightest support for the statement that Jesus was venerated on account of his purely human activity and qualities, or as the Founder of a religion, or as a moral teacher, or even only as a religiously moral exemplar. One may interpret the meaning of the word 'Gospel' as one will, but it never has anything to do with a mere 'man' Jesus, and never makes such a man the central object of religious worship. As far as the glad tidings of the Rabbi of Nazareth are concerned, the admirers of his personality also will not, after all, contest this; but it is just as indubitable that this is also true of the Gospel documents of the New Testament. The Jesus of whom these writings tell us is throughout not a man, but at the very least a superman. Yes, more than this, he is the unique Son of God, the Christ, the incarnate God-man of the orthodox Church."[2]

But if this be so, then only that study of Christ and only that faith in Christ can lay claim to the Christian name and faith which recognize in Jesus of Nazareth, not a mere man, but the God-man and the divine Messiah. Freethinking criticism, and with it the whole of liberal Protestantism and modernism, stand outside the pale of Christianity. They may be obliged from motives of expediency to "clothe themselves in Christian attire,"[3] but in reality they are at heart no longer Christians. Even E. v. Hartmann[4] and Franz Overbeck[5] pronounce this verdict, and before them also David Friedrich Strauss had already written: "It is my conviction that if we do not wish to act evasively, and if we are willing to give up saying merely Yea, Yea, and Nay, Nay, we must confess that we are Christians no longer."[6] What the Apostle John once said of those who denied the humanity of Jesus applies also to-day to those who deny his divinity: "Every spirit that dissolveth Jesus is not of God; and this

[1] *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, 41.
[2] *Der moderne Jesuskultus*, 10.
[3] Arthur Drews, *Die Religion, als Selbstbewusstsein Gottes*, 95 (1905).
[4] *Die Krisis des Christentums in der modernen Theologie*, 2nd ed.
[5] *Über die Christlichkeit unserer heutigen Theologie*, 2nd ed. (1903).
[6] *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, 26.

is Antichrist, of whom you have heard that he cometh, and he is now already in the world" (1 John iv, 3).

And just as only that study of Christ which confesses the Messiahship and divinity of our Saviour can lay claim to the spirit of Christianity, so only can such a study claim to follow a scientific method. Every christological conception which regards Jesus as a mere man is, if historically considered, a fanciful monstrosity. Christ and Christianity cannot be measured and conceived by merely human standards. Whoever forms an estimate of this unique personality and phenomenon of history, without prejudice, partiality or prepossession, cannot but fall upon his knees and exclaim with the Prince of the Apostles:[1] "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we have believed and known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

[1] John vi, 69, 70; see also Matt. xvi, 16; Mark viii, 29; Luke ix, 20.

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